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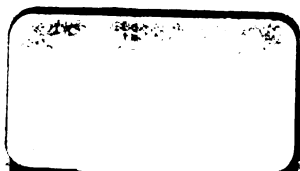
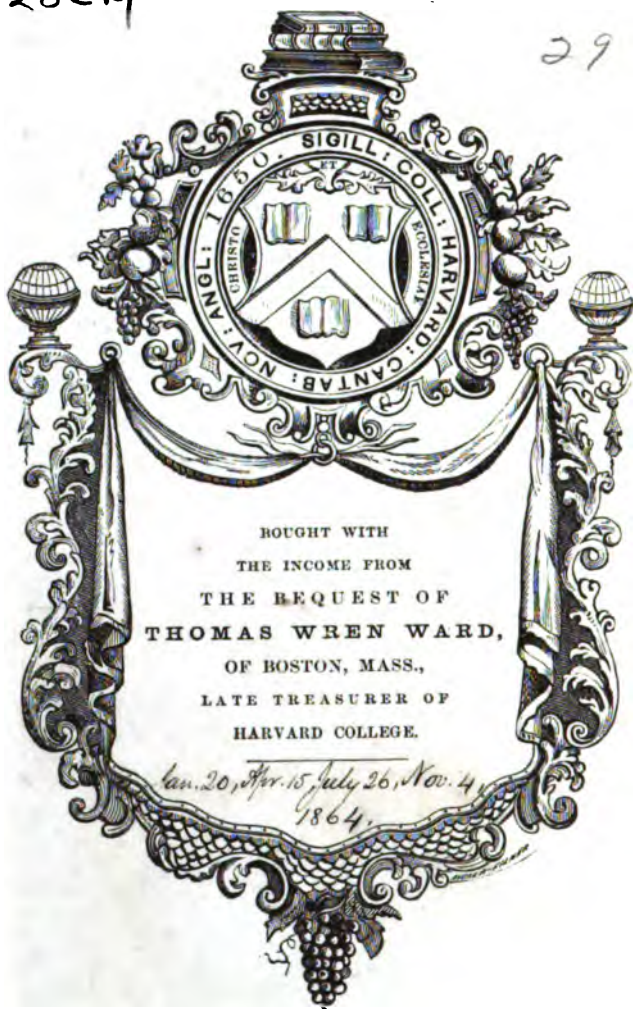
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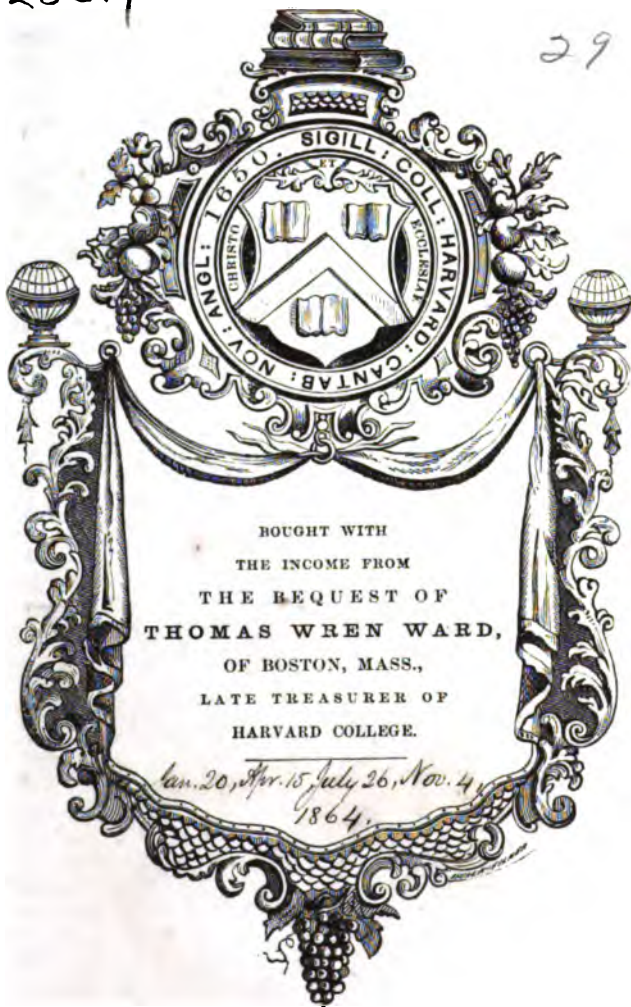




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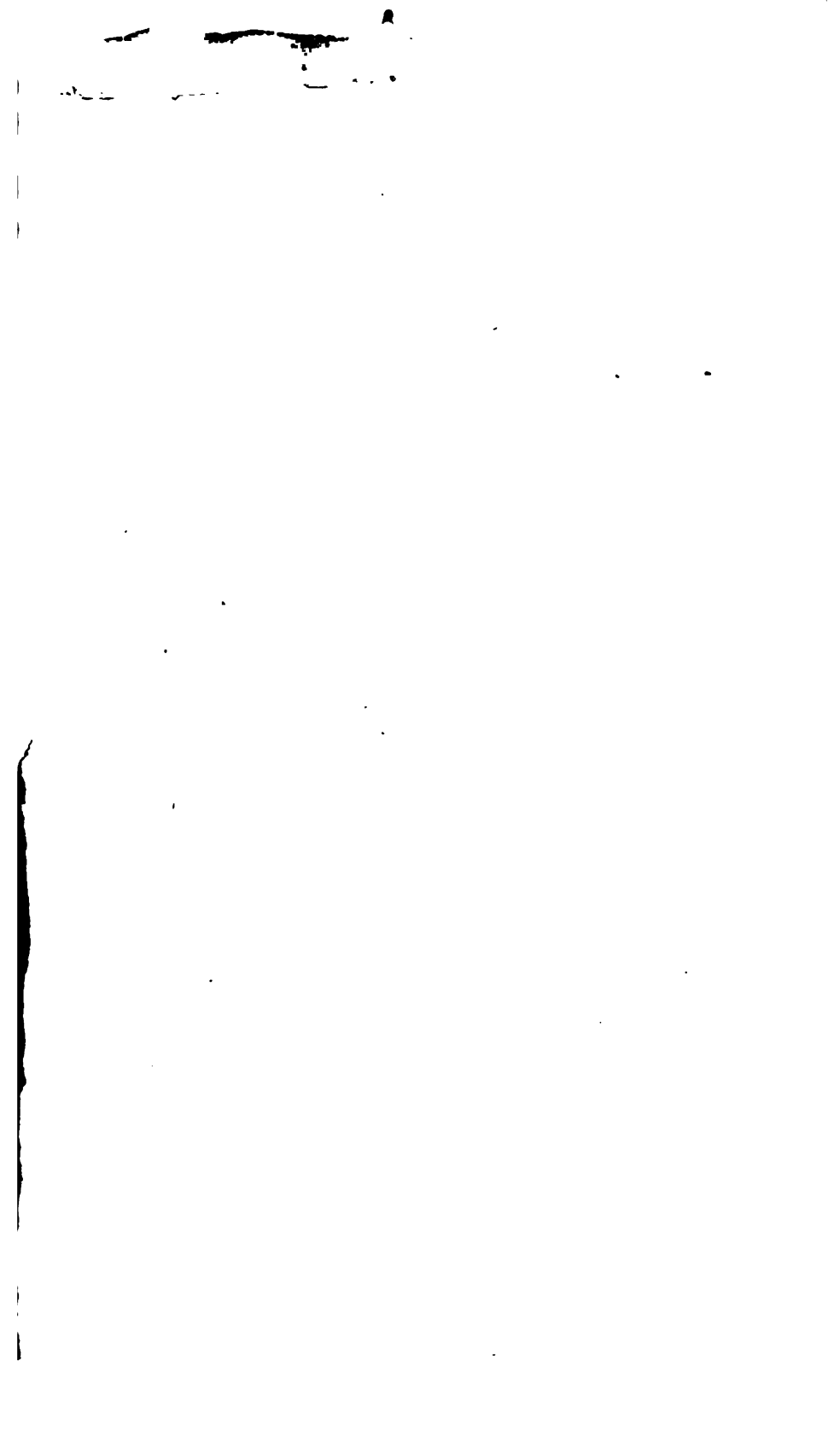














THE  
NEW ENGLANDER.

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NULLIUS ADDICTUS JURARE IN VERBA MAGISTRI.

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VOLUME XXIII., 1864.

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NEW HAVEN :  
WILLIAM L. KINGSLEY, EDITOR AND PROPRIETOR, 63 GROVE ST.  
T. J. STAFFORD, PRINTER.



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THE  
NEW ENGLANDER.

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NULLIUS ADDICTUS JURARE IN VERBA MAGISTRI.

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VOLUME XXIII., 1864.

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NEW HAVEN:  
WILLIAM L. KINGSLEY, EDITOR AND PROPRIETOR, 68 GROVE ST.  
T. J. STAFFORD, PRINTER.



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THE  
NEW ENGLANDER.

NULLIUS IN OMNIBUS JURARE IN TERRA MAGISTRI.

VOL. XXIII.—NUMBER I.

JANUARY, 1864.

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The New Englander will be published in the months of January, April, July and October.  
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NEW HAVEN:

WM. L. KINGSLEY, EDITOR AND PROPRIETOR, 68 GROVE ST.

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NEW HAVEN.—F. T. JAMIN, 3 Exchange Build- ing, Church st.; T. H. PEAR, 223 Chapel st.	NEW YORK.—N. A. CALKINS, Office of the Ameri- can Congregational Union 135 Grand street.
BOSTON.—CHESBURY AND NICHOLS, 317 Washing- ton st.; A. WILLIAMS & Co., 100 Washington	FARMINGTON.—S. S. COWLES.
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Postage according to the New Law.

This number weighs 10 ounces. The postage, when paid by the pub-  
lisher in New Haven, is 2 cents; when paid by a subscriber at the office of  
delivery, it is the same.

New Haven Post Master.

T. J. STAFFORD, PRINTER.

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JANUARY, 1864.

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ARTICLE I.—OF THE DISTINCTION BETWEEN NATURAL AND POLITICAL RIGHTS.

*Burke's Reflections on the Revolution in France*, 1790.

*Burke's Appeal from the New to the Old Whigs*, 1791.

*Rousseau's Contrat Social*, 1762.

DR. JOHNSON'S well known remark concerning Burke, that any one who should chance to meet him under a shed, whither both had run to avoid a shower, would feel him to be an extraordinary man, has an illustration in the intrinsic value and continued popularity of those political essays which related to current events, and were intended to be tracts for the times. Critics may complain of redundant and occasionally extravagant imagery, and statesmen may allege graver faults still; yet, for splendor of style, and for qualities incomparably higher than any rhetorical merit, the *Reflections on the French Revolution* will always command the admiration of the students of political science. No doubt serious defects in

doctrine as well as in temper, have been pointed out in this treatise; but these, since our design is not to criticise the work, we have no occasion to set forth at length. It must be admitted that Burke nowhere brings out, but rather labors to cover up, the fearful misgovernment which caused the Revolution in France, and occasioned, though it did not excuse, the crimes that accompanied it. All historical students now, who are not subject to a violent prejudice, understand how the turn which history had given to events in France, left the power of the feudal nobility to be absorbed in the King, instead of being divided, as in England, with the people; how the honors and advantages of society were engrossed by the privileged orders; how the government, wasting its treasure upon long, and frequently useless wars, and upon the shameless vices of the court, which recall the worst days of the later Roman Empire, had long been upon the verge of bankruptcy, notwithstanding delusive and fraudulent schemes for replenishing the public coffers; and how the body of the people were laden with burdens too grievous to be borne, while exposed to insults and injuries from the superior class, for which it was impossible to obtain redress.

We may lament that France could not stop with reforming her institutions, without proceeding to obliterate, in fire and blood, the old order of things; but the frightful excesses of the revolution were the natural result of accumulated disorders and wrongs. Burke allows, to be sure, the urgent need of some change in the political system of France, but fails to appreciate the extent of the evils that gave rise to the great social convulsion.

Another defect of the "Reflections," is the exaggerated statement of what we consider one of the noblest, as it is the continually recurring point, in the discussion. We refer to the perpetual warning against theories, abstract principles, and metaphysical speculation upon liberty and government, and to the doctrine that we are to abide by existing institutions, adopting no change aside from the line of what has been already established. This position, which is sound as against visionaries and radicals, and which the growth of English

liberty has vindicated, is pushed to an extreme in the "Reflections," where all ideals of a perfect society, and all consideration of the bearing of abstract principles on the constitution of government, seem often to be excluded, and even derided, as an unprofitable dream. Some of the most powerful invectives and keenest sarcasms of Burke, are hurled at the "sophisters" and metaphysic doctors who would reconstruct society from the foundations, according to theoretical standards, the product of their own invention. We can sympathize with the general view, which bids us consult the actual state of things, and follow slowly and cautiously, in every change, the suggestions of the existing, providentially ordained system, and yet find a place for political philosophy. This feature of the "Reflections" has provoked the censure of Robert Hall. "It is pretended," says Hall, "that the moment we quit a state of nature, as we have given up the control of our actions in return for the superior advantages of law and government, we can never appeal again to any original principles, but must rest content with the advantages that are secured by the terms of the society. These are the views which distinguish the political writings of Mr. Burke, an author whose splendid and unequalled powers have given a vogue and fashion to certain tenets which, from any other pen, would have appeared abject and contemptible."\* The truth is, that in this closing period of his life, when Burke, deeply and justly alarmed by the drift of events in France, and anxious for the stability of the English Constitution, parted company with Fox and his old party associates, he was determined to throw his whole strength against the tide of innovation, and hence spoke with less discrimination and less temperately than he would otherwise have done. He laid hold of all the weapons within his reach for the purpose of combating the dogmas of the French political philosophers, which he honestly deemed false and mischievous. Probably the explanation of the unqualified character of many of his assertions, and of the vehemence of his tone, is implied in the eloquent closing

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\* Hall's "Christianity Consistent with a Love of Freedom," Section IV.



paragraph of the "Reflections," in which, having described his own career as that of one "who has been no tool of power, no flatterer of greatness," but the industrious enemy of "opulent oppression," he professes that "when the equipoise of the vessel in which he sails may be endangered by overloading it upon one side, he is desirous of carrying the small weight of his reasons to that which may preserve its equipoise."\*

There is another part of the "Reflections" with which American readers cannot be expected to sympathize. It is what Sir James Mackintosh, in his Reply to Burke, fitly styled his predilection for Aristocracy. We do not allude, of course, to the vigorous passages where Burke assaults that

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\* We subjoin here a remark or two on a side point of some literary and historical interest. Buckle, in his *History of Civilization*, (Vol. I., p. 334), puts forth the surprising assertion that Mr. Burke, in his last years, was actually deranged—under "a complete hallucination." Such a rumor, grounded partly on the touching circumstance of his weeping on the neck of the horse which had belonged to his deceased son, and partly on his vehemence in the debates relating to the French Revolution, was set afloat during his lifetime, and is explained and exposed in the fourteenth chapter of *Prior's Life*. We were not aware that any one, from that day to this, had given the slightest credence to this transient rumor. That Burke, during these last years, was overwhelmed with grief at the death of his son, that he was profoundly excited by the political changes of the time, that he suffered much from bodily infirmities, everybody knew. Buckle refers to the Laurence correspondence—in which we have vainly sought any support for his charge. He also refers to the later writings of Burke—as if the *Letters on a Regicide Peace*, impassioned though they often are, afforded the slightest countenance for the imputation of insanity to their author! Sir James Mackintosh, who passed the last Christmas of the great statesman's life with him at Beaconsfield, speaks of "the astonishing effusions of his mind in conversation," of his gleeful participation in the sports and gambols of the children, of his anticipating "his approaching dissolution with due solemnity but perfect composure," of his being "minutely and accurately informed, to a wonderful exactness, with respect to every fact relative to the French Revolution." (*Life of Mackintosh*, Am. Ed. 1825. Vol. I., p. 62). In the face of the monuments of intellectual vigor which Burke presents in his later works and in his correspondence, and in view of the force of personal testimony to the retention of his mental power to the last, it is extraordinary that Buckle should make a statement of this nature, adducing in favor of it proofs of so little weight.

The incident of Burke's weeping aloud on the neck of his son's favorite horse, and the folly of the charge of insanity grounded upon it, are the subject of an eloquent allusion by Mr. Everett in a speech delivered by him a few years ago at an exhibition of horses in Springfield, Mass.

caricature of the doctrine of equality which overlooks the natural, just, and inevitable ascendancy belonging to real superiority in talents, knowledge, and character. We refer to his arguments in behalf of a titled and hereditary Aristocracy, constituting a privileged class, and especially to his romantic admiration of such an Order—"the Corinthian capital of polished society," as he calls it. Such feelings have, for the most part, passed away from the hearts of modern men, and cannot be again revived. We may lend ourselves for the moment to the pathetic eloquence of this great writer, whose imagination runs parallel with his wisdom, while he deplores the decline of the ancient sentiments of chivalric homage to Prince and Noble; but sentiments of this nature will not bear the scrutiny to which the reason of the present age has subjected the institutions of society. All that the moderate and conservative can say now is: let the noble retain his privilege; at least, let it not be violently wrested from him; but he is a man like ourselves, to be respected only for what he is, and for what he does for others. He can no longer be invested with a halo, because of long descent and inherited advantages.

But after allowing that these blemishes belong to Burke's discussion, it would be unjust to forget certain liberal principles which he distinctly avows.

In the first place, Burke fully admits the lawfulness of a Republican form of government. Such a form is not less legitimate, in his view, than monarchy, by however much the latter is to be preferred. Indeed, the doctrine of the "Reflections" would condemn a revolutionary movement where Republican institutions are established, equally with the attempted overthrow of monarchy. What Burke is contending for is the sacredness of the existing form of society, whatever that form may be which history has established. Holding that institutions are a growth, and not the mere product of human contrivance, independently of underlying causes and a controlling Providence, he repels the notion that they are to be torn up by the roots in order to make room for some new fabric which philosophers have planned.

Secondly, Burke expressly allows a right of Revolution. This right is the offspring of necessity alone. It is not founded on any theory of a social compact, implying that the people (in whatever way the term "people" is defined) are endowed with the right at any time, and simply because they are so inclined, to revolutionize the institutions of society. The continuance of an established government is not left by the law of God to the mere option of the people who live under it. Necessity is the only justification of a violent change. And this necessity Burke appears to limit to the case where the civil constitution is threatened with overthrow, or where corruption has perverted it from its true design and operation. In this way, the Revolution of 1688 is defended, in consistency with the author's principles,—that being only a restoration of the British Constitution, when the monarchical element was threatening to swallow up every other. So Burke explains the favor he had shown to the American Revolution; on the ground that the American patriots were struggling to *preserve* what was theirs,—the ancient, chartered rights of Englishmen. To be sure, it is natural to ask if there may not be evils necessitating a political change not provided for by law, even though the existing form of government has not been corrupted. In other words, the application of this extraordinary remedy may be warranted in other cases than the particular one considered by Burke. But the fact that he expressly admits a right of Revolution should not be overlooked.

Thirdly, Burke explicitly recognizes the rights of man. He opposes with argument and ridicule the dogmas on this subject propounded by the French school and their supporters in England; but he fully admits the existence of inherent and inviolable rights.

On this subject we shall avail ourselves of a paragraph in "the Reflections," as a text for brief comments upon a distinction familiar to educated persons, the frequent neglect of which, however, in our popular discussions, breeds great confusion and is in various ways a source of mischief. The distinction of which we speak, is that between Natural and Political Rights. The following is the passage from Burke :

"Far am I from denying in theory; full as far is my heart from withholding in practice (if I were of power to give or to withhold) the *real* rights of men. In denying their false claims of right, I do not mean to injure those which are real, and are such as their pretended rights would totally destroy. If civil society be made for the advantage of man, all the advantages for which it is made become his right. It is an institution of beneficence; and law itself is only beneficence acting by a rule. Men have a right to live by that rule; they have a right to justice; as between their fellows, whether their fellows are in politic function or in ordinary occupation. They have a right to the fruits of their industry; and to the means of making their industry fruitful. They have a right to the acquisitions of their parents; to the nourishment and improvement of their offspring; to instruction in life, and to consolation in death. Whatever each man can separately do, without trespassing upon others, he has a right to do for himself; and he has a right to a fair portion of all which society, with all its combinations of skill and force, can do in his favor. In this partnership all men have equal rights; but not to equal things. He that has but five shillings in the partnership, has as good a right to it, as he that has five hundred pounds has to his larger proportion. But he has not a right to an equal dividend in the product of the joint stock; and as to the share of power, authority, and direction which each individual ought to have in the management of the state, that I must deny to be amongst the direct original rights of man in civil society; for I have in my contemplation the civil, social man, and no other. It is a thing to be settled by convention." (Vol. III, p. 79, Boston, 1839).

The main point to which we call attention is the proposition that political power, or a share, either direct or indirect, in the management of the government, is not to be placed among the Natural Rights of men. No person on the score of Natural Rights can claim an office, or claim to be eligible to an office, or claim to take part in the selection of those who shall hold office in the state. Whatever Natural Rights are, they are *not* a title to a participation in the government. But let us mark some of the more important statements in the paragraph above quoted.

1. Men have an equal right to the advantages for which society was created. The state is not an end in itself, but a means to an end. The state is a divinely ordained, indispensable instrument, for securing to the human beings who compose it, certain advantages. And the benefits, define them as you will, which the state is intended to secure, are not the property of a class or a part. They are intended to flow out impartially to all. If the state is constituted in such a way that a part of the community are excluded from these benefits,

there is a violation of Natural Rights. Aristotle held that slaves are merely tools, to be used to promote the interests of a superior class; and assigns them this place in the state. He could not have better defined the falsehood and injustice of slavery, which refuses to recognize the title of a part of the community to an equal share in the benefits of the state, and degrades them into a mere instrument for securing the interests of their pretended owners. A set of individuals, by the exercise of force, absorbs and monopolizes the advantages of society, which belong equally to all its members. In the Declaration of American Independence, "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness," are set down among the Natural Rights of men; and the enumeration of Natural Rights, in the passage from Burke, is substantially equivalent. The term liberty is, indeed, a vague one, and may not be easy to fix and define. "Whatever each man can separately do, without trespassing upon others, he has a right to do for himself," is a remark in the paragraph we have quoted. The power allowed to the individual of doing as he pleases, with the qualification (and therefore restriction) that this power belongs, in an equal degree, to every other, is a similar definition of liberty. Nearly coincident with this description of liberty, which is adopted by recent writers, is a fine passage in one of Burke's letters to a French correspondent in 1789.\* Of liberty, he says, "I certainly think that all men who desire it, deserve it. It is not the reward of our merit, or the acquisition of our industry. It is our inheritance. It is the birth-right of our species." "It is not solitary, unconnected, individual, selfish liberty. It is social freedom. *It is that state of things in which the liberty of no man, and no body of men, is in a condition to trespass on the liberty of any person, or any description of persons, in society.* This kind of liberty is, indeed, but another name for justice, ascertained by wise laws, and secured by well constructed institutions." Liberty, signifying as it does, exemption from constraint, seems to be not so properly called a particular right, as the comprehensive term under which all

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\* Quoted in Prior's Life of Burke, p. 309. (Philadelphia, 1825).

human rights are summed up,—freedom being involved in the realization of every right. It is worthy of notice that Burke declares against the pretension to give out precise, metaphysical definitions in these matters, and treats it as a sign of the quackery of that class whom he styles the “amateurs and even professors of revolutions.” “The rights of men are in a sort of *middle*, incapable of definition, but not impossible to be discerned.”

2. The management of the State not being among the original rights of man, does not belong equally to all. It is no violation of Natural Rights when political power is lodged with a few, or with one man, provided the great ends of government are accomplished. In saying that the management of the State is “a thing to be settled by convention,” and in using the terms “compact of the state,” the social “partnership” and the like, Burke has no intention, we need hardly say, of giving sanction to the doctrine that a formal, explicit consent of the people, or of the major part of them, to the creation of a particular government and the selection of those who administer it, is necessary in order to bind the subject to obedience. The obligations of the subject do not depend on any such voluntary, formal act of consent on his part. We cannot forbear to transcribe one of the finest passages in which Burke sets forth this truth:

“Though civil society might be at first a voluntary act, (which, in many cases, it undoubtedly was), its continuance is under a permanent standing covenant, co-existing with the society; and it attaches upon every individual of that society, without any formal act of his own. This is warranted by the general practice, arising out of the general sense of mankind. Men, without their choice, derive benefits from that association; without their choice they are subjected to duties in consequence of these benefits; and without their choice they enter into a virtual obligation as binding as any that is actual. Much the strongest moral obligations are such as were never the results of our option. I allow, that if no Supreme Ruler exists, wise to form and potent to enforce the moral law, there is no sanction to any contract, virtual or even actual, against the will of prevalent power. On that hypothesis, let any set of men be strong enough to set their duties at defiance, and they cease to be duties any longer. We have but this one appeal against irresistible power—

‘*Si genus humanum et mortalia temnitis arma,  
At sperate Deos memores fandi atque nefandi.*’

Taking it for granted that I do not write to the disciples of the Parisian philosophy, I may assume that the awful author of our being is the author of our place in the order of existence; and that having disposed and marshaled us by a divine tactic, not according to our will, but according to his, he has, in and by that disposition, virtually subjected us to act the part which belongs to the place assigned us. We have obligations to mankind at large which are not in consequence of any special voluntary pact. They arise from the relation of man to man, and the relation of man to God, which relations are not matters of choice. On the contrary, the force of all the pacts which we enter into with any particular person or number of persons among mankind, depends upon those prior obligations. In some cases the subordinate relations are voluntary, in others they are necessary; but the duties are all compulsive. When we marry, the choice is voluntary, but the duties are not matter of choice. They are dictated by the nature of the situation. Dark and inscrutable are the ways by which we come into the world. The instincts which give rise to this mysterious process of nature are not of our making. But out of physical causes, unknown to us, perhaps unknowable, arise moral duties which, as we are able perfectly to comprehend, we are bound indispensably to perform. Parents may not be consenting to their moral relation; but, consenting or not, they are bound to a long train of burthensome duties towards those with whom they have never made a convention of any sort. Children are not consenting to their relation, but their relation, without their actual consent, binds them to its duties; *or rather it implies their consent, because the presumed consent of every rational creature is in unison with the predisposed order of things.* Men come in that manner into a community with the social state of their parents, endowed with all the benefits, loaded with all the duties of their situation. If the social ties and ligaments spun out of those physical relations which are the elements of the commonwealth, in most cases begin, and always continue, independently of our will, so without any stipulation on our part, are we bound by that relation called our country, which comprehends (as it has been well said) 'all the charities of all.\* Nor are we left without powerful instincts to make this duty as dear and grateful to us as it is awful and coercive. Our country is not a thing of mere physical locality. It consists, in a great measure, in the ancient order into which we are born. We may have the same geographical situation, but another country; as we may have the same country in another soil. The place that determines our duty to our country is a social, civil relation." Vol. III., p. 460.

This explains the sense in which Burke employs the terms, which, it must be confessed, are more properly used by the adherents of the antagonistic theory of the social compact.†

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\* *Omnes omnium charitates patria una complectitur.* Cicero.

† In agreement with Burke's definition of the terms referred to, are the observations of Blackstone on the same topic, in his Commentaries, (Introduction, section 2). "But though society," says Blackstone, "had not its formal beginning from any convention of individuals, actuated by their wants and their fears; yet

It is obvious that the question how widely in a given country political power shall be diffused, must depend for its answer on a variety of circumstances. In considering this question, we go beyond the sphere of natural, unalienable rights. We have to inquire what arrangement is, on the whole, most expedient, or what system is likely to yield, in the largest measure, the advantages for which the state is established. This would be the point to determine, had we to settle the organization of society *de novo*. The administering of government is a work of the most difficult character, requiring special and unusual qualifications. Who shall be the Ruler, or who shall be empowered to designate the Ruler, must be decided—provided the matter were left to our decision—with sole reference to the results to be expected from a proposed system. Let political power be distributed to the few or to the many, or to all, or be concentrated in the hands of one person, it is conceivable that every Natural Right may be left intact and be safe under the ægis of government, whose office is to preserve it from infraction. It is conceivable likewise that under every system, the most popular alike with the absolute, Natural Rights should be violated. A Republic may hold a part of its population in bondage; or if not, by the tyrannical edicts of a majority, may trample upon the rights of conscience or rob the individual of some portion of his inborn liberty. It is entirely possible for a democracy to dishonor the sacredness of humanity, and cast down in the dust the heaven-given prerogatives of man.

Besides the distinguishing mark of Natural Rights that they do not, like Political Rights, include a direct or indirect share in the government, a *formal* definition (to use the language of the schools) may be given as follows: (*a*) Natural Rights are essential; Political Rights are accidental; hence (*b*) Natural Rights are universal, belonging to all; while Political Rights

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it is a *sense* of their weakness and imperfection that *keeps* mankind together; and that, therefore, is the solid and natural foundation, as well as the cement of civil society. And this is what we mean by the original contract of society." The author proceeds to say that protection of the rights of the individual by society, and submission to the laws by him in return, are the parts of the compact.



may be limited to a part ; and (c) Natural Rights are prior to the existence of society, in the sense that society does not confer them, but has for its function the protection of them ; Political Rights are conferred by society.

In homely phrase, we may compare society to a machine. The products—the benefits of it—belong impartially to all ; but *not the right to work it*.

Natural Rights, in the concrete, are to be ascertained by a study of the *destination* of man, (the lebens-zweck, the Germans term it,)—the divine *idea* of man and design concerning him ; the maxim of the natural equality of the human race (which is implied in the golden rule) being taken for granted, so that the rights of one are the rights of every other.

Utterly antagonistic to the principles and the spirit of Burke, is the famous treatise of Rousseau, the *Social Contract*, which more than any other work was the text-book of the French Revolution. It is significant that the whole discussion is reared upon speculations relative to the origin of civil society. Rights and obligations must all be inferred with mathematical exactitude from the fundamental theory adopted at the start. This theory assumes that the existence of society is optional with men, and is due to their voluntary consent. Individuals are bound by the social bond only because, and so far as, they have agreed to be bound. This false dogma of a mutual contract is laid at the foundation of the edifice. It is further held that the individual in entering society surrenders all his rights to the community, and through this common act of all, there instantly arises the body politic. To the community thus formed, belongs sovereignty. The general will is now the supreme law. To this general will the entire frame-work of government is subject. The idea of “ institutional ” freedom, of freedom secured and assured to the individual by constitutional safeguards, against the haste or deliberate tyranny of majorities, is discarded. Representative government itself is derided as a product and sign of the decay of public spirit.\*

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\* Rousseau explicitly says that every law which is not expressly ratified by popular vote, is no law ; and that the English, through their adherence to Rep-

Of course the State must be restricted to narrow territorial limits. But what is this general will which is omnipotent in the State? It turns out to be merely the majority of suffrages. When the vote of a citizen upon any measure is called for, the question really answered by him is, what in his opinion is the general will in reference to this measure. The result of the ballot decides the point, and thus if he finds himself in the minority, he is not really overruled, but simply mistaken in his judgment as to what the general will is.\* It is impossible to imagine a more frightful despotism than Rousseau's sovereignty of the people, under which the individual has literally given up everything to the unchecked will of the majority. Equality, which more than liberty is the idol of Frenchmen, is the key-note of Rousseau's entire work. Views akin to those expressed in this ingenious but superficial essay, have fascinated the French mind, and led to the sacrifice of both stable government and substantial freedom. On the warrant afforded by a popular vote, (called for, according to the more approved practice, after the deed has been done), one government is overthrown and a new one set up, and the entire community, perhaps, brought, as at present, under the uncontrolled sway of an Imperial Despot. This terrible price is paid for the sake of having a government which is (in theory) of their own making. The protection of Natural Rights, the prime object of society, is, in fact, given up, in consequence of the eager strife for Political Rights; and even these are not attained.†

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representative government, are slaves. "Toute loi que le peuple en personne n'a pas ratifiée est nulle; ce n'est point une loi. Le peuple Anglois pense être libre, il se trompe fort: il ne l'est que durant l'élection des membres du parlement: sitôt qu'ils sont élus, il est esclave, il n'est rien." Livre III., ch. xv.

\* This curious, though puerile, subterfuge for saving (theoretically) the freedom of the individual, when overborne by the vote of the majority, is found in Liv. IV. ch. ii. (Des Suffrages). "Quand donc l'avis contraire au mien l'importe, cela ne prouve autre chose sinon que je m'étois trompé, et que ce que j'estimois être la volonté générale ne l'étoit pas."

† Burke has left on record his opinion of the *Social Contract* and its author. In a letter to a French correspondent, (in 1789), quoted in Prior's *Life of Burke*, (Am. Ed. 1825, p. 313), he says: "I have read long since the *Contrat Social*. It has left very few traces upon my mind. I thought it a performance of little

We are more apt to connect the theory of the Social Compact with the name of a true lover of liberty, John Locke—a man, in all that constitutes human excellence, immeasurably elevated above Rousseau. The negative part of Locke's treatise on government, wherein he demolishes the arguments of Filmer in favor of absolute monarchy as a legitimate inheritance from Adam and from the dominion of the Patriarchs, is fully successful. His task was here comparatively easy. So the Second Book of Locke's treatise is marked by signal merits. The sentiment of hostility to tyranny that inspires the work, is characteristic of the author. The Natural Rights of men, as the right of property, are declared to be not the creatures of civil society, but the end of society is properly defined to be the protection of them—though the error is committed of making the prime object of the commonwealth to be the security of property. The function of government, also, is limited to the furthering of the end for which government is established. The state, however it may be constituted, must keep to its design. There is no general will omnipotent over the individual. But Locke falls into the great error of supposing that the consent of the individual is necessary in order to his

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or no merit; and little did I conceive that it could ever make revolutions and give law to nations. But so it is." In Burke's "Letter to a Member of the National Assembly," (1791), we find a dissection of Rousseau, whom he calls "the great founder and professor of the philosophy of vanity." Burke's satire upon the sentimental philanthropy which tramples under foot particular duties, is excellent. Rousseau is the father of the sentimental school of poets (not excepting Byron and Goethe) and novelists, who seek to make a criminal interesting by weaving round him a veil of sentiment—aiming to excite sympathy where reprobation is the proper feeling. There is a very curious fact concerning Rousseau, which Burke brings forward in the "Reflections." "Mr. Hume told me that he had from Rousseau himself the secret of his principles of composition. That acute, though eccentric observer, had perceived that to strike and interest the public, the marvelous must be produced; that the marvelous of the heathen mythology had long since lost its effect; that giants, magicians, fairies, and heroes of romance which succeeded, had exhausted the portion of credulity which belonged to their age; that now nothing was left to a writer but that species of the marvelous, which might still be produced, and with as great an effect as ever, though in another way; that is, the marvelous in life, manners, in characters, and in extraordinary situations, giving rise to new and unlooked for strokes in politics and morals."

transference from the state of nature within the fold, and under the obligations of civil society. Every man, says Locke, is naturally free, and nothing is "able to put him into subjection to any earthly power but only his own consent."\* "Men being, as has been said, by nature, all free, equal, and independent, no one can be put out of this estate, and subjected to the political power of another without his own consent."† Compelled by his theory, Locke affirms that every one actually, though tacitly, gives his consent to the social compact when he comes of age, by the very act of inheriting property in a country! Every generation, by these separate acts of individuals, renews the compact,—otherwise society would be dissolved! Moreover, Locke assumes (for he fails to prove) that the assent to the social compact implies a promise to be governed by the majority. "When any number of men, by the consent of every individual, made a community, they have thereby made that community one body, with a power to act as one body, which is only by the will and determination of

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\* Locke's Works, (London, 1794), Vol. IV., p. 409. † *Ib.* p. 394. The sentence quoted above is an example of similarity in thought and phrase between the theoretical part of the Declaration of Independence and passages in Locke's treatise. Locke and Sidney were favorite authors with John Adams and the other young lawyers who led in the movement for Independence. Jefferson wrote at first—"that all men are created equal and independent,"—afterwards erasing the last two words. Compare also the following passages, the first being from the Declaration: "Prudence, indeed, will dictate that governments long established, should not be changed for light and transient causes; and, accordingly, all experience hath shown, that mankind are more disposed to suffer while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But, when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security." Locke writes, (p. 472): "Revolutions happen not upon every little mismanagement in public affairs. Great mistakes in the ruling part, many wrong and inconvenient laws, and all the slips of human frailty, will be borne by the people without mutiny or murmur. But if a long train of abuses, prevarications and artifices, all tending the same way, make the design visible to the people, and they cannot but feel what they lie under, and see whither they are going; it is not to be wondered that they should then rouse themselves, and endeavor to put the rule into such hands which may secure to them the ends for which government was first erected."

the majority.”\* Instead of founding society with Burke, upon a divinely ordained, “predisposed order of things,” with which the will of every rational being is *assumed* to agree, Locke makes the mistake of requiring, as a condition of the validity of government, an explicit act and the voluntary consent of every one who is born in a country. In taking this ground, he advances beyond any statements of Hooker, whose authority he is able to bring in support of the principle that society owes its origin to an express or secret agreement, and that no human government is binding without the previous consent of the governed. Hooker avoids the necessity of getting the consent of every new generation to the existing form of society, by falling back upon the notion of the continued life of a corporation. We lived, he says, in our remote predecessors, and they live in us their successors; so that the original agreement is binding until it be revoked.† The motive of Locke, we may add, was the honorable one of defending the rightfulness of the change of dynasty, by which the Stuarts were expelled and the Prince of Orange raised to the throne. He desired to present a theory of society that would justify this change. It were better, however, to rest it upon the simple right of revolution.

The genesis of the Social Compact theory is a point of much historical interest. To investigate the rise and progress of this doctrine does not fall, however, within our present purpose. Leo, in his *Universal History*,‡ finds the germ of the theory, which was developed by subsequent writers, in the sentence of Grotius: “*civilis juris mater est ipsa ex consensu obligatio*.” This ripened, in the hands of Hobbes, into the distinct conception of an Original Contract—of a state of nature as preceding civil society,—which, though acknowledged by him to be a fiction, as far as actual history is concerned, is, nevertheless, the basis of his reasoning. Locke differs from Hobbes

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\* Locke's Works, (London, 1704), Vol. IV., p. 395.

† These remarkable statements are in the *Ecclesiastical Polity*, (I. x. 8). The “judicious” Hooker was the forerunner of Locke and the advocates of the Social Compact.

‡ B. III., S. 717.

in placing the sovereignty, conceded by man on passing from the state of nature into society, in the community, instead of an absolute Prince. We have had occasion previously to observe how strongly Locke was affected by the writings of Hobbes,—more often, to be sure, in the way of repulsion than attraction. A leading doctrine in Locke's Reasonableness of Christianity, is the same that Hobbes endeavors to establish in the Leviathan,—the doctrine that the substance of Christianity, as preached by the Apostles, is the proposition that "Jesus of Nazareth is the Messiah." Before Locke, however, Algernon Sidney, in his Discourses concerning Government, had broached the theory of a contract. Montesquieu, though a friend of limited monarchy after the English model, is considered by Leo (who is a hater of free government) to have paved the way for the revolutionary philosophy of Rousseau, by making *virtue* a defining characteristic and only support of popular, as distinguished from Aristocratic or Monarchical government.\* The word *Contract*, in a special application to the relation of king and people in the English Constitution, is found in the great vote of the Houses of Parliament, which declared vacant the throne of James I., and made room for the accession of William. In the medley of reasons (for all writers acknowledge it to be a medley) given for their act, James is charged with "having endeavored to subvert the Constitution of this kingdom by breaking the original contract between king and people." Such a contract is thus declared to be involved in the English Constitution. Here a nice and interesting question arises, whether the reference was to a primary, unwritten contract, implied in the existence of a government of law,—a social compact,—or to some positive feature and

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\* It is amusing to notice, by the by, how most German writers undervalue Locke, not seeing the noble points of his character in their dislike of his philosophical tendencies. Speaking of his general views, Leo says: "Experience to him is everything. It is a special retribution (*ganz besondere Strafe*) inflicted by God upon the sins of the English nation in the seventeenth century, that their foremost minds must sink down to this wretchedness." S. 730. Most persons having English blood in their veins, will not be disposed to complain of such 'retributions' as John Locke.

express provision of the English system. Hallam would seem to incline to the former interpretation. He says that this position was "rather too theoretical, yet necessary at that time, as denying the divine origin of monarchy, from which its absolute and indefeasible authority had been plausibly derived."\* He also remarks: "they proceeded not by the stated rules of the English government, but the general rights of mankind. They looked not so much to Magna Charta as the original compact of society, and rejected Coke and Hale, for Hooker and Harrington."† Macaulay, speaking of the inconsistent statements of the great vote, there being one reason put in for each section of the majority who were relied on to pass it, says that "the mention of the original contract gratified the disciples of Sidney."‡ Macaulay defends the inexact and confused character of the vote, on grounds of expediency, as the proper way to secure unanimity; remarking that the "essence of politics is compromise." But Mackintosh, with more reason, declares that it would have been manlier to fall back openly upon the right of revolution, instead of mixing up the pretense of an abdication.§ In the trial of Sacheverell, the sense of this vote and the character of the Revolution, of which it was a part, were deliberately expounded by the managers of the impeachment. Sacheverell had coupled with his doctrine of absolute submission the assertion that the revolution was not a case of resistance. But the managers of the prosecution did not allow him to shield himself by this mode of approving of the revolution. They affirmed that it *was* a case of forcible resistance, and that his principle of non-resistance, being a virtual condemnation of it, would overthrow the title of the reigning sovereign. Yet the ambiguity of the clause about the contract between king and people, is not cleared away. A leading manager, Sir Joseph Jekyl, said: "to make out the justice of the revolution, it may be laid down, that as the law is the only measure of the Prince's authority,

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\* Hallam's Constitutional History, (Harper's Edition), p. 544.

† Hallam, p. 546.

‡ Macaulay's History of England, (Harper's Edition), Vol. II., p. 580.

§ In his History of the English Revolution.

and the people's subjection, so the law derives its being and efficacy from common consent; and to place it on any other foundation than common consent, is to take away the obligation this notion of common consent puts Prince and people under to observe the laws."\* This sounds like the Lockian Social Compact. The revolution, the same manager said, occurred in "a case that the law of England could never suppose, provide for, or have in view."† Said another manager, Sir John Hawles: "when a government is brought out of frame by the extraordinary steps of a Prince, it is a vain thing to hope that it can ever be set right by regular steps."‡ "The reformation," it was said, "cannot be urged as an instance of the lawfulness of anything, but of resisting the supreme executive power acting in opposition to the laws."§ But when challenged to produce the contract between king and people, Sir Joseph Jekyl refers to the history of the coronation oath, of the oath of allegiance, to ancient customs and forms, which involve such a contract. That is to say, he makes his appeal to usages and peculiarities interwoven with the Constitution, as if the contract were a positive thing, a feature of the English system of government, rather than the underlying basis of all civil society, at least where there is monarchy. This is insisted upon—that there was no law providing for the revolutionary action. It was an exercise of power not provided for by any existing statute. But it was an act of the community, having for its end the *recovery* of the Constitution and Laws. The right to perform such an act is not extended beyond the case in question, where there was an actual necessity of restoring the government and of saving the Constitution from being overthrown. It is only this right of conservative revolution that is claimed. There is nothing, therefore, in their mode of stating the English right of resistance to determine with certainty whether the managers held that the contract between king and people is a positive and special characteristic of English insti-

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\* State Trials, Vol. XV., p. 98.† *Ib.* p. 123.‡ *Ib.* p. 110.§ *Ib.* p. 383.



tutions, or a fundamental part of all monarchical society. At the time of the revolution, when the question of the condition in which things were left, by the departure of James, was under debate in Parliament, some one suggested that they were left in a state of nature. But it was immediately replied that such a view would dissolve all laws and abolish all franchises. The truth appears to be, that so far as the act of dethroning James and enthroning William is concerned, they could properly plead only the right of revolution. The *precise* meaning when they spoke of the breach of contract between king and people, was probably apprehended by few, if any of the actors themselves.

The Social Compact is a fiction,—convenient as other legal fictions may be, for certain purposes, as a form of representation; leading, however, when taken for anything else than a fiction, to false and mischievous consequences. When we interpret it, with Burke, as a mode of saying that every rational will is presupposed to coincide with the right order of things; or, with Blackstone, as a way of asserting that reciprocal duties are laid upon rulers and the governed, it conveys a truth. When we take another step, and affirm that no government which was not established by general or unanimous consent, can claim allegiance, and further maintain that the assent of every generation, nay, of every individual, is the condition of his obligation to obedience, we introduce a political heresy, the influence of which is very likely to be disastrous. The true view to take is, that the existing form of the state, regarded as a fact, may, or may not, be due to an express agreement at some former epoch. But the obligation of the individual to obedience does not depend on his having had a share in forming the state, or on his having a share at present in the management of it. This, be it observed, is not to approve the denial of political power to those who are capable of exercising it. It is easy to suppose cases where the withholding of all share in the government from those who can safely be trusted with political power, is both arbitrary and inexpedient. What form of government is best, can only be decided by reference to the character and history of the par-

ticular nation. We are speaking now only of what the individual may demand, as a condition of his obeying "the powers that be." For one born under a particular system, it is only necessary to know that the established system secures the great ends of government, and lays upon him no command inconsistent with his duty to God. Yet, in supposable cases, even the withholding of political rights may be so flagrant an evil as to warrant resistance. We require some guaranty that Natural Rights shall not be violated. Such a guaranty may be afforded by the actual possession of a share of political power, especially when the individual is one of a class—the wealthy class for example—who are thus enabled, by uniting their political strength, peacefully to counteract threatened injustice. But when Political Rights are claimed as a guaranty for the secure possession of Natural Rights, the claim is equivalent simply to a demand for a government that shall defend the latter. Political Rights are thus claimed only as a means to an end. The two categories of Rights are properly distinguished.

The fallacy of merging Political under Natural Rights, is most frequently met with in this country, in connection with expressions upon the right of suffrage. The right to vote is tacitly put in the same category with the rights to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. It is forgotten that the limiting of the privilege of voting to the male members of society, with the further condition that they shall have reached the age of twenty-one years, would be a flagrant piece of injustice, provided voting were a natural, inborn, universal right. The extent to which this fallacy prevails and the confusion it induces, are capable of easy demonstration. There is one State, indeed, where the distinction of which we are reminding our readers is definitely apprehended. In Rhode Island, the question whether the right to vote belongs as an original right to every adult male citizen, was brought to an issue in the Dorr rebellion, and the insurgents who renounced their allegiance on account of the limitation of the suffrage, were effectually put down. That movement never could have

acquired the strength it had or the sympathy it won, had the distinction between Natural and Political Rights been clear in the consciousness of the people. The confusion of mind of the Rhode Island insurgents, in reference to the point in question, is shown in their exclusion of minors from the privilege of casting a vote upon their revolutionary measure. Professing to act upon no authority but the rights of Nature, they set up an arbitrary provision of positive law, permitting none but males who had reached a given age to have a voice in the establishment of their new government. Recent discussions upon the subject of Woman's Rights are embarrassed, and the agitators even brought into contempt, by their failure to recognize this distinction. Whether a fair share of the benefits of society is enjoyed by women, in respect, for example, to the opportunity given them to engage in the pursuits of industry, and to the privilege of inheriting and managing property, is *one* question, and a question that deserves consideration. Whether women should be eligible to civil office and be empowered to vote in elections, is another question, and one to be quickly answered in the negative by almost all considerate people. By putting both these questions indiscriminately under the head of "Woman's Rights," the cause of reasonable reform is hindered. Still more dangerous is an alleged right of self-government, which is loosely defined to be sure, but which is held to warrant revolution whenever the people, or a majority of them, choose to make one. A prominent Journal, not to mention other leaders of public opinion, when the Gulf States undertook to break away from the Union, laid down the doctrine that by the American principle of self-government, they had a right to carry out their purpose. No authority, however, can be quoted to establish this monstrous doctrine. As if revolution had ever been legalized in this country! The Declaration of Independence affords no support to this dogma. We read there that "*whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends,*" (the preservation of Natural Rights), it is the right of the people to alter or abolish it"—not a legal right of course, but a moral right, resting upon necessity; and, again, we read that "*when a long train of abuses and*

*usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism*, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security." If this necessity is falsely asserted to exist, the attempt to overthrow the existing government is a causeless and unjustifiable insurrection, to be put down, if possible, by the established authority. There is no legal right of revolution; the phrase involves a contradiction in terms; and no moral right of revolution is claimed in the Declaration of Independence, save in the case of real (not pretended, or imaginary) grievances which had become intolerable. An exaggerated idea of the rights of a majority, is closely connected with the fallacy we are considering. The verdict of the majority is final in those cases where the constitution, or fundamental law, has made it so; and hence the outcry of the Secession leaders on this subject is groundless. But it is not a self-evident truth that the majority have a right to frame the government of a country to suit themselves; nor, under any system of government, save the wildest democracy, has a bare majority the right to alter the Constitution. In this country, a mere majority has no more right to strike out a provision of the Constitution than a minority has. The frame-work of society is not, and ought not to be, subject to the control of a majority "reckoned by the head." The majority may (or may not) have the *power*, but they have not, either by written law or the law of nature, the *right*. For so deep a change, a broader concurrence is necessary. When it is affirmed that the people may change their government, the question immediately arises, who are the people? And the answer to this question must be sought for in the Constitution itself, in the provision authorizing a change. There we learn that the people, so far as this power is concerned, are not a bare majority. "We are so little affected," says Burke, "by things which are habitual that we consider this idea of the decision of a *majority* as if it were a law of our original nature; but such constructive whole, residing in a part only, is one of the most violent fictions of positive law, that ever has been or can be made on the princi-

ples of artificial incorporation. Out of civil society, nature knows nothing of it; nor are men, even when arranged according to civil order, otherwise than by very long training, brought at all to submit to it." In the following passage, he explodes the notion that revolution is optional with the majority :

"The Constitution of a country, being once settled upon some compact, tacit or expressed, there is no power existing of force to alter it, without the breach of the covenant, or the consent of all the parties. Such is the nature of a contract. And the votes of a majority of the people, whatever their infamous flatterers may teach in order to corrupt their minds, cannot alter the moral any more than they can alter the physical essence of things. The people are not to be taught to think lightly of their engagements to their governors; else they teach governors to think lightly of their engagements towards them. In that kind of game, in the end the people are sure to be losers. To flatter them into a contempt of faith, truth, and justice, is to ruin them; for in these virtues consists their whole safety. To flatter any man, or any part of mankind, in any description, by asserting, that in engagements he or they are free, whilst any other human creature is bound, is ultimately to vest the rule of morality in the pleasure of those who ought to be rigidly submitted to it; to subject the sovereign reason of the world to the caprices of weak and giddy men."\*

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\* The two chapters, in De Tocqueville's *Democracy in America*, upon the subject of the majority principle in our political system, like every part of that masterly work, deserve to be studied.

Upon the justice and the means of giving *representation* to minorities, there are valuable and ingenious suggestions in Mr. John Stuart Mill's work upon Representative Government. This able writer would have done better, as we humbly conceive, had he more explicitly recognized the distinction we are considering. An advocate of extended suffrage—so extended as to include women among the voters—he appears to put the claim to vote on the ground of natural justice. Every individual, who is not absolutely under tutelage, he says, has the right to have a voice in the determination of affairs which concern himself. He qualifies the proposition, however, very essentially, in the first place, by excepting the cases where the evil resulting is greater than the good gained—a very broad exception; secondly, by applying his proposition only to the *ideal* state, and not to all states actually existing, where he allows other systems of government may be necessary; thirdly, by still further requiring that the voter shall understand reading, writing, and arithmetic, while he admits that the principle which justifies this requirement would warrant the demand of a higher degree of education, were it possible to apply practically a criterion to test its presence or absence; fourthly, by holding that none should be permitted to vote for the assembly which appropriates taxes, save those who pay taxes; and fifthly, by the theory that suffrage should be graduated to the varying intelligence of individuals or classes, in such a way that a plurality of votes, greater or less, should be allowed to those most qualified to judge upon public measures. These qualifications

The frequent ignoring of the distinction between Natural and Political Rights, in the conduct of the Anti-Slavery Reform, has, in our judgment, been productive of evil. The Negroes, as men, made in the image of God, are endowed with every Natural Right that belongs to the Whites. It is a wrong to deprive them of liberty. "They have a right" (to use again the language of Burke) "to justice." "They have a right to the fruits of their industry, and to the means of making that industry fruitful. They have a right to the acquisitions of their parents; to the nourishment and improvement of their offspring; to instruction in life, and to consolation in death. Whatever each man can separately do, without trespassing upon others, he has a right to do for himself; and he has a right to a fair portion of all which society, with all its combinations of skill and force, can do in his favor." In this partnership, as Burke further adds, all men have equal rights. In respect to these natural rights, according to the principle of our Declaration of Independence, all men, whatever their color or physical conformation, are created equal. Society is guilty of injustice, when it infringes upon these natural rights. But all men are not equally entitled to political rights. The Negroes in our Southern States have no just claim to a share in the government of the state, until they are qualified to rule with wisdom. To vote is to rule. Slavery can be abolished, and yet the right of suffrage be withheld, or granted, at the discretion of the community, as a free reward of industry and intelligence. We believe that the want of discrimination upon this point, both among Abolitionists at the North and Slaveholders at the South, has occasioned a wide-spread misunderstanding. The former have sometimes contended, or been supposed to contend, for more than can be reasonably demanded of, or wisely granted by, the masters; while these, in turn, hearing of Negro equality, have

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effectually remove the suffrage from the category of natural, unalienable rights which it is a prime function of government to conserve. There *may* be injustice in withholding the suffrage; but this can be determined only by a consideration of circumstances,—the character of the country, the capacity of the individual, etc. Natural Rights are raised above these contingencies.

understood the phrase to include an equal participation, on the part of the blacks, in political power.

In offering these remarks, we have no design to enter at large into the question of the expediency of universal suffrage. We are fully aware of the arguments in favor of it, which are founded on the supposed tendency of the system to educate the mass of the people, to inspire them with self-respect, and to make them content with the laws which they have a hand in making. These arguments are not without their force. Whether or not they be conclusive, as regards this country, (for they are plainly inapplicable to many countries in the world), it is a fact that the party which espoused the more Democratic theory, has carried the day. The experiment, however, has not been tried out. The use that is made of the suffrage by the hordes of Irish emigrants, is not adapted to excite a faith in the wisdom of the act which put this mighty power into the hands of a multitude of ignorant foreigners just landed on our shores. It is yet to be proved whether great cities can be governed, order, and the security of property being maintained, under the present system which opens so inviting a field to unprincipled demagogues. The primary end to be secured is the stability of government and the administering of equal justice, together with the impartial distribution of whatever other benefits the State, in God's great economy, was appointed to procure. For ourselves, we look with increasing apprehension upon the Democratic tendency in American politics. The founders of our national government well understood the distinction which we have just been considering. They were no disciples of the French philosophy, but lovers of the old, Anglican freedom. They established not a Democracy, but a Representative system upon a Constitutional basis, in which the different functions of government are carefully separated, each department kept in place, and the people also restrained, by an arrangement of checks and balances. In the working of the system, their expectations have been, in some respects, disappointed. Thus, the electoral system for the choice of President, has turned out to be a mere form, although the intention was that the

colleges of Electors should exercise their discretion in selecting the Chief Magistrate. A more alarming innovation is the system of electing judges by popular vote. This change has its origin, partly at least, in the influence of the Democratic theory, confounding Natural with Political Rights. "We have a right to a judge of our own choosing," is the substance of the claim; "if we have an inalienable right to choose our governors and legislators, why not, also, our judges?" And admitting the premise, it is difficult to avoid the conclusion. But will not the abuse of the elective franchise, and scenes of riot and disorder in large cities, together with the prostitution of the bench, which has been already witnessed, provoke a conservative reaction, and corresponding changes in our political system? We venture not to prophesy; but this we affirm, that if the Democratic system fails to secure the ends of society, if it do not *work well*, there are no rights of man to be pleaded in support of it.



## ARTICLE II.—THE KURDISH TRIBES OF WESTERN ASIA.

SOME knowledge of the physical appearance of the country a people inhabit is of essential service in studying their character and history. Having painted before us the home scenery, in its detail of river, valley, plain, hill, and mountain, we feel a deeper interest in the type of life and character exhibited. It was a remark of Burke, that geography was an earthly subject, but a divine study; and how much more the latter, when life-history vitalizes surface description. It is not sufficient that we survey an interesting region: we ask what life vitalizes it, or has vitalized it in the past. Who are the dwellers of these plains, valleys, high mountains, dark retreats, deep and beautiful glens? The strange people that find here a home—who are they? what their history, character, and mode of life?

In describing that region of the East which is properly the home of the Kurd, our limits will allow us to draw only a few outlines, a mere imperfect sketch, yet we may hope to present some of its more remarkable features.

A tolerably correct idea of the physical geography of Kurdistan can perhaps be formed, if we consider it as a region of lofty terraces, separated by deep valleys, and forming an irregular series of mountain elevations, leading up from the low plains of Mesopotamia and Assyria, to the high table-land of Iran and ancient Armenia. These ranges of hills and mountains in many places assume the majestic and imposing character of Alpine scenery, and yet there is a difference. In the Alps there seems not so much of mystery. On the beautiful lake of Lucerne, in approaching St. Gothard, or at the foot of Splügen, one is indeed awed, and the feeling at times is almost overpowering; yet the surprises are not frequent, startling, and varied; but in Asia, in the central region of Kurdistan, the mountains are full of defiles, inaccessible re-

treats, shadowy depths, where are concealed the rarest combinations of scenery, both magnificent and lovely.

A residence in the country is necessary, in order to discover these charming situations, by leisurely exploration, and by frequent excursions wherever a winding path or almost inaccessible way may conduct. It may often be the case, that when one imagines he has discovered all the defiles of a wild gorge, he will suddenly be surprised by another more hidden and more wonderful still. Perhaps, for instance, at the extremity of a deep ravine, where there seems only a perpendicular towering cliff many hundred feet high, a sudden turn will lead down a rocky steep of winding steps into one of the sweetest valleys possible, all green with soft grass and made musical by a clear sparkling stream running through it;—this narrow vale opening in the distance to the warm sunlight coming down upon a luxuriant little plain, walled up on every side with perpendicular rock. Sometimes, a steep and dangerous ascent leads along the almost overhanging side of some frowning, rocky eminence, by a narrow path, a few inches in width, where, if there should be the least misstep of the horse or mule, the traveler might be precipitated into the dark gorge, a thousand feet in depth; thus ascending, he may suddenly turn the point of the jutting edge, and reach unexpectedly an extended area on which flocks of sheep or goats are quietly feeding. Or, again, following the rocky channel of some roaring mountain-stream, he may come gradually to a narrow defile, into which he almost fears to enter; for, in the craggy sides of the mountain that here shuts down upon him, there are dark openings, some of them many hundred feet above, homes of robbers; he wonders how they climb up to those dark hiding places; and his fears suggest that there is, perhaps, a secret way leading down into some hidden recess in the path before him. He is aware, it may be, that they have long been watching him from those retreats, as he has slowly approached; he has seen them, moving cautiously at the openings, as though preparing to receive him.

There are in this region many mountain fastnesses, places fortified, perhaps, three thousand years ago, high up in the

elevated ranges, where the mountain tribes dwell securely, acknowledging no allegiance to any king or Sultan. No Turk would ever dare venture into these wild retreats.

But who are the people of these interesting though mysterious mountain regions? Have they a history? to what nations are they allied? what is their language, what their character, religion, customs, and forms of life?

An intimate acquaintance with them of some years duration would lead us to say, that we know of scarcely any people or tribe more interesting to the historian of our race than the Kurds. "There they have remained in their mountain fastnesses, an unchanged and unrecorded race, for certainly more than two thousand years. They have preserved, during all this time, their language, their laws, customs, habits, and independence. From their heights they have witnessed the plains below successively occupied and forsaken by nations from every quarter of the compass. The Assyrian, the Persian, the Arab, the Greek, the Roman, the Tatar, and Turk, have all set up their habitations in these vales and have passed forever; the Turk only lingers. It has been no home or resting-place for any of these races. But the Kurd looks back on an unbroken descent through a hundred or more generations. From father to son the mountain heritage has been handed down without a breach."

The Kurds are mentioned by Xenophon, about four hundred years before Christ, as inhabiting these same mountains, manifesting the same characteristics, and leading the same kind of life, as at the present day. In the celebrated Retreat of the Ten Thousand, they gave him much annoyance. At his first entrance into their villages, dispersed as they were in the valleys and recesses of the mountains, they fled with their wives and children into their more hidden retreats and fastnesses; but the Greek army being compelled to supply itself from their stores of provisions, they rallied and greatly harrassed it at the difficult passes, rolling down stones of enormous size, discharging their arrows, and making use of their slings. It is said that they were very skillful archers, their bows being nearly three cubits in length, and their arrows more

than two. In discharging these arrows, they drew the string by pressing upon the lower part of the bow with the left foot. And with such force were the missiles sent that they pierced through the Grecian shields and corslets, wounding and killing many of the men. It is also said that Xenophon found fine horses among them, an abundance of provisions, and a large quantity of wine, kept in plastered cisterns.

These same Carduchi or Kurds gave similar annoyance to the Roman generals, Crassus and Mark Antony, and to the latter in such a degree that, envying the more successful retreat of Xenophon, he frequently cried out: "O the ten thousand! the ten thousand!"

There exists a great diversity of opinion as to the nations with which the Kurds have affinity or relation. Golius regards them as the original Chaldees, and several distinguished Orientalists in Europe have recently advanced the same opinion. It has been said that the Chaldeans of Babylon were originally a colony of Kurds, brought from the Kurdish mountains by the Assyrian kings, and settled in Babylonia, of which they made themselves the masters, founding the dynasty which ruled for some time over Upper Asia. This policy of transporting tribes and peoples from one region to another extensively prevailed with the ancient Assyrian kings, as we know that Esarhaddon brought the Cutheans, probably from Media, which he had subdued, to inhabit the Samaritan country; and it has been remarked that the introduction into Babylonia and Mesopotamia of a Kurdish colony, which became powerful and subdued its conquerors, would explain a fact which has much puzzled ethnographers—namely, the existence of a new people in Babylonia, having a different language from the old Assyrian (or Aramean). Peter Lerch, in his treatise upon the Kurds, published at St. Petersburg in 1857, says: "investigations respecting the Kurdish people become not a little important for Assyrian and Babylonian studies, if the connection, affirmed by various scholars to exist between the Kurds and the conquering warriors of the Chaldeans, is historically established, and if, as is supposed, both the Assyrian dynasties and their successors were of Kurdish origin." Kunik, member of the

Imperial Academy of Sciences of St. Petersburg, says: "Les tribus des Courdes iraniens peuvent également donner matière à des recherches très intéressantes, qui serviraient à jeter quelque lumière sur l'histoire de l'Assyrie, de la Babylonie, et de l'Asie Mineure." This opinion, that the Kurds were intimately connected with the old Chaldeans, seems to be regarded with favor also, if we may credit the testimony of Lerch, by B. von Dorn and others, of the Imperial Academy of Sciences at St. Petersburg.

Mannert (v. 2, p. 63) says: "the great mass of the Kurds are descended from the Medes, though some are the successors of the Mantieni, Kadusii, and Kassæi or Sacæ." Armenian writers invariably speak of them as the descendants of the ancient Medes, and regard those found in Armenia as having been introduced into the country, some at a very early period, and others more recently. In the sixth century before Christ, when the Armenian king Tigranes invaded Media and subdued Astyages, it is said that a large number of captives were brought into the country, and colonized upon the banks of the Araxes. From these captives various tribes, now occupying what was the ancient kingdom of Armenia, are said to have descended. At other times, and from other causes, the Medes have come into Armenia even down to the fourteenth century. Chamich, the Armenian historian, says that, about 1375, "Armenia was taken possession of by the Medes, who were also known by the name of Kurds or Keurds. These became numerous, swelled by hordes of Scythians and Turks, who mingled with the Medes, forming one nation with them." From extensive observation and inquiry, we also find it to be the universal opinion among the Armenians at the present day, that they are the relics of the ancient Medes. The country of Kurdistan, on account of its Kurdish population, is by Armenian historians frequently called Gordjaikh, or Kortaiikh, i. e. Kurdish Armenia. It is said that the Kurds, in some parts of Asia Minor, pretend to be the issue of the Moguls, but this cannot be true of the genuine Kurds: the size and beauty of their eyes, their aquiline nose, their fairness of complexion, height of form, and language, all contradict this.

There are also many Kurds who, from their traditions and characteristics, are thought to be of Parthian origin.

It is doubtless true that the elements of other nations have been more or less introduced among the Kurds, yet we incline to the opinion that they are principally the existing remnant of the ancient Medes.

Many interesting notices of this people are to be found in history under another name. The ancient Mardi are supposed to have been intimately connected with the Kurds, if not the same people. Hammer has evidently spoken of the latter under the former name, regarding them as one and the same. He also thus speaks of the Kurds: "Among the various tribes, the one most worthy of attention is that of the Yezidis, who, it appears, descended from the Mardi."

The Merouanides, who ruled over the sovereignty of Diarbekir, Mesopotamia, and the country in the vicinity of Van, in the tenth and eleventh centuries, were of Kurdish origin. When the Seljuk Turks took possession of Armenia in the eleventh century, they gave the government of it to some Turkish and Kurdish Emirs. These rulers are frequently noticed in Armenian history.

The dynasty of the Ayoubites of Mesopotamia, from A. D. 1185 to 1259, was also Kurdish.

The renowned Salah-ud-deen or Saladin, was a Kurd. Having acquired great power as ruler in Egypt, he extended his conquests over Arabia, and even a large part of Armenia. There are still many mementos of this remarkable man pointed out at Cairo, among which is a well, said to have been excavated by him. It is described as having been cut through a solid rock to the depth of two hundred and seventy-six feet, the upper part being an oblong pit of twenty-four feet by eighteen, to a depth of one hundred and forty-six feet, and the lower part fifteen by nine, to the depth of one hundred and thirty feet. He was one of the most powerful champions with whom the Crusaders had to contend. With his army of eighty thousand, he overcame Lusignan, king of Jerusalem, at the battle of Tiberias, taking him prisoner, slaughtering his twelve hundred knights, and his army of twenty thousand.

Saladin, as a ruler of his own people, was mild and equitable, and his conduct was often magnanimous and generous toward his enemies. As it has been said, "he is perhaps the brightest example of an Asiatic hero in history, and his virtues, like the dark traits which obscured them, exhibit the genuine lineaments of his clime and race."

At the present time there are princes in the extensive country of Ardilan, south of Oroomiah, maintaining almost regal state, who boast their descent from the celebrated Saladin. This province has continued in the same noble family for more than four hundred years. The patriarchal character of their rule, and the cheerful obedience of their subjects, are calculated to make the inhabitants of the rich plains of Persia envy the lot of those of the rugged mountains of Kurdistan.

The Kurds, in past times, have frequently had connections with Persian, Turkish, Arab, and Armenian rulers. Behram, the Persian king between Harmouz and Chosroës, was a Kurd. Fatakh Ali-Shah, the reigning monarch in Chardin's time, was of Kurdish origin. The celebrated Mortaza Pasha of Babylon, who sought in 1661 to overthrow Sultan Mahmoud IV., married the daughter of a Kurdish prince, and received, as a dowry, one of the strongest forts of the mountains, and in this fort he took refuge when opposed by the armies of the Sultan.

Although the historical relation between the Kurdish and other Iranian dialects has not as yet been successfully traced out, yet, from efforts that are being made by the Imperial Academy of Sciences at St. Petersburg, and by Oriental scholars in other parts of Europe, we cannot but hope that the work may yet be accomplished. Something has already been done toward it. The work published by Lerch at St. Petersburg, in 1857 and 1858, entitled "*Forschungen über die Kurden und die Iranischen Nordchaldäer*," indicates a growing interest in this subject.

It is said by Prichard that the language of the Kurds, both in respect to its grammatical structure and its constituent vocabulary, is allied to the Persian family of languages, having a near affinity to the modern Persian, though more corrupted and less cultivated and developed; and this because it has

never been a written language, but only used for popular and oral communication.

With reference to the affinity of the Kurdish and Persian, Peter Lerch says: "The differences of the Kurdish from the Persian took root, in great part, in the very early separation of the Kurds from the Iranian main trunk." Hörnle says, an acquaintance with the Persian is indispensable for a right understanding of the Kurdish language. Rödiger, however, remarks that Garzoni has done well in having no regard to the Persian, since this would have obscured that experimental and impartial view he took of the material of the language. He who enters upon the study of the Kurdish with the knowledge of the Persian overcomes, it is true, the first difficulties, but, at the same time, he runs the risk of disturbing his objective stand-point, since the comprehension of a language depends upon philological accuracy; in this case, he would not be at pains to expound or explain the language out of itself. Cognate and other similar languages, out of which much can be borrowed, should be used only as secondary helps.

Michaelis, after having given the Kurdish language much attention, draws the following conclusion with respect to the Kurds themselves, that "they belong to the great Medo-Persian family, and if they are the descendants of the old Chaldeans, who formerly inhabited these mountains, they are also related to the Medes and Persians, and are altogether a different people, in language and descent, from the Assyrians, Syrians, and Babylonians." The Kurdish language, therefore, confirms the tradition of Oriental historians upon the affinity of these races. It is also said that many explanations of the Zend writings may be met with in the Kurdish. According to all accounts of scholars and travelers, the Kurdish language is split up, as few others are, into a multitude of dialects, yet many of these are not essentially different, the people of different provinces being able to understand one another.

In the study of the Iranian antiquities, which at present is employing the various energies of many European scholars, we cannot but think that a knowledge of the Kurdish language and people will be regarded as of essential importance.



Neither Arabic nor Turkish words, nor grammatical forms, constitute any part of the real Kurdish. Many words from these languages, as well as from the Syriac, have been introduced, but they are all foreign.

The Kurds, scattered through the East, numbering at the present time perhaps one million and a half, or two millions, are divided into various tribes, some of which acknowledge no allegiance to the Turkish or Persian governments. They are generally warlike, and many tribes are addicted to pillage and robbery. They are especially hostile to the Turks, and this in consequence of the oppressive and cruel policy of the government towards them. In many instances they have desired to abandon their mountain life and settle upon the plains, giving themselves to agriculture and trade; but the extortions of the government upon such villagers have been so unjust, and such atrocities have been committed upon them, that they have generally been driven back again into their mountain fastnesses. These extortions provoke attacks upon the Turkish caravans as they pass through the mountains; they are often plundered and the Turks massacred. Then the irritated government will send a strong force into some of the Kurdish villages that are perhaps innocent, the Turkish soldiers committing every kind of atrocity, burning the village, and putting all to the sword, men, women, and children. It is such a policy which has placed the Kurd in a fixed attitude of hostility to the Turk, and has produced the conviction in his mind, that he may rightfully plunder and oppose the government.

The life of a Kurdish chief is therefore usually full of adventure, excitement, and peril. He is the head of his tribe, or army, which assembles, as by enchantment, at his least signal, and which disappears as suddenly after a successful attack. He has, as a body-guard, a few daring warriors who never leave his side. With these he fears not to go upon the highways in quest of booty, nor to enter even into large cities. Frequently a chief with his imposing body-guard comes into the courts of justice, where are present the governor, it may be, the judge, counselor, and others in authority. They enter, at such times, bold and fearless, giving the usual salutation, then

seat themselves upon the divan, at the same time carelessly holding their weapons, or laying them down by their side. Even Turkish officials then would not dare treat them otherwise than with the utmost deference. They are ever well informed upon all measures of the government.

These chiefs are in some instances so powerful that the Turkish government pays them an annual sum to keep them quiet; and sometimes provincial governors and pashas are in league with them in their depredations, sharing their profits and plunder. The more powerful of these predatory chiefs are seldom brought to punishment. Occasionally, however, one is lured into a snare and made to suffer. Sometimes he is invited to an entertainment given professedly by the government in his honor, when poison will be mixed in his cup, or a secret assassin plunge the dagger into his heart while seated at the table.

The residences of these Kurdish chiefs are strongly fortified, or in almost inaccessible retreats, built of stone or of heavy timbers. A description of one, in which the writer of this Article with his family passed a night, in Central and Eastern Asia Minor, may not be without interest. It was situated in a strong defile among some very high and precipitous mountain ranges, and was a large edifice, partly of stone and partly of wood. Our caravan of thirty horses and mules, heavily laden, entered through a large door, perhaps ten feet square, into one of the lower apartments. Here was ample room for unloading, with space for boxes and merchandise. There were also numerous stables adjacent, into which our horses were taken from this area. We ascended by a flight of steps into the upper apartments. The one allotted us was perhaps twenty-four feet by twenty, with divans and cushions covered with silk, surrounding three sides, and the centre covered with a very rich Persian or Kurdish carpet. The walls were white, and ceiled with considerable taste and ornament. Here the chief, with his noble warriors, entertained us, making numerous and intelligent inquiries about our country, people, &c. The wife of the chief, in a richly embroidered dress, with several of her attendants, also visited us, passing some hours in free and easy con-

verse. Her manners were full of dignity, grace, and ease. She was very fair, and her head-dress, covered with ornaments and embroidery, gave her a queenly appearance. Her little girl of five or six years, for whom she showed much affection, was very rosy and beautiful.

On retiring for the night, we found the coverings of the beds to be of crimson silk and satin; the heavy warm comforters were covered with stuffs of richest silk, brought from Damascus or Aleppo. There were other similar rooms occupied by the numerous household. Around this large building or castle, there could be seen huts half under ground, dispersed here and there, in various nooks and wild places of the pass.

The chiefs are usually elected, but chosen in the same family. Sometimes, when partially subject to the Turkish government, the tribes propose these to the authorities, and they are recognized, and receive a kind of investiture. Frequently an election, as it stimulates the ambition of the different members of the same family, becomes bloody by a combat. There is, however, usually a regular form of succession, the office descending, not necessarily from father to son, but sometimes to the brother standing next in age to the deceased chief. If there are not brothers of the chief living in the tribe, then the oldest son of the oldest brother succeeds in office. There is usually among them a kind of seniority.

Some tribes are almost entirely, or at least half nomadic, and these are most given to plunder. In winter they live in the lower valleys, in huts, some of which are under ground, where flocks, people, and provisions are all in the same habitation, and are admitted at the same door. Sleeping in one of these hospitable mansions at night, when traveling in Central Asia Minor, the writer was roused out of his sleep by a calf attempting to step over him to the back side of his bed. On his protesting, however, against such liberties, and showing some active opposition, the intruder desisted, and the remaining part of the night was passed without further disturbance.

These semi-nomadic tribes find themselves in the spring in the low valleys or plains with their flocks, for all the Kurds are shepherds, though not all robbers. Then, as the summer

advances, they generally ascend to the high table lands and sides of the mountains, moving their tents from time to time as the flocks consume their pasturage. The snows melting above, the sides of the mountain are kept green. At midsummer they nearly reach the summits. Then, as the cool season advances, they retrace their steps, and find themselves, at the beginning of winter, back again at their old habitations.

Their summer tents are of various kinds and colors, generally, however, of very coarse material and dark color. They surround these with a screen of reeds, within which their goods and booty, and all things deemed necessary to life, are kept. These enclosures are very light and easily transported. They are used also to separate the apartments of the men from those of the women, and, at times, to make parks for the flocks. These low black tents, thus arranged, they prefer to the nicest city accommodations. Here they are at home and happy. Here they eat, sleep, and dispense the rites of hospitality. A hole some feet in diameter and depth serves as a place for fire and cooking. This is usually in the centre, above which there is a small opening in the roof; but, by the least breeze, the tent is frequently filled with smoke almost to suffocation; to this they get accustomed, and do not seem to regard it as any inconvenience. The horses are generally attached to pickets planted without the enclosure, and are kept saddled.

The finest horses in Asia Minor are possessed by the Kurds. Beautiful white horses they are extremely fond of riding, with their large cloaks of crimson hanging down about their persons, and almost covering the animal in their ample folds. These horses are trained to leap difficult places, and to run with great speed; their fleetness over rocky and perilous paths is truly amazing. The Kurd is very strongly attached to his horse, bestowing upon it every mark of the tenderest affection, and the noble animal seems well to appreciate it. Most of the tribes indulge very much in various exercises on horseback. They gallop in large companies, shake, and sometimes throw their long spears, fire their pistols, and make such

shouts as Kurds alone can make. They all excel in horsemanship and in throwing the lance.

The dress of the chiefs is very imposing; though of the same form or style as that of the Turks or Persians, yet it is of lighter and more brilliant colors. The under garments are of rich material of silk, satin, or muslin, of varied colors, then over all a large crimson cloak, embroidered with gold or silver thread. Their turbans are sometimes of enormous size, made up of perhaps two or three dozen handkerchiefs wound round the fez or red cap. The shawl with which they gird themselves, the only ligature about their persons, is a prominent article, and usually of great expense, being the rich Persian or Indian silk, radiated with rich colors. Clothed thus, their dresses far surpass the sombre hues worn by the Persians. The Kurds give much more care to their dress than do the Turks ordinarily. A style of dress frequently seen is thus described by Lerch: "Hussein, every pleasant May-day, was dressed in white, though he possessed only one white dress, which he himself always washed in the river. Under the white garment he wore a vest of black cloth, open before, and embroidered with silk and silver thread. His friend, Ali, was also always cleanly and elegantly dressed." The dresses of the mountaineers, who are poor and much exposed in winter, are coarse in material, and often plaited and quilted. The dress of the females resembles, in many respects, that of the men, except that it is fitted better to the shape. The common dress is made mostly of the flowered stuff of the country. That of the wife of a Kurdish chief is sometimes exceedingly rich. Damascus stuff of silk embossed or worked with gold and silver, girdles richly embroidered and fastened before with a large gilt or golden clasp set with pearls or precious stones, bracelets, diamonds, and emeralds, with a beautiful classical style of headdress, exquisitely light and graceful, or turbans that resemble crowns,—all contribute to give the charm of dignity and beauty to the women.

The chiefs, with their attendant warriors, are always well armed and ready for attack. In the girdle are frequently seen two large pistols, a yataghan of Damascus, or a poignard; from

the shoulder by straps hang a sword and rifle, and a long spear or lance is gracefully carried in the hand. Thus armed, upon their fleet horses in their brilliant costume, dashing fearlessly over the rough mountain passes, they appear the worthy and kingly lords of their mountain heritage.

As a people, they are very strong, possessing noble forms, tall, with broad shoulders, erect head, black hair, and large black eyes, which are the highest constituent of beauty in the East. Their whole appearance makes no unpleasing impression. In stature they excel the Turks, and the clear and often deep expression of the eyes gives them the mark of the Indo-European race. Their uncommon exertions and hardships from their youth do not prevent them from attaining an advanced age. They often reach one hundred years in the full possession of their mental and physical powers. Rich, the celebrated English traveler in the East, declares that he has nowhere seen so many fine, hale old persons of both sexes as in Kurdistan. Notwithstanding the apparent disadvantage of climate, they are a very strong and healthy people. The children, too, are clear skinned and ruddy. A Kurdish child is a hardy, light, active little creature. These children, at the same time, are all remarkably well-behaved. True, they often have fierce conflicts and struggles among themselves, in which they are encouraged by their parents, but they always go through with them in a very good-natured way.

Like the Arabs, the Kurds are renowned for their hospitality. In visiting them in their tents, we were ever sure of receiving a cordial welcome. The fattest lamb or kid of the flock was slaughtered and placed entire before us, all cooked, and standing in a mountain of rice. This is their *pilaf*, a choice dish throughout all the East. Numerous other dishes, savory in smell and taste, would always be present, of which we were forced, by etiquette, to partake. Our spoons, or more generally our fingers, must go into the same dish with all the others, and we must eat with a relish. No greater insult can be given a Kurdish host than not partaking of his bounty. It is a custom to which they are strongly bound, that if they eat with one they become his firm and constant friend, and a

knowledge of this custom is sometimes of great use in traveling among them.

When they are visited in their mountain retreats, a great feast, in order to do honor to their guests, is often prepared for the entire encampment. At such times, when several kids or lambs are to be cooked, holes will be dug in the ground, then filled with wood and branches of trees, which burn one or two hours, furnishing an abundant supply of coals; then the carcasses of the kids will be placed in the hole, raised a little above the fire, and the whole covered to prevent the heat escaping. Viands prepared thus are very savory and tender. When all are assembled around the low table, some ten inches above the ground, sitting upon the carpets or cushions, the host places his visitor, as a distinguished guest, at his right hand, and, during the repast, to show him the greatest possible honor, he frequently separates the choicest bits from the carcass, pulling them off with his fingers, and kindly offers them to him. The writer has thus frequently taken choice bits from the fingers of Kurdish chiefs, or Turkish governors and pashas, and has eaten them with an excellent relish.

The condition of Kurdish females is in many respects far preferable to that of the women of any oriental nation with which the writer has been acquainted. Their morality greatly exceeds that of the Turkish females, or of those of some oriental Christian nations. They are treated as equals by their husbands, and they laugh at and despise the slavish subjection of the Turkish women. They are very hospitable and attentive to guests, joining freely in conversation with them, in the presence of their husbands and men of their tribe. They go unveiled, and yet are modest and respectful, virtuous, ingenious, and unsuspecting; they exhibit an easy familiarity which is both attractive and pleasing. Kurdish women are also very intelligent and industrious. Those remaining in the tent, or at home, give much time to the manufacture of carpets, similar to those which are made by the Persians and some tribes of the Turcomans. These are very beautiful, and give evidence of much ingenuity.

Some customs relating to marriage among the Kurds are

quite different from those of other Oriental nations. Among the Turks, Armenians, and some others, the parties really most concerned or interested in the marriage are not in the least consulted, being betrothed by their parents, frequently when mere children, sometimes when in the cradle, and not seeing each other till after marriage. Not thus, however, among the Kurds. They permit their young people to associate together and become acquainted, and never compel them to marry against their will.

The Turks consider their wives as creatures for their pleasure, whom they must control gently to preserve peace in the family, or as toys, which they must handle carefully in order not to break them or tarnish their brightness, but they accord to them neither esteem nor confidence. These rude mountaineers, however, show marked respect and deference to their women, conversing freely and confidingly with them, and consulting them in all important affairs. They have nothing of that feeling of shame which the Turk ever manifests when he suddenly finds himself in the presence of a Frank lady, but are entirely at ease, respectful and attentive. Having traveled for weeks and even months with ladies, among these Kurds, and with Kurdish muleteers, remaining in their encampments over night, and entirely in their power, in all embarrassing and delicate situations, never has the writer seen the least departure from the strictest decorum, or even from the proprieties of refined and civilized life. Frank and ingenuous, they have conversed freely, asking questions without end, eager for information, but always entirely respectful. They are affable and benevolent, without observing the etiquette of a cold formality.

Dancing is a passion with them, as well as music, particularly with the females. All the Oriental dances are nearly of the same character, and of the highest antiquity. The women, adorned with silk dresses, gold buckles, and turbans, dance usually in a circle, and with much grace and beauty. These dances are in the field, or at the fountains, where they frequently assemble to pass a pleasant and joyous hour. In the common dance performed by the men, they clasp each other around the waist and form a long train. In another, which



they sometimes practice, they dance in twos, flourishing the sword and shield. While the Kurd thus shows the vivacity of his character, the Turk, who manifests little or no inclination to activity, is never seen to dance.

Their music is simple, though not entirely destitute of art. It is usually expressive and melancholy. The mountaineer singer prolongs and slightly modulates monotonous sounds, articulating a few words which he forcibly throws in between sighs and tears. He greatly varies his lamentations in force, and usually closes by pouring forth the most moving cries. The correctness and sweetness of the voice are valued very much less than its extent or strength. To eulogize a singer, the Kurds say, "he can be heard a parasang." Indeed, the chant for them, while they wander in the mountains, is the means to make known to their friends the place where they are to be found.

The songs of the Kurds are of love, war, and heroism. Many of their national chants celebrate, in a simple manner, without much rhetorical display, their homes, mountains, valleys, rivulets, deeds, their arms well furnished, their garments of bright and gaudy colors, and every thing accessible to their feelings and conceptions; and in these there is no want of humor. Their war-songs are vividly descriptive of the honor, bravery, and struggle of the conflict; the trumpet that calls to combat, the dress of the sharp-shooters, the hiding place of the archers, the enemy harrassed or discovered by ambuscade, the noise of the cannon, the overthrow of battalions, the wounds of the bleeding, the death of the dying, and the crown that awaits the victor, covering all with glory and beauty.

The Kurds, in their rudeness and barbarity, preserve certain forms and usages which show in them an inclination towards civilization and generosity. Thus they are very fond of society, even wishing their guests to prolong their visits, devising many ingenious expedients to entertain and amuse them. And, with this keen relish for social and lively intercourse, their eye is ever open and attentive to every object around them. Rarely is a Kurd ever seen wandering alone, but

always with two or more companions; they visit each other often, and if many are found together, there is always singing and mirth. They talk much in praise of their chiefs, of their courage and generosity, and relate with emotion the misfortunes which happen to them, through the faithlessness and cruelty of some Turkish pasha. In their work of plunder, even, they sometimes give strange proofs of their generosity and humanity.

They are by far the safest and best muleteers to be found in the eastern parts of Asia Minor, and particularly for conducting one through the wildest and most unfrequented parts of the country. The best policy at such times is, to seek as muleteers those Kurds who are the most notorious robbers; then one may feel safe. A most striking characteristic of these predatory Kurds is strictly to preserve and defend whatever is committed to them. Whatever they agree to, at the commencement of a journey, when employed as muleteers, can be safely relied upon. They are honorable in all business transactions. The word of a Kurd is sufficient security.

Many of the superstitions prevalent among the Kurds are of considerable interest. Various living creatures are seen in the stars, and representatives of the animal kingdom are brought into a near relation with human life. Peter Lerch has given a few instances of the latter, which accord with what have come under our own observation. He says: "The belief, for instance, that the cuckoo was a human being, is very prevalent with them. Hussein, at one time, when taking a walk with me, hearing a cuckoo, said, 'this bird calls *kékō*' (brother). He said that he had once been a man and killed his brother, and, by the punishment of God, had been changed into this bird, and now, from sorrow, he calls continually, brother! brother!" According to some, the cuckoo cries *kikust*, "who killed?" *mekust*, "I killed," and this he utters in a mournful tone.

The owl, they say, was once a maid, who, on account of grief over the death of a brother who had been murdered by his step-mother, prayed the Creator that she might be changed into a bird.

The stork (*leglég*) is among the Kurds, as among many other Oriental nations, regarded as sacred. They believe that in harvest time he goes to Mecca and Medina, and hence they call him Hadji Leglég. When the storks depart, they are believed to go to some distant place, where all assemble together in a temple. Here the old ones die, and the young ones alone return to their nests where they were reared.

The white cock they also regard as the watcher and caller to prayer.

Though the sentiment of patriotism is not distinctly understood by the Kurd, yet he possesses what is its equivalent, and its brightest gem. He loves his mountain heritage, he loves his people, and never was it known that a Kurd was a traitor; so that one of the proverbs best known in the wild mountains and fertile plains of Western Central Asia is, "Kurds are never traitors."

With respect to the religion of the Kurds, many and varied accounts might be given, since in different parts of Asia they are influenced by different religious systems and ideas. Some are bigoted Moslems, and these are generally the most dangerous. Such will frequently give themselves to acts the most cruel, and preserve, at the same time, an air of religion. After killing a man without scruple, they will put themselves on their knees, and most devoutly go through all the forms of Mohammedan prayer.

The Kurds are not regarded, however, by the Turks as good Moslems, since they are not generally particular in observing the Mohammedan fasts or forms of prayer; and, when esteemed Moslems by the Turks, they are usually put down among the heterodox sects. In many places throughout Asia Minor, we are inclined to believe that they make a show of Mohammedanism when having to do with the Turks or living in their vicinity, through fear, rather than from any settled conviction of its truth. The writer has frequently offered Kurdish chiefs articles of food during the Moslem Ramazan, or month of fasting, and never has he observed that they had any scruples in eating, provided the door of the apartment was locked, so that no Turk should come in suddenly to surprise them. Their uniform tea-

timony was: "We have no confidence in the Mohammedan religion, we believe not in Mohammed, we observe not the fasts of the Moslems, neither use their forms of prayer."

In the mountains of Cilicia, it is said, there are some independent tribes that formerly worshiped a black dog, and dared not speak ill of the Devil, not for love, but from fear. Their religion seems to be a mixture of corrupted Christianity and Islamism. They are much given to robbery, and remain strongly fortified in their mountain fastnesses.

In the Taurus range of mountains, near the Euphrates, there are those who would appear to have once known something of Christianity. They meet together once a month, bake bread, eat it, and say "this is for Christ." When asked what they know of Christ, they say: "He is our breath, our soul, our life." If inquiry is made as to any system of religion, creed, or book among them, they sometimes reply that there is a book which contains their law and ritual; but this book has never been seen. This is probably a tradition respecting the Bible, which has come down, it may be, many generations and perhaps centuries. There are others who say they worship God, and will not curse the Devil, and this from a tradition somewhat prevalent in the East, that the Devil and his followers shall one day be restored to their former seats of blessedness and dignity. When their priests come together, and wine is brought in, the Superior makes a sign of silence, and then admonishes them that wine is the blood of God. Thus their religion, of which they have never any clear ideas themselves, seems to contain some relics of Christianity, but strangely mixed with the dregs of other religions. Their opinions of the Devil's restoration are similar to those held by Origen, and their idea of wine is either a corruption of the Christian sacrament, or the conceit of the old Egyptian priests.

There can also be found among them those who adore the sun, who at the same time recognize the divinity of Christ and his birth from the Virgin Mary. There is another sect called the Ducenies, thought to be of Parthian origin, who have a tradition that they received Christianity on the day of the descent of the Spirit, and also believe that Jude and Thaddeus preached the Gospel to their people.

The following is an account given by Lerch of a sect called "light-extinguishers," said to occupy several villages north of Malatia :

"They say their God is Ali, and that they are called by the Moslems Kizzilbash. They wear a red-brown pointed fur cap, the ends of which hang down over the face. This head-dress is common to both sexes. They clothe themselves in green, and wear shoes made of horse-hair. The men shave the top of the head, but the beard is touched by no shears or knife. The women wear the hair in nine or ten braids, and ornament these with corals. It is worthy of notice, that in their gatherings, which take place in a large building, the cock, as among the Yezidis, plays a part. Near the light by which the spiritual guide reads the prayers is a cock fastened with a small chain. When the prayers are ended, the cock is struck with a small stick. In seeking to escape from the blows of the stick, it overturns the lamp and the light is extinguished. This is the signal for the commencement of their notorious orgies."

With respect to this account, the writer would say that, having passed some three years in the precise locality referred to, and had intimate acquaintance with nearly all the chiefs of the region, and full knowledge of the religious practices of the people, he has never known of any such rites practiced as those above mentioned, either of the part played by the cock, or of the "notorious orgies."

In the region of the Euphrates, where for some years we had much intercourse with this people, we found them manifesting a very earnest spirit of religious inquiry. They acknowledged that they were not Moslems, neither were they Christians. They hardly knew what they were, or what to believe, but were very anxious to be enlightened. One day, when two chiefs had heard read a chapter from the Bible, one said to the other, "All this is good. This must be the true religion we have been seeking for so long." The other replied, "It is truly so."

The religious traditions of this people, as a whole, are rather Christian than Moslem, and from the most reliable sources of ancient history we learn that Christianity prevailed among • them in the first centuries of our era to some extent.

We might also add, in conclusion, in relation to this strange people, a few words of the testimony of one\* who was more

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\* Rev. George W. Dunmore, formerly missionary in Turkey.

conversant with them than perhaps any Frank or European who has ever visited them, a personal friend of the writer, who, recently, in the service of our country as chaplain, was shot by a Texan rebel. He said: "Except in the presence of Turks, they are free to declare their faith in Christ as the Son of God and Saviour of the world. They believe in his incarnation, crucifixion, and atoning death. On this point I have been particular to examine them as much as possible, and I am inclined to think that there is a nearer approximation to actual belief here than in any other Christian doctrine. True, many of them say Ali was the Son of God. They also say that Christ and Ali are one and the same, and they use the latter name to delude the Turks, a thing not improbable when we consider that many of them have lived in constant peril, and that, as Ali was Mohammed's son-in-law, by such a shift they might avoid the vengeance of their merciless foes without a complete abandonment of their Lord. They say 'we love all the prophets, but we love Ali most of all;' and, if asked who is Ali, they reply, 'the Son of God.' But who is Christ? 'The Son of God.' But they never affirm this of the other prophets. They ascribe to Ali or Christ, alone, miraculous conception and Divine Sonship. And yet sometimes it is said by them that all the prophets are God manifest in the flesh. Of this great and mysterious doctrine of God in Christ, they have often very confused notions, and multiply words without knowledge, in which they are not alone. They assent to, and profess to believe all the fundamental doctrines of the Gospel, and say that the New Testament is the most authoritative of all books."

ARTICLE III.—BY WHAT RELIGIOUS SERVICES, AND BY HOW MANY, CAN A PASTOR BEST SERVE HIS PEOPLE ON THE SABBATH?\*

THIS inquiry implies a doubt as to whether the present modes of ministerial labor are best adapted to secure the end for which the ministry is divinely commissioned. Place this end before us in the words of the Saviour's last command to his disciples, and it will be found to be that of making disciples to Christ from men of all nations, through the initiatory rite of baptism, and the inculcation of the faithful observance of Christ's precepts. (Math xxviii., 19.)

This twofold method of discipling mankind—initiating by a symbolic rite, and nurturing by teaching—comprises the work of the Christian minister.

What now are the usual modes of ministerial service on the Sabbath? Is there uniformity? Can better methods be devised?

With respect to the first inquiries, it may perhaps be safely affirmed that there is a degree of uniformity in like circumstances, while yet there is great diversity on the whole.

The general custom, we believe, is that of two public services, held in the morning and on the afternoon of the Lord's day, in which formal and elaborate discourses are preached, in connection with the reading of the Word of God and exercises of praise and prayer. These services are frequently followed, in the New England States, by a third service, for devotional singing, conversation, and prayer. In some localities there, as in other parts of the Northern States, the second service is held in the evening rather than in the afternoon. The morning service is quite uniformly commenced by invocation of God's

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\* The substance of this Article was read, by appointment, before the General Association of Illinois, at its meeting in Geneseo, May, 1863, and by its request offered for publication in our pages.—ED. NEW ENGLANDER.

special grace, and continued by the reading of some portion of Scripture, singing, prayer, the reading of a sermon, followed by prayer and singing. The second service is like the first, with, for the most part, the omission of the invocation and the reading of the Word of God.

In the Northwestern States, probably three-fourths of our ministers, in addition to these services, are engaged statedly in Sabbath School instruction with classes of their own, and in some instances with the additional charge of the oversight or superintendence of the school.

Such are the usual public services of pastors on the Sabbath.

The doubt implied as to whether these are best adapted to secure the end for which the ministry is commissioned may be entertained without disrespect to the ministry of the present or of a former age. While there is a presumption in favor of that course which has been continued through many years, this presumption is here set aside by the fact that these modes of service have not been unvaryingly uniform and do not date from the remotest antiquity. On the contrary, a history of ministerial labor will teach us that Sabbath services have been changed from time to time, and thus leave way for the conclusion that they may be changed again where changes in society render it desirable in order that the end for which our Lord instituted the ministry may be the better accomplished.

Unless this be conceded, the presumption as to the wisest and best method would be in favor of that which was established under apostolic supervision, and continued through the first centuries of the Christian era. That method, it is believed, differed materially from our own in these respects, that the reading of the Word of God, divided into portions for reading consecutively and continuously, with brief remarks thereon, and animated exhortations, held the prominent place in the instructions of the Sabbath; while the varied exercises of prayer and praise served the double offices of softening and quickening the hearers and of applying the truth to their consciences.

Says Mosheim: "In these public assemblies of Christians,



the Holy Scriptures were read, which, for that purpose, were divided into portions or lessons. Then followed an exhortation to the people, neither eloquent nor long, but full of warmth and love. If any signified that they were moved by a divine afflatus, they were allowed successively to state what the Lord commanded; and other *prophets* who were present judged how much authority was due to them. Afterwards the prayers, which constituted no inconsiderable part of public worship, were recited after the bishop. To these succeeded hymns, which were sung, not by the whole assembly, but by certain persons, during the celebration of the sacred supper and the feast of charity. The precise order and manner of performing all these parts of religious worship in the Christian churches cannot be fully ascertained, yet it is most probable that no one of these exercises was wholly omitted in any church." (Vol. I., p. 86).

Says Neander, also: "Instruction and edification, by uniting the assembly in the common contemplation of the divine Word, constituted, from the first, a principal part of Christian worship. The Old Testament was read first, particularly the prophetic parts of it, as referring to the Messiah; next the gospels, and finally the apostolic epistles. The reading of the Scriptures was followed, as in the Jewish synagogues, by short and very *simple addresses*, in familiar language, such as the heart prompted at the moment, which contained the exposition and application of what had been read. (Neander, Vol. I., p. 303).

That such a course was appropriately chosen, in an age when copies of the Word of God were rare and costly, can hardly be doubted. It served not only to make every Christian familiar with the Scriptures, but in a special manner to exalt their glorious Author. Each review of the histories of God's love, or of the wonders of His power, or of His solemn commands, would tend deeply to move the heart and engage its most devout affections in the devotional exercises which followed. That the meetings of Christians in the post-apostolic age were in a high degree devotional as well as instructive in their character, is more than probable. The indications in sacred history go

to show that the life and soul of their exercises were in their acts of loving and delighted worship.

But apart from changes in the past, we are warranted in considering this subject anew, in view of new interests concerned and the somewhat different relation which the community sustains to the ministers of Christ. We refer to the institution of Sabbath Schools and the general diffusion of religious literature among the people.

In the last quarter of a century, Sabbath Schools have assumed a new place among the objects of Christian philanthropy. A far greater amount of time has been appropriated to their sessions; and a different order of talent, under new impulses and encouragements, has been employed to give them efficiency. Many causes have combined to work out this result. A general prevalence of the means of grace, through a half century of interesting religious revivals, has brought the larger part of the mature adult population to a decision personally on the serious question of submission to or rejection of Christ. The greater portion of those susceptible of spiritual renewing have been won to Christ, while the simplicity of religious teaching in sanctuaries and in religious literature has prepared the way for the powers of the Gospel to do execution upon the soul at an earlier period than formerly.\*

Special efforts are now made to reach the young, to instruct and mould them for society and for the church of God. A great variety of talent has been called in to aid in the work,

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\* "Formerly," with a qualification, children were more concerned in the ministry of the Lord Jesus than is commonly supposed. The simplicity of our Saviour's language was such that they could comprehend and feel the force of his words. The zeal of Jewish parents for the religious training of their offspring, manifest in their taking them at an early age to their national festivals, would insure on the part of Christian parents at least, a like diligence in acquainting them with Christ. Incidental allusions in the gospels give evidence that children in large numbers were attendants on Christ's public ministry. They were ever at hand, if children were wanted, to illustrate or enforce a truth. Their numbers were such that they were deemed worthy of mention in connection with the miraculous feeding of the five thousand and the four thousand. And their Hosannas are particularly noted on the occasion of Christ's triumphal entrance to the temple.

by providing suitable reading matter in books and papers; songs also, and appropriate music, as the vehicle of thought and feeling. A more careful attention has been bestowed on the selection of teachers, officers, lecturers, to carry forward the work with a far higher degree of efficiency. The large number of children from the families of our foreign population who lie within the influence of this agency, and who are not reached by other agencies, gives additional importance to the work, and claims for it the careful consideration of the ministers of Christ. Were there no other change in the field of our labors but this—the relation of the young to the work of immediate evangelization—the question before us must of necessity often obtrude itself upon the thoughtful laborer in the vineyard of our Lord. The number of children in our Sabbath Schools already surpasses the number of our church members. A true philosophy should teach us the value of such a field of labor. The relation of this multitude of youth to the future of the State, and of the kingdom of God, should make us vigilant in seeking their immediate and lasting welfare.

It being conceded, then, that the consideration of this question involves no disrespect to a revered past, and that custom ought not, in the case before us, to bar discussion and rule our action, and that new interests of importance require our attention, we proceed to the merits of the question by remarking that the number and character of the services of the pastor should be graduated by a regard, on the one hand, to the capabilities of the minister, and on the other to the best interests of the people.

It would be manifestly unjust, as well as impolitic, to require at the hands of the minister of Christ—we do not say services so severe and exhaustive as to undermine his health; but stopping short of this, we say—services so severe and exhaustive as to leave no buoyancy and freshness of feeling with which to pursue his work, but instead of this a constant weariness and fatigue. On the other hand, multiplied and protracted services, leading a people to feel that it is a weariness to serve God, cannot be best adapted to secure a desirable

growth in the Christian character. How much a people can profitably bear, or the ministry economically endure, are cardinal questions in this discussion.

We proceed, then, to affirm that in the public exercises of the Sabbath, (without now saying how many or what they should be), one protracted service of any given kind, for the same audience, is enough. By one service of a kind, we mean this: there should be but one service for formal discourse, but one for the Sabbath School, but one for public devotional worship, but one for expository or other lecture. In the development of this proposition, we affirm that, at this present time, one sermon on the Sabbath is quite sufficient for any one congregation. By sermon, we mean a discourse in the usual form now preached in our churches, in which there is a presentation of the grand doctrines of religion with their varied applications to human life and conduct. This opinion is advanced in view of the following considerations: First, as respects the people. One exercise, if there is but one of this kind, will be likely to secure a larger attendance than if there are two or more. There are many among the people who are not able to attend more than one service during the Lord's Day. The aged, the infirm, those living at a distance from the sanctuary, those encumbered with the care of families. There are others who, feeling that one sermon on the Sabbath is enough for them, seldom exert themselves to attend at the sanctuary twice on the Lord's Day. If they cannot conveniently go in the morning they will go in the evening. If attending in the morning, they will choose to remain at home in the evening. In their case there is a variable and uncertain attendance, making it exceedingly difficult for the pastor to instruct and train a people to harmonious feeling or action, while at the same time it imposes upon him far greater labor.

Many a pastor is pained, perplexed, and tried exceedingly, when he has prepared a discourse on some topic of special importance to his flock, and finds, through this habit of irregular attendance, many of those persons absent who seemingly most need his counsel; or, when he has elaborated a discourse with more than usual care and anxiety, and finds seats vacant which

are sure to be filled when he is poorly prepared to speak, or at some second service when he is either exhausted or provided with a less important discourse.

Secondly, one such exercise eventually would not only be likely to secure a larger attendance on the part of the people, but it would also be more likely to profit them than two such or similar exercises on the same day.

Such is the mind of the ordinary hearer, that it is not easily moved to take up a great number of new topics with a permanent and profiting interest in the brief moments of a passing Sabbath. It will be found, on inquiry, that when two discourses in the usual form are preached to the same congregation, one of them will, in a great measure, exclude the other. The hearer, like the servant of two masters, will hate the one and love the other; or else he will hold to the one and despise the other. This will very naturally result from the fact, that the mind of the ordinary hearer does not readily turn from one topic to another with engaging interest, and the same interest for each, in so short a space of time. The minister himself will rarely ever take equal pleasure in two discourses preached the same day, though they may have equal merit and be equally important. His nervous sympathies are too much drawn upon by the same kind of effort, both in the preparation and preaching, to sustain him through the exercises of the day, unless he take time for repose and recreation in quiet sleep.

So far, therefore, as practical results are concerned, we believe that one formal, well prepared discourse, will be found as effective for good, with the people, as two or more; and, therefore, if two public exercises are demanded, they should be as different as possible in their character, for the best interests of both pastor and people.

Again, we come to a like conclusion from the consideration of what is essential to the efficacy of preaching as respects the power of popular impression.

Formal discourses are now so common as to be matters certainly of little novelty. The church-goer can hear one in the morning, afternoon, or evening, here, there,—everywhere. The susceptibility of the mind for startling and deep impression is

exhausted by this frequency of hearing; except, perhaps, in those seasons of extraordinary interest when the mind is roused to unusual activity. Ordinarily the audience barely recovers from the fatigue incident to a first service, when, without time for reflection, recapitulation, or self-application, it is summoned to hear again something new and interesting, or something not new, and possibly not interesting.

Again, if we take into consideration, in connection with the capability of the audience's hearing with an unsated mind, free from fatigue, its power to receive and properly digest more than a single discourse on a given day, we shall come to the same conclusion as above.

Whatever this capacity may be, when tested in the most favorable circumstances, we presume not to say. But from observation in the field, we believe that less preaching would be more impressive, because less confusing to the mind. We find, after the Sabbath is gone, but a very imperfect recollection of the truths preached on the Lord's Day. The truth has not made such an impression that it can be recalled. The hearers, for the most part, never expect, while they are hearing, that they will have need of that truth or that it should be to them like a seed sown in the heart.

It cannot escape the knowledge of the most prejudiced and partial that the larger part of discourses heard are soon forgotten, almost immediately forgotten.

In the Episcopal Liturgy, the Collect for the second Sunday in Advent is "that the hearer may in such wise hear, read, mark, learn, and inwardly digest," &c. This matter of inward digestion is no less important than the hearing of the Word. Yet who does not know that it is and must be sadly interfered with by the multiplied calls from one service to another, leaving no time for reflection. Discourses do not take hold upon the mind with power to control and influence it, as we believe they should. The attention in hearing is not that kind of attention which receives and assimilates for use this mental nutriment. We would therefore administer less of it, in the hope of nourishing the more. We would have fewer discourses, for the sake of increasing their power of impression.

We would have one rather than two on the Lord's Day, in the hope of securing both a larger and more appreciative audience in the sanctuary, and thereby more perfectly accomplish the work of instruction and training.

Again, as respects the pastor. One sermon a week will be found quite sufficient to task to the utmost all his mental and physical energies.

In making this affirmation, it is remembered that men have done more than this—that many are doing more, far more than this, in single weeks or even months of the year. But the important question here is not how much has been done or can be done, but how much can be done to the best advantage and with the highest utility. Not many pastors believe they can master profitably and well during the days of a single week more than one topic of discourse. On the contrary, the many think that to develop one, illustrate it, and make it impressive, is all the mind can do, and do well. That to attempt more is ordinarily to fail in the effort; or to fail ultimately and fundamentally by seriously impairing the mind or its casket.

One supposed to have facility, by reason of gifts of utterance and long experience in labor, says: "Two strong sermons can scarcely be expected any week, from any minister, however gifted or industrious. No audience can digest two strong sermons. One will overlay or dispossess the other."\*

It is a well known fact, however, that the mind, in severe labors, gets relief from a mere change of pursuits, so that while, for instance, it might not be able to invent, or arrange, and develop, more than one topic in the usual essay style, it might be able profitably to study for exposition some portions of the Bible, either in the way of an Expository Lecture, or for Sabbath-School or Bible-Class instruction, or for the quickening and edifying of an assembly gathered for social worship.

It was in view of these truths, in part, as well as for the reasons above suggested, we remarked that if the same people

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\* Editorial in Independent, Dec. 18th, 1862.

are called together more than once, it should be for exercises not of a same, but of quite a different character.

Such is the force of custom with respect to having two exercises for general worship on the Sabbath, that a change which should wholly dispense with one, if it were desirable, could not be safely introduced at once. One denomination could not well act alone in the matter. If that were possible, special reasons, existing in case of pastors in the larger towns and cities, might render it undesirable on the whole to dispense with an evening service altogether.

Among these reasons we will mention that which is thought to be most weighty. It is—not that the true children of God would not prefer the closing hours of the Sabbath for social domestic worship, for family instruction—not that they would not prefer in many instances to devote those hours to private meditation, reading, prayer, or to works of charity abroad, in visiting the sick, the poor, in gathering the outcasts—but that the multitude, who choose the earlier portions of the sacred day for self-indulgent rest, may not then be wholly without some attractive sanctuary service to allure them from idleness and the more ensnaring vices which throng the wicked in their unoccupied hours. As the Sabbath, as a whole, is extended as a barrier across man's path to arrest the thoughts and turn them back to God, so, in the cases mentioned, it seems desirable to strengthen and make more effective this sacred barrier, by providing profitable employment for hours which, if left unoccupied, might be invaded by sinful amusements, or that unnumbered host of vices and of crimes which ignobly follow in the train of idleness. If, for this, among other reasons, a second service, for both teaching and devotion, is held, then, for the reasons above specified, for the best interests of pastor, and people, and of community, it should be made as distinct and different as possible. It should be so different that the mind of the pastor, both during the studies of the week and the time of service, shall feel the stimulus derived from diversified labor; so different that it shall be distinct and separate as an object of interest to the people.

If the arguments here advanced are valid, then that reason-



ing which concludes that one formal and elaborate discourse is quite enough, for one and the same congregation, will also show that any one protracted service of any given kind is enough for one and the same people, and enough for their pastor.

But we would enforce this sentiment more particularly in view of the truth that new and different interests now demand our attention and our time. There is a call for public labors of a somewhat different character, and in a different direction, from what has been characteristic of the past.

I. There is a special providential demand for more decisive and systematic effort in connection with the work of Sabbath School instruction.

At the present time, those pastors who are engaged permanently as teachers or superintendents, are doing extra or super-added work, which must, in all ordinary cases, impair their efficiency in the other and ordinary labors of the minister, or overtask their mental and physical powers.

The demand we speak of is not that of ordinary class instruction or of superintendence. These, in all ordinary instances, properly and of right, devolve on the church itself, and it is an invasion of their rights and privileges for the minister to enter upon their work. This he should strenuously seek to avoid. If there is no person suitable to undertake it, it is better that one should be put in the process of training, and this field of labor be surrendered to those to whom it of right belongs. The pastor should be capable of serving the school, and the community through it, in a more direct and general way, in such methods as the following:

(1). By occasional addresses to the school, its teachers, its patrons, and friends, upon the nature of the work to be done, its importance and desirableness, and the best modes of achieving it.

(2). By sermons prepared expressly for the young, to be preached at stated periods, at such a time or in such a place as that all who may wish to do so, can attend and hear them.

(3). By special and protracted effort among the members of the school for the early conversion of children, giving them the

opportunity and compelling to choose for or against the Saviour, at the earliest possible period.

(4). By engaging with the school, its patrons and friends, in general devotional exercises, endeavoring, so far as possible, to cultivate their emotional nature, and to call into exercise their religious sensibilities and affections towards that God who, out of the mouths of babes and sucklings, has perfected praise.

A very important argument for this work, is that the congregations thus gathered ordinarily comprise as large a number as can be brought to any usual church service, and that these thus gathered are as easily susceptible of religious impressions as any class in the community. Besides this, the instrumentality thus employed reaches out among our foreign population as no usual agency does or can do. It is worthy of our consideration that the Spirit of God, for more than a quarter of a century, has been pointing the churches in this direction, and multiplying the instruments for a wider, deeper, and more glorious work. We have men qualified by actual training for it; books, papers, organized efforts, and systematic approved modes. The signs of a distinct providence demand some new advances and adaptations, proportionate to the experience gained, the population to be wrought upon, and the instruments prepared. It should be a matter of serious inquiry in each community, whether some general exercise for the special benefit of the young, and all society through them, might not properly take the place occasionally and statedly of the usual second service.

II. There is also a special demand at the present time for new efforts, in the public assemblies of the Sabbath, in the work of Bible Exposition.

We do not mean in the way of written exegesis, or written expository sermons; but of extemporaneous, lively illustration of the meaning of the Scriptures in a way to make more clear or impressive this holy word of God.

That which is properly known as expository preaching has well nigh ceased among us. Indeed, it never was greatly in

favor with the American people. Pastors, in theory, recognize its importance. Professors in Theological Seminaries solemnly and heartily recommend and enjoin it. Yet probably no one ever heard them attempt it themselves. On the contrary, when called out on special occasions, anniversaries, dedications, meetings of associations, they invariably produce, if not a well worn manuscript, yet a manuscript bearing evidence of labor, and a discourse in essay style.

There is reason to believe that some of this class have undesignedly done much to vitiate the popular taste in this very particular. By carefully elaborating the plan, language, and style of their discourses—spending weeks and months upon single sermons, to be brought out on special occasions—they have influenced others to imitate them, some in this thing, some in that, till it is not difficult to find preachers of every grade of character to whom the theme, in the sermon, seems to be the one great interest that wraps up the mind and soul. To deliver a discourse in an impressive and effective manner is their earnest aim and endeavor; whereas their aim and end should be to address their audience, and, taking possession of their minds, compel them to hear, and, if possible, to receive and obey the word of God.

It is narrated of an eminent evangelist, now deceased, that once in a series of meetings, when about to commence his discourse, he looked leisurely around over his audience, and then, with great energy, said, "Now I'VE GOT YOU, NOW I'VE GOT YOU!"

The relation of the preacher to his audience is very different from this, when only the development of a theme is the chief interest in his mind. It does one good sometimes to hear from the lips of the minister in the sanctuary, "*Thus saith the Lord.*" With all the sacred literature of our day, Sabbath School and family instruction, with all the successes of Bible Societies in printing and disseminating copies of the Scriptures, there is great ignorance of God's word in our land. We do not refer to the cardinal doctrines of religion. In general, these are well understood. They are taught in creeds and cherished in symbols, too often, perhaps, as weapons

of warfare against other denominations. Yet the Bible, as a book, is, to a great extent, unexplored. Its history, its biography, its geography, are not familiar, nor the relation of its more important truths to the connection in which they are found. In the Church of England service, large portions are appointed to be publicly read year by year. But when, as with us, the selection is left to the minister, it will generally be found that this selection is confined to very narrow limits, and, perhaps, with few exceptions, neither comprehensive or systematized, and often not made till the very time for reading.

If expository preaching is impracticable, we would by all means urge a careful expository reading of the Scriptures, giving to that exercise a more prominent and important place than it now holds in many of our churches,—not to speak of those in which the reading of God's Word is wholly dispensed with.

We do not, however, believe that expository preaching is impracticable. Let one follow the method of Robert Hall, or of Robertson, or, if he would go farther back, the method of the primitive Christians,—or, if he chooses, his own method.

A weighty consideration in the case before us, urging to this course, aside from the fact that it publishes God's Word, is that this method is less adapted to make the speaker a separate object of regard.

It is said that Summerfield, having been pursued by multitudes of applauding hearers, was led to exercise himself in the way of simple exposition, as that which most threw the preacher himself in the shade, and more illustriously displayed the pure truth of the Word.

Dr. John M. Mason, the most eloquent of divines in his day, in a sermon to his people on resigning his charge, said: "Do not choose a man who always preaches upon insulated texts. I care not how powerful or eloquent he may be in handling them. The effect of his power and eloquence will be to banish a taste for the Word of God, and to substitute the preacher in its place. You have been accustomed to hear that Word preached in its connection. Never permit that practice to

stop. Foreign churches call it lecturing, and when done with discretion, I assure you that while it is the most difficult of all exercises, it is, in the same proportion, the most profitable to you. It has this advantage, that in going through a book of Scripture it spreads before you all sorts of characters and all forms of opinion."

By substituting an extemporaneous exposition of Scripture, for which a careful and laborious preparation has been made, in the place of the written formal discourse, where two public exercises for preaching are held for the same people, would relieve the pastor in the work of preparation, would obviate some of the objections to two discourses on the Sabbath, and be more likely than any other course to build up a people in an intelligent acquaintance with God's revealed will, and reestablish His authority over the soul.

The pernicious errors, ever seeking entrance to Christian communities, demand a more intelligent acquaintance with God's Word on the part of the common people, and a simple, pungent exposition of the living Word of the living God. We suggest that pastors cannot better serve their people on the Sabbath than by occasional expository sermons in which the Scriptures, clothed with life and power, shall be made familiar to the young.

III. The times demand of us, also, some change in our public services on the Sabbath, as respects the exercise and culture of the religious affections. .

It is true that we now have devotional services intermingling with all our customary public Sabbath ministrations. Yet it is painfully evident that these hold a very inferior place in the estimation of the congregation, whereas they should hold a very prominent place. While so much is made of preaching and of sacred oratory, this cannot well be. The preparation for preaching too often exhausts the nervous stimulus of the pastor and unfits him *to be made joyful in God's house of prayer*. In many churches the choir do all the singing, sometimes with proper religious feeling, and sometimes not. In others the congregation seldom takes part either in singing or

in devotional reading of the Word. They seem not to realize that they themselves have an important part to bear in the services of the Lord's house. The idea of divine worship, in which all the congregation are to join, is something which has never entered the minds of many. Divine worship occupies, and has so long occupied, in the minds of many ministers and people, so small and inferior a place, that the general feeling is, if there is to be no preaching, there can be no service.

We need a change in this respect which shall bring back God into the sanctuary, and there enthrone Jehovah of Hosts. We need special Sabbath services for the exercise and culture of the religious affections as much as we need them for instilling and inculcating practical religious truth. And yet, for centuries, it would seem as if the great aim had been to impart only instruction.

The early Christians celebrated the Lord's Supper every Sabbath. This service, in those circumstances, doubtless did much to cultivate in them a lively sense of their relation to God as children through the redemption of Jesus Christ. The less frequent celebration of the Saviour's death is the wiser course for us. Yet something is needed to restore to the bosom of the worshiper the sense of God's presence; and to remind him in the sanctuary, that "This is none other but the house of God;" and that his "fellowship is with the Father and with his Son Jesus Christ."

In one of the churches in a western city, during the excessive heat of the summer of 1862, the sermon was omitted from the second service, and that service was made to consist only of singing and prayer.

A devotional meeting conducted after this manner, with the reading of appropriate selections from God's Word, with frequent singing by the congregation, with brief prayers, could possibly be sustained in populous centers, where the congregation reside in the vicinity of the church. And yet but few pastors would have the hardihood to attempt it in the present circumstances. And it may be for the following reasons: First, public exercises of divine worship, apart from preaching, interest, as yet, but very few minds. Secondly, with the mass

of professedly Christian people, the culture of the religious affections is seldom sought as a distinct object and of high importance, by itself alone.

We need, then, a change in our Sabbath services such as shall exalt the devotional parts to a place far higher than at present, and which shall cause these of themselves to impress all minds with the conviction that *the Lord our God is a great God, that honor and majesty are before him, strength and beauty are in his sanctuary.* We need services that shall arouse the emotions, and lead men to exclaim with David: *Praise ye the Lord from the heavens—all his angels—all his hosts. Praise the Lord from the earth—mountains and all hills—beasts and all cattle—kings of the earth, and all people, both young men and maidens; old men and children. Let them praise the name of the Lord, for his name alone is excellent; his glory is above the earth and heavens.*

We are not prepared to suggest the best means of accomplishing this object. The pastor can doubtless do much by a special preparation for these exercises. He should frequently compare in his own mind his preparation to speak to men with his preparation to speak to God. He may accomplish something by appropriate discourses on this topic, and by appropriately reading such portions of the Word of God as are best adapted to raise the devout feelings of the worshiper, and by occasional meetings on the Sabbath for devotional purposes, that *the children of Zion may be joyful in their King.*

We conclude this Article with this brief summation:—In our judgment the times call for some modification of the modes of ministerial labor. While we would not materially change the usual Sabbath morning services, we would, if possible, devote more time than is customarily given in our churches, to the reading of God's Word, comprising selections from its doctrinal, prophetic, historical, and devotional portions. The second service should bear the character of an occasional or special service; and be conducted with the view of calling into exercise the emotions of the worshiper, and of engaging his heart in the worship of God. It should be particularly adapted to the young, and often appointed for the children

and teachers of the Sabbath School, and held at such an hour as would be suitable for their attendance. It should be so conducted that men may realize that out of the mouth of babes and sucklings, God has perfected praise.

It should ordinarily be distinguished by an extemporaneous lecture, in exposition of the Bible, illustrating its history, its biography, unfolding its prophecies, and enforcing its doctrines.

We believe that one protracted service of any given kind, for the same congregation on the same day, is enough; and that two public exercises should be the extent of pastoral service, as the ordinary rule. The exceptions should be the seasons of special religious interest, occasional visits to the Sabbath School, and funeral services called for by the exigencies of the time.



## ARTICLE IV.—ENGLISH CATHEDRALS.

THERE are twenty-nine ancient Churches in England, technically called Cathedrals. These structures are interesting as in some degree embodying the history and faith of England. We have but to mention Westminster Abbey, to bring before us a kind of gorgeous crystallization of all the stately and solemn glories of our motherland. These buildings have been the slow work of ages. They have grown by accretion, gathering into their immense piles the genius and treasures of centuries. The foundation of some of them is a matter of obscurity. It can hardly now be ascertained where one age left off and another began. Yet there are four principal epochs of English ecclesiastical architecture distinctly marked upon the buildings themselves; although these architectural periods, historically considered, form a development of the same Anglo-Gothic type of architecture, and are variations of its original idea, rather than new styles. We propose to describe briefly the characteristics of these four epochs.

It is true, that from a few antique fragments found here and there, a claim has been made to a distinctive Saxon architecture; but this claim has been abandoned by the best authorities. It is probable that the Anglo-Saxons, prior to the Conquest, built chiefly in wood, and their edifices were extremely rude, and possessed little architectural individuality.

The Normans were the first builders both in England and on the continent. They were the Romans of their time. Wherever they went they meant to stay. Upon their public edifices, as on their laws, was stamped the spirit of stability, and of a living original strength, which enabled the Norman architecture, wherever it appeared, in Italy as well as in Northern Europe, to supersede the effete classical styles, and to become the solid foundation of Christian architecture down to the present time.

We find, therefore, in nearly all the ancient Churches of England, that the Norman forms the oldest portion of them, and is their original basis. This is especially true of the Cathedrals of Gloucester, Chester, Winchester, Peterborough, Durham, and Ely, in which, indeed, as in the smaller parish churches of Romsey and Iffly, the Norman element predominates, and gives the characteristic tone to these structures.

All architecture came originally from the East, and the influence of the Byzantine style upon the Norman, is very direct—caught, doubtless, during the period of the Crusades. Norman architecture, in all probability, sprang from the Byzantine-Roman, modified and enlarged into a new creation, by the stronger genius and gloomier fancy of the North. It has the ponderous masses, low and cavernous spaces, and round arch, of the old Roman edifice. Sometimes the Norman arch has its centre above the line of impost, and then curves inward below the point of springing, making a horse-shoe arch, thus increasing the resemblance to oriental architecture. This style, introduced into Britain, by William the Conqueror, continued unmixed, about one hundred and twenty-four years, to the end of the reign of Henry III., in 1189. While massive strength is its chief quality, yet it is not without a certain degree of ornament, though fanciful and grotesque. The Norman capital is often, as at Gloucester, strung with meagre and curious carved work. Nothing is more varied, in fact, than the Norman capital. Its shape is usually that of a bowl, truncated at the sides, but its adornment is exceedingly diverse and strange. Sometimes it is braided with interlacing lines of bead-work, as if hung over with a net of pearls. Sometimes it is wreathed with large-leaved flowers, or a stiff wide-spreading vine. At other times it is carved into bird-nests, with the birds sitting in them. Then an odd monster, or dragon lizard, is convoluted around the bell of the capital. Human faces and busts, sometimes of men holding their mouths open with their fingers, and sometimes of females or veiled nuns, interlacing arms around the column, appear as the head of the pillar.

These are not unlike the human-headed and Isis-faced col-

umns of Dendarah and other Egyptian temples, forming still another feature of likeness to the architecture of the East. The oriental character of the principal columns of Durham Cathedral is very marked.

A fine example of the Norman style is found in the nave of Peterborough Cathedral, surmounted by three tiers of bow-headed arches, forming the sides and clere-story. The length of this edifice is four hundred and seventy-nine feet. It abounds in rich sepulchral brasses, anciently called "latten," which are laid in Purbeck marble. These were, in fact, the first stereotyped.

Gloucester Cathedral is still more characteristically Norman, although having been begun at the latter end of the eleventh century, and finished at the beginning of the fifteenth, its history comprehends the whole range of English Church architecture. Its nave, foundation, and crypt, are of the most solid Norman style. The sixteen unornamented and ponderous columns of the nave are truly grand. The only fault (which is, indeed, the great fault of all the English Cathedrals) is the want of height in the main body of the building. In more expressive phrase, it is squatty. But its interior gives one a sense of that strength and repose befitting God's house. The stone vaulting of the ceiling is also simple and plain; yet there is carved work and ornament about the clere-story windows and the central tower. This structure remarkably combines the massive and light, the simple and rich. It has felt the new movement in England to restore the old churches. This is seen in the complete renovation of its noble cloisters. In this church is the monument of Robert Duke of Normandy, eldest son of the Conqueror, who was a crusader.

The second style of ecclesiastical architecture in England, or the "Early English," gradually succeeded the Norman, and prevailed from the beginning of the reign of Richard I., in 1189, to the end of the reign of Henry III., in 1272, a period of about one hundred years. We may date the time of transition, to that chivalric period when the troubadour and ballad poetry arose, and new ideas of freedom and beauty seemed to be struggling with the old Norman force and tyranny. The

prime characteristic of this style is the pointed arch, long and narrow at first like the head of a Knight's lance, and then expanding into those great windows, which, filled with painted glass like those of Yorkminster, have such a glorious effect. The round lines, however, of the Norman style, were not given up, but were retained in the headings of doors and windows, and in the large circular windows like those at Lincoln and Peterborough. We can even see how the pointed arch originated from the accidental intersections of round arches with each other, making pointed arches of the intermediate spaces. The pointed arch lifted the building from its heaviness and earthliness. It heightened the ceiling, and, as a natural development, it sprung toward heaven as far as it could carry its lines upward in the slenderly pointed spire. To support this greater height and this mighty upspringing mass, wide and prominent buttresses were added, which, in the compact Norman architecture, were commonly but small round projections from the wall itself. These flying buttresses, with their doubled stories of arches, and their pinnacled tops, form a new and striking feature. In the original contract for the building of Fotheringay church, it is written: "And aither of the said Isles shall have six mighty Botrasse of Free stone, clen-hewyn; and every Botrasse fynist with a fynial." A very characteristic ornament of the early English style, is the "tooth-ornament," taking the place of the invariable Norman zigzag moulding or "chevron," around the arches of windows and doors. This moulding resembles the necklace of sharks' teeth worn by the Pacific islanders. But all kinds of rich and delicate ornament begin to appear in the later period of this style. Profuse flower-carving is seen in the heads of pillars, and the finishings of corbels. Everything ended in bloom and flower. There was far more of grace and delicacy than in the Norman style. The vaultings of the roof at their lines of intersection were ribbed; and cross-springing transverse ribs were introduced, thus weaving a rich tracery over the plain Anglo-Norman ceiling, though it continued as massive as before. And while the columns and piers were still ponderous, the rounds, and hollows, and the variety of lines

into which they were cut, gave them a more elaborate and elegant appearance. The "Early English" style has been considered to be the perfection of English architecture, because it thus retained the strength and simplicity of the original Norman, united with most of what was truly ornamental and free of the later styles. In Worcester Cathedral, for example, the choir is Early English, with highly-carved canopied stalls, and bold stone flower work. Those old artists seemed to have brought baskets-full of all the flowers of the field into the church, and flung them over the walls.

The best parts of Lincoln Cathedral, which, to our mind, is the most majestic of all the English Cathedrals, York not excepted, belong to the mature period of the early English and Pointed style. The "Presbytery" or "Lady Chapel" of this Church, contains some exquisite carving; and is sometimes called the "Angel Choir," from the figures of thirty angels in the spandrels of the triforium gallery, carved as if they were flying, and playing upon every kind of temple instrument, such as the harp, cittern, cymbal. The too great marigold windows in the principal transept, each twenty-two feet in diameter, and filled with glowing and deep-colored stained glass, give a rich tone to the central portion of the building. The "Chapter-house" is entirely distinct from the main edifice, and is in the form of a decagon, and flanked by boldly flying buttresses, as if tied to the ground by them like the cords of a tent. Its interior abounds in those strange and grotesque carvings that are so mysteriously suggestive in the older Gothic churches. The sagacious face of the hooded monk, who looks down from the ceiling, seems as if it were alive. Often there will be a really beautiful countenance, with wonderful purity and serenity of expression. Then appears a face as if in torment, with the mouth horribly extended, and the parched tongue lolling out. Here is a winged angel, and there a squat demon; animal heads, beaks, snouts, claws, images of the sensual passions and foul qualities of the human mind, mingle with the symbols of higher and celestial things. What did the old builders mean to represent by this,—the whole mixed world of good and evil,—the whole

creation that groans and travails together awaiting the coming of a higher Redemption?

But the most perfect example of "Early English," from foundation to spire, is Salisbury Cathedral. Its interior, compared with Winchester or Ely, appears bare and severe, but it is singularly harmonious and beautiful. It is the queen of the English cathedrals. It is not an astonishing and monstrous Gothic epic, but a pure English poem. The columns of the nave are clustered and slender. The windows are lancet-shaped, and their mouldings plain. Its length is four hundred and forty-nine feet. Stretched along each side of the grand nave, lie the cross-legged effigies of crusaders and of those who struck at Crecy. Headless and handless, they are brave still in their wide-carved girdles, chain-armor, and shields, over their broad breasts. Here lies Ben Jonson's Countess of Pembroke. Here, also, Chillingworth and Hooker are buried. The "Chapter-house" has been most carefully renovated. Its hexagonal ceiling is supported by one slight springing column of Purbeck marble, and shines richly with modern gilding and colors.

The passion in England, already before noticed, to restore the old churches, and to reinstate every "sedilia" and "piscina" in its right place, has been undeniably one of the most powerful agencies in furthering the Tractarian High Church movement, if not one of its originating causes. The intense desire to reproduce the *spiritual* church, in its most minute completeness of doctrine and ritual, has kept even pace with that antiquarian enthusiasm which is giving lectures in dim crypts and breezy bell-towers, and is leaving no stone unturned, and no nook unrummaged, to discover every lost fragment of the ancient Roman Church.\* These modern renovations are

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\* The arrangement, order, and entire religious service of Exeter Cathedral, Devonshire, present, perhaps, the most persistent and ostentatious carrying out of the High Church ideal of worship, to be found in England. The following weekly "order of services," and statement of the Cathedral establishment, are taken from a semi-official pamphlet obtained in Exeter:

the most conspicuous in Ely Cathedral, for this church comprises Cambridge in its ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and has thus all the learning, wealth, and zeal of the University to aid in this pious work. It absolutely glows with modern painted windows, costly marbles, exquisite sculpture, and rich brasses. The new bronze work of the gates and lamps of the choir, for grace and oriental luxuriance of fancy, might have belonged to Solomon's temple, and surpasses even the ancient brass work; in fact, for all that modern art and lavish expenditure can do for the perfect restoration and magnificent adorning of these old temples, Ely is the best example.

The third description of English architecture which followed the "Early English," is termed the "Decorated style." It prevailed about one hundred years from the reign of Edward I., in 1272, to the end of the reign of Edward III., in 1377. It may be called the style of the first three Edwards. The name "Decorated," describes this type of architecture. It is the former styles, only covered over with more abundant orna-

#### I. EARLY MORNING, DAILY.

In the Lady Chapel, at 6 A. M., Morning Prayers; and the Litany on Sundays, Wednesdays and Fridays.

#### II. MORNING, DAILY.

In the Choir, at 10.30 A. M., Full Services of the day. The Holy Communion celebrated every Sunday, and on Christmas day.

On the Wednesdays and Fridays in Ember-weeks, a Lecture from the Chancellor of the Cathedral.

The Lord Bishop holds his Ordination on the Sundays after Whitsun and September Ember-weeks.

#### III. EVENING, DAILY.

In the Choir, at 3 P. M., except on the Sundays from November 1st to February 2d, when it is at 2.30 P. M. On Sundays the Service is followed by a Lecture.

\* The present Cathedral Establishment consists of the Lord Bishop; the Dean; the seven Canons; the twenty-four Prebendaries; the four Priest Vicars; the eight Choir-men, who are Lay Vicars; the six Secondaries; the ten Choir-boys; the two Vergers; and the one Dog-whipper.

The music at Exeter, and, indeed, in all the English cathedral services, is, according to our impression, finer than any continental religious music. The chants and chorals are purer and nobler than the famed music of the Sistine Chapel. If one is reminded of Rome, it is better than anything Rome furnishes.

ment, all parts being modified or inspired by this rich and elaborate idea. It shows slight, but as yet very slight, signs of decay and weakness. Ornament is not, as a general thing, made an end, but only a means of heightened effect. Two characters of lines are seen in the forms of windows, doors, arches, mouldings, etc.; these are the geometric and flowing lines. They present such figures as might be cut with the playful turnings of a pair of compasses, into semicircles, circles, ellipses, trefoils, quatrefoils, cinquefoils. The "ogee," which is a common form in this style, is a combination made by the meeting of a round and a hollow, a concave and a convex. The "ogee-arch" is one whose two sides are composed of two contrasted curves. There is a greater drawing out and a more striking pronounciation of all lines and angles, the hollow being deeper, the curves longer, the combinations more irregular and bold. The flower-work is no longer a stiff and thorn-bush foliage, but runs vine-like and flame-pointed (flamboyant) wreathing over and smothering every capital, and flowing along every groined arch in tropical profusion. The plain, bare shaft of the "Norman," and "Early English," seems, like Aaron's rod, to have budded. One may see good specimens of the "diaper-work pattern," which is a favorite ornament of this style, in the side-screen of Lincoln Cathedral, and upon the monument of William de Valence in Westminster Abbey. This ornament is a four-leaved flower cut in stone and enclosed in a little square; and multitudes of these squares are brought together, producing a rich and elaborate effect. The ornamental lines and flowing tracery of the windows of Merton College Chapel, Oxford, are instances of the large and splendid windows of the "Decorated" style, which are composed of two, three, or even more lights. The smallest corbel, or finial, is highly carved, and drops in a bunch of grapes or a handful of flowers.

Some of the finials and crosses of Winchester Cathedral, belonging to this epoch, are hardly describable, so woven over are they with shooting leaves and plants. It is as if they had stood out neglected in some Italian or Sicilian garden for half a century of summers, and then had been transplanted into



the temple with all their tangled wealth of nature hanging about them. Even the sturdy buttresses of this style are more highly adorned than the "Early English," being broken up and fretted over with foliated points and pinnacles. Niches for statues, with carved lace-work tabernacles, are characteristic of this style. The little chapel-house of Yorkminster, in its vivid colors and profuse carvings, is, perhaps, the most consummate specimen of this period of architecture. But Lichfield Cathedral, taken as a whole, with its decorated west front, its deeply recessed and sumptuous doorway, around which stand the statues of the evangelists, and its superb "Lady Chapel," is the finest example of the "Decorated style." There are few sights more impressive and beautiful than the interior of this church at evening, just as the yellow moonlight shines in the lofty windows on one side, and the last faint crimson light of day faintly illumines the other; when parts of the heavy, round pillars and foliated capitals stand out in burnished light, while others are obscurely seen as trees in the depths of a forest, and irregular masses of dense black shadow stretch like giant hands across the pavement.

The last period of English ecclesiastical architecture, about which we would say a word, is the "Perpendicular style." This arose during the reign of Richard II., in 1377, and continued one hundred and seventy years, to the end of the reign of Henry VIII. It culminated in the reign of Henry VII., about which time, or a little later, "King's College Chapel," at Cambridge, and "Henry Seventh's Chapel," in Westminster Abbey, were built. That great ecclesiastical artist and patron of learning, William of Wykeham, who founded "New College," Oxford, is he whose genius most illustrates and marks this style. It is almost exclusively English, and is intimately associated with English history, scenery, and familiar memories. Its name forms, also, the key to its principal characteristic, viz.: its perpendicular lines. These run straight up to great height. They are likewise crossed by rectilinear lines, and the spaces of intersection are ornamented, so that there is an elegant simplicity produced which is peculiar to this style. The invariable accompaniments of this type of architecture are

the square moulding and dripstone over the heads of doorways, forming a spandrel which is usually filled with foliage-carving or shield sculptures. Another peculiarity of this style is the use of the broad two-centered arch, which, if not as beautiful as the pointed arch, has a simple majesty. The massive piers of all the former heavier styles are made smaller in this ; they have lighter round columns or shafts pinned upon them, generally clustered boldly on their front, and going up clean, straight, and lofty. There is more of stateliness and less of ponderousness in all the features of this style. The porch over the side entrance of Canterbury Cathedral is a beautiful specimen of the Perpendicular architecture. The windows are divided into strong vertical lines running from top to bottom, crossed several times at right angles by lighter transoms, and separating at their heads into many smaller elegant geometric figures. The perpendicular west window of Westminster Cathedral is a good example of these characteristics. Every part of the edifice is paneled, and the debasement of this style usually consists in the loads of coarse ornament, introduced into this panel-work,—such as shields and armorial devices. The vaulting of the “Perpendicular style” is elaborately groined with ribs radiating from common centres, and the points of intersection drooping down, resembling immense white scallop shells clustered together. One may see this in the cloisters of Gloucester Cathedral, in the principal Hall of Hampton Court, and in the magnificent ceiling of the Divinity School, Oxford. The corbels and pendants of this kind of vault are boldly pronounced and exceedingly rich. They sometimes contain carved figures in niches. Of this architectural period, which is associated chiefly with the time of Henry VIII., “King’s College Chapel,” at Cambridge, is, without question, the finest illustration, and, in some respects, is the most beautiful edifice in England, perhaps in the world. Its twenty-four side windows, and its great East and West windows, flashing like jewels in the most brilliant colors, make its interior a glorious vision.

After the decadence of the “Perpendicular style,” ecclesiastical architecture in England fell into utter weakness and

confusion, the Gothic blending with the revived classical styles, and losing its noble individuality. It no longer was expressive of any peculiar religious sentiment, idea, or earnest faith.

There can be, we think, in an artistic point of view, but one style of Christian ecclesiastical architecture, and that is the Gothic, and of the Gothic, the simple "Early English" style. This combines round and pointed lines; it does not run into vicious or extravagant ornament; it is solid and yet elegant; and its lofty and lightly-springing lines assist the devotional sentiment to ascend to the Author of all Beauty and Goodness. It may be also made entirely convenient for purposes of Protestant worship.

But why expend great sums for the shell of the spiritual temple? Why lower the idea of spiritual Christianity by reviving the immense and costly structures of the Middle Ages in which Faith was formalized and petrified? We entirely agree with the better feeling and more enlarged conceptions of Christian Faith and Duty, which prompt such questions. The day of great church edifices has gone by. There is a truer conception of worship than these structures could symbolize or inspire. Yet there is such a thing as true Art. It springs from the nature God has made. Its place in Christian worship and life has yet to be defined. By denying that it has any place, it becomes the slave of the passions, and develops in all evil directions. Quatremere DeQuincy places Poetry at the head of æsthetic arts, as being the purest product of the mental idea of beauty, and the furthest removed from the material object; then Music; then Painting; then Sculpture; then Architecture. Poetry and Music are already admitted into the idea and form of Christian worship; shall the other Arts, and among them Architecture, be wholly denied a place?

Art is but the form and expression of Beauty. Beauty resides ultimately in the idea; first of all in the absolute idea of Beauty, which has its type in the Divine mind; from thence it enters into the conception of the human mind. It is therefore a divinely implanted principle of our mental being, and

cannot be overlooked or despised without injury to the mind and religious nature. Our Puritan forefathers were greater than their times. They recognized a power and beauty in the *soul*, which was infinitely superior to any outward manifestation and Art. They broke away from the debasing seductions of painting, sculpture, architecture, music, and symbolic forms, that had been made the handmaidens of a false spiritual idea. They returned to the simplicity of the primitive times of Christian faith. They did a work for which the Church can never be grateful enough. They redeemed the spirituality of religious worship. All the carved stone on the globe is not worth one true prayer or unselfish act. Christ is greater than the temple, and Lord even of the Sabbath day. We would ever affirm the purely Christian idea of Whately, in his "Kingdom of Christ," of a religion, externally speaking, "without Temple, Sacrifice, or Altar."

But the question returns, and may now be calmly met, how far the true idea of Art may legitimately and profitably enter into Christian worship? Shall it be excluded altogether, or may it find a fit, though humble place? How far shall true Art, which is the pure form of Truth, enter into Preaching, Sacred Song, Prayer, Music, and Church Architecture? This important subject we do not now propose to discuss, and have already strayed from our original theme. We will merely venture to lay down our creed in a few words.

God has given us a complex nature. While metaphysicians generally recognize the cognitive, voluntary, and sensitive powers, in some comprehensive method of classification, they are apt to overlook those intermediate and more indefinable qualities of the mind which blend the spiritual with the bodily nature, and which have their home partly in the affectional, and partly in the imaginative or poetic faculties. Over this realm, Art more peculiarly presides. Though confessedly of a lower order of mental qualities, they are no less true and vital than the rest.

"We live by wonder, hope, and love."

The slighting of these more genial attributes of the mind,

which, in their practical operations, take the form of feelings, impulses, desires, rather than severe processes of thought, or rational principles of action, is a useless loss of power, and works evil. They are strong, though perhaps inferior powers. They are characteristically and intensely *human*; and they may be trained upward into almost spiritual beauty, or they may sink into the ground and produce nothing but death. Our conception of Christian worship would also join with the higher spiritual faculties, those lowlier ones. It would embrace the whole man in his attempt to reach after and lay hold of God with all his powers, and even with the feeblest and earthly tendrils of his being. The time will come when all that is pure in Art will be consecrated to God's praise.

That which forms the peculiar interest of Architecture, especially of ecclesiastical Architecture, as being a genuine manifestation of the human mind, and of the devotional sentiment—and, at the same time, its entirely subordinate character and service, its inadequacy to take the place of higher religious ideas, and to satisfy the largest rational nature,—these truths have never been better expressed than in the following familiar and vigorous lines of an American writer :

“ I like a church ; I like a cowl ;  
I love a prophet of the soul ;  
And in my heart monastic aisles  
Fall like sweet strains, or pensive smiles ;  
Yet not for all his faith can see  
Would I that cowed Churchman be.

“ Why should the vest on him allure,  
Which I could not on me endure ?

“ Not from a vain or shallow thought  
His awful Jove young Phidias brought ;  
Never from lips of cunning fell  
The thrilling Delphic oracle ;  
Out from the heart of nature rolled  
The burdens of the Bible old ;  
The litanies of nations came  
Like the volcano's tongue of flame,  
Up from the burning core below,—  
The canticles of love and woe ;  
The hand that rounded Peter's dome,  
And groined the aisles of Christian Rome,

Wrought in sad sincerity;  
 Himself from God he could not free;  
 He builded better than he knew;—  
 The conscious stone to beauty grew.

“Know'st thou what wove yon woodbird's nest  
 Of leaves and feathers from her breast?  
 Or how the fish outbuilt her shell,  
 Painting with morn each annual cell?  
 Or how the sacred pine-tree adds  
 To her old leaves new myriads?  
 Such and so grew these holy piles,  
 Whilst love and terror laid the tiles.  
 Earth proudly wears the Parthenon,  
 As the best gem upon her zone;  
 And morning opes with haste her lids  
 To gaze upon the Pyramids;  
 O'er England's abbey bends the sky,  
 As on its friends with kindred eye;  
 For out of Thought's interior sphere,  
 These wonders rose to upper air;  
 And Nature gladly gave them place,  
 Adopted them into her race,  
 And granted them an equal date  
 With Andes and with Ararat.”

We do not believe, however, in attempting to reproduce in our democratic land the costly and vast European Church edifice. The circumstances that could produce it we should never wish to have existing in our country. But when we see such immense sums of money lavishly and selfishly expended on private residences, or sunk in tasteless fashionable display, it seems a pity that some of this treasure should not be used to erect enduring and attractive houses of God. A little more cost, with much more taste that costs nothing, might do this. The stone parish church that inspired Gray's "Elegy," is quite a rude structure; and so are many of the most interesting village churches in England, as John Newton's church at Olney, and Leigh Richmond's at Brading on the Isle of Wight, and, above all, George Herbert's little church at Bemerton, near Salisbury, which hardly seats fifty people. But there they stand still, as good as ever. How different it is with our own less solid church edifices! Last summer

the writer saw, in one of our pleasant New Hampshire villages, a church building nearly a hundred years old, the first one of any architectural importance that was put up in the town. It had been the religious home and nursery of a wide-spread community. Here the children had been baptized, the saints borne forth to their burial, the Gospel preached, and souls converted to God. It was a good example of the older respectable style of church edifice in New England. But being built of wood, it was now in a state of lamentable decay; the blackened clapboards fastened with wrought nails, were worn by the weather thin as pasteboard; the doors and windows were opened to the winds and birds of heaven; the ruins of the once stately pulpit strewed the broad aisle; the doors of the old square pews hung by one hinge or were wrenched off for fire wood; and the whole was rack and ruin. Such a sight as this must have a demoralizing effect upon the inhabitants of the neighborhood. If this church had been built of rough stone, it might have been used to this day. The question of church building has, therefore, some practical as well as artistic interest; although it is, after all, of but secondary importance, and depends entirely upon the pecuniary means, position, and circumstances, involved in each particular case. Art must always yield to higher moral considerations, and in no instance should it be made so prominent as to attract special notice, for then it becomes worthy of reprobation and contempt. But in certain places, and at certain times, it deserves an intelligent consideration in connection with ecclesiastical architecture. Especially at points of great public life and interest, at the University for instance, which is an Institution not to serve the purpose of the lifetime of one or two generations, but where many generations of minds come to be educated not only in earthly but divine wisdom, there we think should stand in majestic solidity and beauty, as do the ecclesiastical structures of Oxford and Cambridge, the Christian Church edifice, promoting a true but rebuking a vulgar utilitarianism, refining the devotional sentiment, and gathering about it through ages all sacred associations.

## ARTICLE V.—REV. DR. ALEXANDER CARLYLE.

*Autobiography of the Rev. Dr. Alexander Carlyle*, Minister of Inveresk, containing Memorials of the Men and Events of his Time. One Volume. 12mo. Boston: Ticknor & Fields. 1861.

THIS is in many respects a singular book. Dr. Carlyle was a man of mark in his day, and it was a dark day, spiritually, in Scotland. The Moderate Party, as it was called, (who were all of the ministers and elders in the Kirk, who sneered at Evangelical religion, as fanaticism, and at those who evinced it, as wild men), had a sweeping majority in the General Assembly and carried matters with a high hand. Synods and Presbyteries possessed, of course, the same spirit, and as it was with the priests, so was it with the people generally; religion was misunderstood, and practical piety was unknown, save by a vilified minority.

Lord Cockburn, in his entertaining "Memorials of his Time," gives many instances of what he calls the religious feelings of these times, in the cases of several aged ladies, with whom, when a young man, he was acquainted; and these reveal a sad state of mind, and enable us to form a pretty correct idea of the very lax notions of religion which then prevailed. "There was,"\* he says, "a singular race of excellent old ladies. They were a delightful set; strong headed, warm hearted, and high spirited; the fire of their tempers not always latent; merry even in solitude; very resolute; indifferent about the modes and habits of the modern world; and adhering to their own ways, so as to stand out like primitive rocks, above ordinary society.

"Their prominent qualities of sense, humor, affection, and spirit, were embodied in curious outsides; for they all dressed, and spoke, and did exactly as they chose; their language, like

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\* Towards the close of last century. *Memoirs*, 61, 62-7.



their habits, entirely Scotch, but without any other vulgarity than what perfect naturalness is sometimes mistaken for.

"There sits a clergyman's widow, the mother of the first Sir David Dundas, the introducer of our German system of military manœuvres, and at one time commander in chief of the British army. We used to go to her house in Bunker's hill,\* when boys, on Sundays, between the morning and afternoon sermons, when we were cherished with Scotch broth, and cakes, and many a joke from the old lady. Age had made her incapable of walking even across the room; so, clad in a plain black silk gown, and a pure muslin cap, she sat half encircled by a high backed black leather chair, reading; with silver spectacles stuck on her thin nose; and interspersing her studies, and her days, with much laughter, and not a little sarcasm. What a spirit! There was more fun and sense round that chair than in the theatre or the church. I remember one of her grand-daughters stumbling, in the course of reading the newspapers to her, on a paragraph which stated that a lady's reputation had suffered from some indiscreet talk on the part of the Prince of Wales.† Up she of fourscore sat, and said with an indignant shake of her shriveled fist and a keen voice—"The dawmed villain! does he kiss and tell!"

After mentioning very racily, Lady Arniston, Miss Johnstone of Hilton, Lady Don, Mrs. Rothead of Inverleith, Lady Hunter Blair, and Mrs. Murray of Henderland, he mentions a Miss Menie Trotter of the family of Morton Hall, who, with the others, lived to a great age, and says of her, "One of her friends asking her, not long before her death, how she was, she said, 'very weel—quite weel. But eh! I had a dismal dream last night! a fearfu' dream!' 'Aye, I'm sorry for that! What was it?' 'Ou what d'ye think! of a' places in the world, I dreamed I was in heeven! And what d'ye think I saw there? Deil ha'et but thoosands upon thoosands, and ten thoosands upon ten thoosands, o' stark naked weans!‡ That wad be a dreadfu' thing! for ye ken I ne'er could bide bairns a' my days!'"

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\* An elevated piece of ground on the west side of Lieth walk.

† Afterwards George IV.

‡ Children.

And his Lordship adds: "It is remarkable that though all these female Nestors were not merely decorous in matters of religion, but really pious, they would all have been deemed irreligious now. Gay hearted, and utterly devoid of every tincture of fanaticism, the very freedom and cheerfulness of their conversation and views on sacred subjects would have excited the horrors of those who give the tone on these matters at present. So various are the opinions of what constitutes religiousness."

As may be surmised from this long extract, Henry Cockburn himself shared the notions of these ladies; his piety was what he would have called a manly principle, that had respect to the frailties of human nature, and held its own, even though its possessor occasionally uttered a hearty oath;—it made no pretension to godliness. Nearly forty years ago the writer attended a Reform meeting, held in what was then the Adelphi Theatre, Edinburgh; he stood on the stage close beside Mr. Cockburn, who was to be one of the speakers, when the chairman, James Moncrief, advocate, (afterwards Lord Moncrief), called his name; there was a slight bustle in making way for him to go to the front, and a burly man, who was seated on a bench immediately before him, started to his feet, to allow him to step over, but he pressed him down, saying as broadly as old Mrs. Dundas, "Dawm ye, sit still!"

It seems strange, that a people, who had almost universally embraced the great doctrines of the Reformation, and amongst whom the seeds of pure religion had been so widely sown, and so thoroughly harrowed in, by John Knox and his successors, till the reign of Charles II., should have degenerated so sadly, and that an establishment such as they had framed, and which was so well fitted, under God, to nourish and bring to maturity the good seed sown, should have become so leavened with conformity to the world, as to damp and deaden that religious vitality, which at first and for so long distinguished the general Scottish population, fostered, as it was, by the system of parochial schools, in which the Bible was the chief class-book; the facts, however, are undeniable, that the clergy in Dr. Carlyle's time had become deplorably lax both in doctrine and prac-

tice ;—and that a dead formalism, in vast numbers of the people, had taken the place of the earnest uncompromising piety of their forefathers.

That declension is generally considered to have had its origin in the compromises agreed to, amongst the ministers themselves, in the process of readjusting the church's affairs, when, by the resolution of 1688, Presbytery had been restored, as the national form of Church government.

At that period, all the incumbents of parishes were either . Presbyterian ministers, who had conformed to Prelacy when tyrannically set up by Charles II., in 1661, or incompetent curates, who had been drawn from "the Northern party," as Bishop Burnet calls them, that is, from among the raw students of the Aberdeen schools. None of these, therefore, as belonging to the proscribed church, could be employed in the work of reconstruction ; this was entrusted to the surviving ministers of the four hundred and twelve who had been ejected from their parishes by the Glasgow act of 1662 ; along with the very few still alive, of those who, having been inducted to their charges prior to 1649, had been exempted from the operation of that act ; but of the four hundred and twelve only sixty survived ; these soon entered on the pleasing task assigned them, and sought the coöperation of their zealous brethren, who, under the name of Covenanters, had set at defiance the persecuting ordinances of the two last Stuarts, and continued preaching in the open fields, braving spoliation, imprisonment, banishment, and death, rather than yield subjection to the "black prelacy" which had been despotically imposed upon their country ; they proposed, also, to associate with them such of the Presbyterian incumbents, as in their hearts preferred their first love, and had only conformed as a matter of expediency to another. With these last they had no difficulty ; many at once gave in their adhesion to the new order of things ; but with the Covenanters it was otherwise ; they very naturally regarded all who had conformed to prelacy, for the sake of preserving their livings, as unworthy to take any part in again setting up that which they had so readily abandoned for filthy lucre's sake, unless they consented to confess, pub-

liely, contrition for their sinful compliance, and thus purge themselves of its iniquity. Many conferences were held with them on the subject, to induce them to forego pressing this condition on their weaker brethren, who now saw their error and were willing, most heartily willing, to aid in carrying through the good work in which they were engaged,—but with little result; only three of these ministers were persuaded by their arguments, and even of these, their people refused to follow them, but adhered to those who faithfully held by their beloved bond of union, the Solemn League and Covenant which their fathers had framed; and preferred forming a synod of their own, which they afterwards did, under the name of “the Reformed Presbytery.”

When the most vehement and certainly most consistent of the ministers thus withdrew, there was no impediment in the way of receiving the others, and even some of the Prelatists who expressed a willingness to conform to Presbytery; against the admission of the latter many strenuously objected, but more considered that there were cogent reasons why the comprehension should be as wide as was safely practicable. Some of these reasons were cogent, but one, at least, should not have been deferred to as it was, viz, the King's wish. The country, indeed, was in an unsettled state, Prelatists, Papists, and advocates for despotic power were known to be in active correspondence with James, the dethroned King; the parishes where curates were settled, were clamorous, those in which conforming Presbyterian ministers officiated were restless, and, above all, William was exceedingly desirous that as many ministers as possible should be comprehended in the initiatory proceedings. This last reason was one which should have had little weight in such a matter, yet, by the dexterous management of Carstairs, (a Presbyterian minister of great abilities, and of singular sagacity as a politician, who was William's principal adviser in all affairs relating to the Church of Scotland), was made of primary importance; and to meet his views, even the most zealous of the reconstructing ministers were disposed to make concessions.

In this spirit both of these classes were admitted, and preparations made for the holding of a General Assembly.

In 1690 the Scottish Parliament met, and acts were passed abolishing Prelacy; establishing Presbytery; ejecting those curates, of whose parishes the ejected Presbyterian ministers were still alive; rescinding the act of supremacy; repealing all acts in favor of Prelacy; and all private acts whatever, which bore upon Presbyterians. In the same year, after a lapse of nearly forty years, the General Assembly met; when it was soon made manifest that a temporizing policy would prevail; for, of the consistent ministers, there were little over sixty, of the Covenanters or Cameronians only three, while of those who had shown the flexibility of their principles, there were nearly double the number of the others put together. "Accordingly, from the very hour when it met, the assembly was laid under an almost fatal necessity of entering into a compromise, and keeping in comparative abeyance what its wisest and best members knew to be the great and essential principles of the true Presbyterian Church." "It was the duty of the Church to take care that none of her inherent principles should be overborne, and fall into abeyance at such a juncture. She could not of herself repeal any act of Parliament; and her appropriate attitude was that of calmly and respectfully, but firmly, stating her own principles and powers, and leaving it to the State to rescind those despotic and unchristian enactments which impeded their free exercise. Where that was not obtained, it was her duty to remonstrate and petition; and if still unsuccessful, then to enter such declarations and protests as should reserve her rights till a more propitious period might arrive, when they could be reasserted and obtained. Instead of this, yielding to the force of external circumstances and internal dissensions, she abstained from the bold and free statement of those great principles which, at the same time, she continued to hold; seeking a temporary peace by a weak suppression or concealment of what she thought it inexpedient to avow, yet could not abandon. Though the acts of Parliament made no mention of the Second Reformation (1638) and the National Covenants, it was the direct duty of the Church to

have declared her adherence to both; and though the State had still refused to recognize them, the Church would, by this avowal, have at least escaped from being justly exposed to the charge of having submitted to a violation of her own sacred Covenants. In the same spirit of compromise, the Church showed herself but too ready to comply with the King's pernicious policy of including as many as possible of the prelatial clergy within the national establishment. This was begun by the first General Assembly and continued for several succeeding years, though not to the full extent wished by William, till a very considerable number of those men, whose hands had been deeply dyed in the guilt of persecution, were received into the bosom of that Church which they had so long striven utterly to destroy. It was absolutely impossible that such men could become true Presbyterians; and the very alacrity with which they signed the Confession of faith, only proved the more clearly that they were void of either faith or honor. Their admission into the Presbyterian Church of Scotland was the most fatal event which ever occurred in the strange eventful history of that Church. It infused a baneful poison into her very heart, whence, ere long, flowed forth a lethal stream, corrupting and paralyzing her whole frame. It sowed the noxious seed which gradually sprang up, and expanded into the deadly upas-tree of 'Moderatism,' shedding a mortal blight over the whole of her once fair and fruitful vineyard, till it withered into a lifeless wilderness."\*

Though the evil was thus introduced, the repealing the law of patronage, and vesting the appointment of ministers to vacant parishes in the "Heritors and Elders being Protestants," subject to the approval of the people, prevented its rapid spread; but when William's act of 1690 was itself repealed in 1712, and patronage was restored in all its force, the people were deprived of all voice whatever in the choice of their pastor; the mischief had free course, and in comparatively few years was paramount in all the church courts, and gradually infected the people themselves.

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\* Hetherington's *History of the Church of Scotland*, pp. 182-3.

It was when this process of declension was steadily progressing, that in 1722 Alexander Carlyle was born; his father was minister of Preston Pans, a village nine miles east from Edinburgh. "He was of a moderate understanding," says his son, "of ordinary learning and accomplishments for the times, for he was born in 1690; of a warm, open, and benevolent temper; most faithful and diligent in the duties of his office; and an orthodox and popular orator." Alexander learned to read very early, for when six years of age he tells us that, being excluded from the church by a crowd of hearers, and seeing a dozen of old women sitting on a step where they could hear nothing of what was being preached in the church, he proposed to read some portion of the Bible to them; "to which they agreed," he says, "and set me on a tombstone, where I read very audibly to a congregation—which increased to about a score—the whole of the Song of Solomon."

In his thirteenth year he was sent to college at Edinburgh, where he remained for four sessions, and afterwards returned to it and entered as a student of theology. It was at this time he formed several of those friendships which were matured in after life: Dr. Hugh Blair, Principal Robertson, Dr. Witherspoon—who afterward figured in our Revolution—and others who rose to eminence. In 1743 he went to Glasgow to prosecute his theological course—how early his peculiarly liberal ideas began to develop themselves, we learn from this entry: "In the second week I was in Glasgow I went to the dancing assembly with some of my acquaintance," &c. "I was admitted a member of two clubs, one entirely literary, which was held in the porter's lodge at the college, and where we criticised books and wrote abridgments of them, with critical essays, and to this society we submitted the discourses which we were to deliver in the Divinity Hall in our turns, when we were appointed by the Professor. The other club met in McDugald's tavern, near the Cross, weekly, and admitted a number of young gentlemen who were not intended for the study of theology." . . . "Here we drank a little punch after our beefsteak and pancakes," &c. The following lets us peep

into society, and hear what were the topics on which the lady of the Divinity Professor entertained the students on their visits weekly at a *conversazione*: "Professor Leechman devoted one evening each week, from five to eight, to conversation with his students, who assembled on Fridays, about six or seven together, and were received first in the Professor's library. But Dr. Leechman was not able to carry on common conversation, and when he spoke at all, it was a short lecture. It was, therefore, a very dull meeting, and everybody longed to be called into tea with Mrs. Leechman, whose talent being different from that of her husband, she was able to maintain a continued conversation on plays, novels, poetry, and the fashions." Young Carlyle's "liberal" turn of thought was greatly fostered by the prelections of Dr. Leechman. "What Dr. Leechman wanted in the talent for conversation, was fully compensated by his ability as a professor, for in that he shone with great lustre. It was owing to Hutcheson\* and him that a new school was formed in the western provinces of Scotland, where the clergy till that period were narrow and bigoted and had never ventured to range in their mind beyond the bounds of strict orthodoxy. For, though neither of these professors taught any heresy, yet they opened and enlarged the minds of the students, which soon gave them a turn for free inquiry; the result of which was, candor and liberality of sentiment." "Hutcheson was a great admirer of Shaftsbury, and adopted much of his writings in his lectures; and to recommend him more to his students, was at great pains in private to prove that the noble moralist was no enemy to the Christian religion; but that all appearances of that kind, which are very numerous in his books, flowed only from an excess of generous indignation against the fanatics of Charles First's reign. Leechman and he were supposed both to lean to Socinianism."

Having finished his theological course, Carlyle returned home, and, at his father's request, made a tour of visits among the ministers of the Presbytery of the bounds, that they might examine him with a view to his being accepted as a probationer,

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\* Professor of Moral Philosophy.



or licentiate of the kirk. Of each of these ministers he gives a short, graphic sketch, which instructs us thoroughly on one subject: that nearly all of them were men below mediocrity both in abilities and learning. Of the last he called on, he says: "I passed, on next forenoon, to Garvald, where Mr. Archibald Blair, brother of Mr. Robert Blair, author of 'The Grave,' lived. He seemed as torpid as George Murray, and not more enlightened than Patrick Wilkie.\* He conversed none. As we walked out before dinner to see the views, which were not remarkable, I thought I might try to examine him, and put a question to him as we entered the church-yard, which he answered when we got to the far end of the glebe. His wife, however, made it well up. This, with other instances, convinced me that it would have been better if the wives had preached and the husbands spun."

On his return to Glasgow, we learn a little more of the "moderate" relaxations of divinity students at that time: "I became intimate with Dr. McLean, and at his suggestion we prepared to act the tragedy of Cato to a select company in the College. Our parts were allotted, and we rehearsed it well, though we never acted it before an audience. McLean and I allotted the parts. I was to be Cato."

While on a visit to his friends in the south of Scotland, he heard of the Pretender's landing in the Highlands, the rising of the clans, and Charles's march towards the Capital. He therefore hastened thither and joined a company of divinity students who had enlisted as part of four hundred volunteers to whom the defense of the city was to be entrusted; but their patriotism was not put to so severe a test, for the dragoons, who had been sent forward to check the advance of the rebels, being seen from the city galloping eastward, and a letter reaching the magistrates from Charles, who was only a few miles off, demanding its immediate surrender, all thoughts of resistance were given up.

He returned to his father's and witnessed the battle of Preston Pans, which ended in the total rout of the Royal

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\* Two members of the Presbytery.

forces. It was here Colonel Gardiner was killed, whose Life by Dr. Doddridge is so well known. Of the Colonel's conversion, Carlyle gives a version very different from the Doctor's, saying he had heard Gardiner himself narrate the circumstances which led to it; and the vision of the Saviour, which forms so striking a portion in Dr. Doddridge's narrative, was never mentioned. This vision, he says, was palmed upon Dr. Doddridge by a Rev. Mr. Spears, chaplain to Lord Grange, who lived in the neighborhood, and was a person whom he "knew to have no great regard for the truth when it suited his purpose."

In the end of 1745 our student went to Leyden, as in terms of the bursary he had enjoyed in Glasgow University, it was requisite to attend one session at a foreign college ere he could be licensed in Scotland; here his convivial tastes were gratified, as a number of young men of kindred tastes were living in the same boarding-house. "We had very good small claret at a shilling a bottle, giving her (the landlady) the benefit of our exemption from town duty for sixty stoups of wine for every student." . . . "We had no company to dinner; but in the evenings about a dozen of us met at one another's rooms in turn, three times a week, and drank coffee and smoked tobacco, and chatted about politics, and drank claret, and supped on bukkam (Dutch red herrings) and eggs and salad, and never sat later than twelve o'clock;—at McGowan's, the clergyman's, never later than ten, unless when we deceived him by making such a noise when the hour was ringing as prevented his hearing it." In the spring of 1746 he returned to Britain, staying in London for a few weeks, and entering with great zest into the amusements of the metropolis; as his father and mother had distant relations among the nobility, and Carlyle was a very elegant, high-mannered young man, he had a wide circle of friends, and with them attended balls, assemblies, operas, theaters, &c.; and squireing this belle, and dancing with that, he still further polished his manners if he did not deepen his theology.

When he reached Scotland he applied for and obtained his license, and began to preach, to the admiration of his friends

and the applause of his hearers generally. He was shortly after *presented* to the parish of Cockburnspath, by its patron, but it was strictly a country living. "It was an obscure, distant place," he says, "without amenity, comfort or society, where, if I had been settled, I would have more probably fallen into idleness and dissipation than a course of study, for preferment is so difficult to be obtained in our church, and so trifling when you have obtained it, that it requires great energy of mind not to fall asleep when you are fixed in a country charge. From this I was relieved, by good luck. There was a Mr. Andrew Gray, afterwards minister of Abernethy, who was a very great friend of my father's. He had been preaching one Sunday in the beginning of 1747 for Fred. Carmichael, minister of Inveresk, and staid with him all night; from him he had drawn the secret that President Forbes, who lived in his parish, had secured for him a church that was recently vacant in Edinburgh. Gray, who was very friendly and ardent, and knew my father's connections, urged him without loss of time to apply for Inveresk. By this time I had preached thrice at Cockburnspath, and was very acceptable to the people. My father was unwilling to take any step about a church that would not be vacant for a year to come, but Gray was very urgent, and backed all his other arguments with my father with the idea that his not doing his utmost would be peculiarly rejecting the gift of Providence when within his reach. My father at last mounted his horse—for that he would have done had the distance been but half a mile—and away he went, and found Lord Drummore on the point of going to Edinburgh for the week. My father opened his budget, which he received most cordially, and told him there was great probability of success, for that he was well enough\* to write both to the Duke of Buccleugh, the patron, and to the Duke of Queensberry, his brother-in-law. Besides that, Provost Bell of Dumfries (uncle of Carlyle) had everything to say with the Duke of Queensberry. In a few posts there were favorable answers from both the Dukes, and a promise of

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\* A Scotticism for "being on sufficiently intimate terms."

Inveresk." This is one of the best country livings in Scotland, its scenery is charming, it is within five miles of Edinburgh, and what must have given it additional value to our gay young minister, several of the nobility and many wealthy Commoners lived in the parish or had their seats in its neighborhood. No sooner, however, was it known in the parish that he had been presented, than opposition began to show itself; he was too young, too full of levity, and too much addicted to the company of his superiors to be fit for so important a charge; he danced in a manner prohibited by the laws of the Church, wore his hat agee, "together with many doubts," to use his own words, "about my having the grace of God, an occult faculty which the people cannot define, but surely is in full opposition to the defects they saw in me. A part of my early history was, on this occasion, of more effect than can be conceived. There was one Ann Hall, a sempstress, who had lived close by the manse of Preston Pans when I was a boy. She was by this time married at Dalkeith, and a seceder of the strictest sect, and a great leader among her own people. As many people from Inveresk parish frequented her shop in Dalkeith on market days, the conversation naturally fell on the subject of who was to be their minister. By this time I had been presented, but they said it would be up hill work, for an opposition was rising against so young a man, to whom they had many faults, and they expected to be able to prevent the settlement. 'Your opposition will be altogether in vain,' said Mrs. Ann, 'for I know that it is foreordained that he shall be minister; he foretold it himself when he was but six years of age; and ye know that *'out of the mouth of babes and of sucklings, &c.'* The case was, that soon after I had read the Bible to the old wives in the church-yard, as I have mentioned, I was diverting myself on Mrs. Ann's stair head, as was often the case. She came to the door, and stroking my head and caressing me, she called me a fine boy, and hoped to live to see me my father's successor. 'No, no,' says I, (I suppose alarmed at the thoughts of my father dying so soon), 'I'll never be minister of *that* church; but yonder's my church,' pointing to the steeple of Inveresk, which was distinctly seen

from the stair head. She held up her hands with wonder, and stored it up in her heart; and telling this simple story twenty times every market day to Musselburgh people for several months, it made such an impression that the opposition died away."

With what animus he met "the Evangelical Ministers," or "Wild Men," or "High Party," who formed part of his Presbytery, we learn from what he says of them in reference to their opposition to the settlement of a brother student or class-mate of the name of Logan, on the ground of his opinions being unsound. One "was truly but a poor soul, and might have been pardoned but for his hypocrisy;" another "was a shallow pedant—he had a fluent elocution in the dialect of Morayshire,\* embellished with English of his own invention;" a third "was a sly Northerner;" a fourth "was a dark inquisitor;" and a fifth "was a rank enthusiast."

There were many more of these "wild men" in the church than harmonized with Carlyle's views, and he seems to have attributed their sour and dogged opposition to his chosen party—"the Moderates"—to the influence which had been exerted in the church by the introduction of pious men of poor extraction into it at the Revolution in 1688. We have already alluded to the difficulties the surviving members of the Church, who had remained faithful to their principles, had in reorganizing the Presbyterian polity and putting it in operation, and noticed the introduction of those lax Episcopalists who signed the Confession of Faith in order to retain their livings,—but two hundred and two of these men, not only refusing to accept the Confession, but forcibly retaining possession of the parishes, and disowning King William's authority—were brought to trial by the Privy Council, which was popularly constituted in 1689, when twenty-three were acquitted and one hundred and seventy-nine were found guilty and deprived of their benefices. In the anxiety of the reconstructing ministers to fill these vacancies, individuals were appointed in many cases whose piety and devotedness to the

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\* The most unpleasant dialect of any in Scotland.

work were their principal qualifications. Looking back on these men, and their successors in the Church courts, from the "Moderate" standpoint, Carlyle says of them :

" Till this time (1752) the clergy of Scotland, from the Revolution downwards, had, in general, been little thought of, and seldom admitted into liberal society, one cause of which was that in those days a clergyman was thought profane who affected the manners of a gentleman, or was much seen in their company. The sudden call for young men to fill up vacancies at the Revolution, obliged the Church to take their entrants from the lower ranks, who had but a mean education."

In some Presbyteries, men like minded with these outnumbered the Moderates among them, and had evaded once and again the carrying out some settlements of presentees, on the ground that the people were decidedly opposed to them, and they (as members of Presbytery) could not violate their consciences by settling them over reclaiming congregations. Thus the Presbytery of Linlithgow had declined to settle a Mr. Watson in the parish of Torphichen, on the ground that he was not acceptable to the people, although the Assembly, in 1750, had enjoined them to proceed with his induction, and appointed Mr. Adams, minister of Falkirk, to preside at the ordination. In 1751 this conduct of the Presbytery was brought before the Assembly, and Mr. Adams was specially arraigned for disobeying their injunction, and the case was regarded, by the more zealous of the Moderates, as one that ought to be summarily dealt with, but the calmer spirits hesitated to proceed to extremities. Only a few years before this, the General Assembly had carried matters with a high hand against Ebenezer and Ralph Erskine with four others, and had deposed them for a contumacious adherence to their protests against the Assembly's laxity in screening heresy in some of its members. But, alarmed by the secession which followed its action in the case of the Erskines, it was chary of repeating a similar process, and was disposed to deal lightly with this Presbytery, and merely rebuke them, through Adams, for not giving effect to the presentation, and enjoin them to proceed forthwith to ordination and induction.

This forbearance of their leaders gave great offense to the more ardent spirits among the Moderates, such as Carlyle, but from strong speeches which had been made in the debate by his friends, and some weak ones by the friends of the offending Presbytery, he hailed the dawning of a better time, when power would be asserted and conscience put out of court.

These fiery neophytes had proposed more decided measures, but were defeated by the more prudent old heads of the party. "Yet," he says, "the speeches made on that occasion had thoroughly convinced many of the senior members who, though they persisted in screening Adams, yet laid to heart what they heard, and were prepared to follow a very different course with the next offender. Adams' own speech, and those of his apologists, had an equal effect with those on the other side in bringing about this revolution in the minds of sensible men, for the plea of conscience was their only ground, which, the more it was urged, appeared the more absurd when applied to the conduct of subordinate judicatories in an established Church."

To carry out the work so happily begun, the young ministers, with the young lawyers and other elders of rank, met two nights a week, during the sitting of the Assembly, in a tavern, took supper, and over bowls of punch strengthened one another for the work on which they had entered. What Carlyle no doubt considered "the good work," thus so characteristically inaugurated, came to a head much sooner than he and his youthful thoroughgoing coadjutors anticipated, for in that very Assembly a second case of contumacy was brought before it. The presbytery of Dunfermline had declined to proceed with the settlement of a Mr. Richardson in the charge of Inverkeithing, though twice ordered to perfect it, notwithstanding the opposition of the parishioners. This was, in "moderate" parlance, a flagrant case, and on the prosecution of it, the Rev. Mr. Robertson, minister of Gladsmuir, (afterwards better known as the Principal of Edinburgh University and leader of the party), a college friend of Carlyle, and the facile princeps of young Moderatism, entered, and moved that the Presbytery of Dunfermline be peremptorily ordered to proceed

forthwith in settling Mr. Richardson, on pain of the highest penalties if they refused. Still, six of that Presbytery declined, and the oldest of them, the Rev. Mr. Gillespie, minister of Carnock, was accordingly called to the bar, and on the motion of Mr. Robertson, formally deposed from the ministry. This tyrannical act, as in the case of the Erskines, was followed by another secession, which took the name of "the Relief Presbytery." It was on this occasion that Carlyle made his first speech in the Assembly, and from the animus and ability he displayed, he was regarded as one of the rising lights of the dominant party.

The general habits of his *confrères* seem to have been in harmony with his own, and surely these were as little tinctured with godliness as David Hume could desire; he, indeed, was one of Carlyle's own set, with whom, and Adam Smith, author of "The Wealth of Nations," another infidel, he, with Dr. Robertson and other leading ministers, maintained the most intimate intercourse. Of some of his brethren he gives a racy description, and these were the pillars of their party. "Dr. McCormick, who died Principal of St. Andrews, was rather a Merry-Andrew than a wit; but he left as many good sayings behind him, which are remembered, as any man of his time. Andrew Gray, minister of Abernethy, was a man of wit and humor, which had the greater effect that his person was diminutive and his voice of the smallest treble. Lindsay\* was a hussar in raillery, who had no mercy, and whose object was to display himself and humble the man he played on. Monteith (minister of Longformacus) was more than his match, for he lay by and took his opportunity of giving him such southboards (buffets) as silenced him for the whole evening." . . . "There were two men, however, whose coming into a convivial company pleased more than anybody I ever knew; the one was Dr. George Kay, a minister of

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\* Minister of Corstorphine, three miles west from Edinburgh. He was of the old family of the Lindsays of Pinkieburn, a property adjoining Inveresk. The writer has seen a note from Principal Robertson addressed to him, reminding him of the meeting of the Presbytery, and the dinner in Clirehugh's, or the Prince of Wales' Tavern, he forgets which, at such an hour.



Edinburgh, who, to a charming vivacity when he was in good spirits, added the charm of ballad-singing better than anybody ever I knew; the other was John Home.”\*

The account he gives of Principal Robertson is not very flattering. He indeed praises him as a most able manager of the Assemblies, though despotic in forcing on his measures, but he represents him as remarkably fond of applause—a gatherer up of the good sayings of others, which he clothed in his own language and passed off as his own, so that he calls him “the greatest plagiary in conversation that ever I knew.” He seems to have been a cold friend, and by no means bound to any promise he made—in short, in every respect a man of the world. Of Dr. Hugh Blair, afterwards Professor of Rhetoric and Belles Lettres in Edinburgh University, he gives by no means a flattering representation. “Dr. Blair was a different kind of man from Robertson. Robertson was most sagacious, Blair most naïf. Neither of them could be said to have either wit or humor. Of the latter Robertson had a small tincture—Blair had hardly a relish for it. Robertson had a bold and ambitious mind, and a strong desire to make himself considerable; Blair was timid and unambitious, and withheld himself from public business of every kind, and seemed to have no wish but to be admired as a preacher, particularly by the ladies. His conversation was so infantine that many people thought it impossible, at first sight, that he could be a man of sense or genius. He was as eager about a new paper to his wife’s drawing-room, or his own new wig, as about a new tragedy or a new epic poem. Not long before his death called upon him, when I found him restless and fidgety. ‘What is the matter with you to-day?’ says I, ‘my good friend—are you well?’ ‘O, yes,’ says he, ‘but I must dress myself, for the Duchess of Leinster has ordered her grand-daughters not to leave Scotland without seeing me.’ ‘Go and dress yourself, Doctor, and I shall read this novel, for I am resolved to see the Duchess of Leinster’s grand-daughters, for I knew their father and grandfather.’ This being

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\* Minister of Athelstaneford, and author of the tragedy of Douglas.

settled, the young ladies with their governess arrived at one, and turned out poor little girls of twelve and thirteen, who could hardly be supposed to carry a well turned compliment which the Doctor gave them in charge to their grandmother."

In further comparing and estimating the powers and capabilities of these two, we are furnished with what Carlyle seems to have considered a criterion: "Having been bred at a time when the common people thought that to play with cards or dice was a sin, and everybody thought it an indecorum in clergymen, they could neither of them play at golf or bowls, and far less at cards or backgammon, and on that account were very unhappy in friends' houses in the country in rainy weather. As I had set the first example of playing at cards at home with unlocked doors, and so relieved the clergy from ridicule on that side, they both learned to play at whist after they were sixty. Robertson did very well—Blair never shone." In 1754 "the Select Society," a sort of literary club, was formed, of which Carlyle was very proud as having given a stimulus to the literature of Scotland. He gives the names of several of the first members, with a running comment on their qualifications. Of one he speaks with great gusto. He had one merit which Carlyle could appreciate. "Mr. Robert Alexander, wine merchant, a very worthy man, but a bad speaker, entertained us all with warm suppers and excellent claret, as a recompense for the patient hearing of his ineffectual attempts, when I often thought he would have beat out his brains on account of their constipation."

This year was also signalized by what Carlyle considered another important event—the carriage of "the tragedy of Douglas" to London to be offered for public representation, and so interested did many of the neighboring ministers feel in the success of their brother John Home, that they resolved to escort him safely across the border with his precious charge, for it was too valuable to be trusted out of its author's hands, and he was to ride his pony to the Capital. Accordingly, Carlyle, who was one of the convoy, writes: "Six or seven Merse ministers—the half of whom had slept at the manse of Polwarth, bad as it was, the night before—set out for Wooler-

haughhead in a snowy morning in February. Before we had gone far, we discovered that our bard had no mode of carrying his precious treasure—the tragedy in one pocket of his great coat and his clean shirt and nightcap in the other, though they balanced each other, was thought an unsafe mode of conveyance; and our friend—who, like most of his brother poets, was unapt to foresee difficulties and provide against them—had neglected to buy a pair of leather bags as he passed through Haddington. We bethought us that possibly James Landreth, minister of Simprin, and Clerk of the Synod, would be provided with such a convenience for the carriage of the Synod records; and having no wife, no *atra cura*, to resist our request, we unanimously turned aside half a mile to call at James'; and concealing our intention at first, we easily persuaded the honest man to join us in this convoy to his friend Home, and then observing the danger the manuscript might run in a great-coat pocket on a journey of four hundred miles, we inquired if he could lend Mr. Home his valise only as far as Wooler, where he would purchase a new pair for himself. This he very cheerfully granted. But while his pony was preparing, he had another trial to go through, for Cupples, (one of the escort), who never had any money, though he was a bachelor, too, and had twice the stipend of Landreth, took the latter into another room, where the conference lasted longer than we wished for, so that we had to bawl out for them to come away. We afterwards understood that Cupples, having only four shillings, was pressing Landreth to lend him half a guinea, that he might be able to defray the expense of the journey. Honest James, who knew that John Home, if he did not return his own valise, which was very improbable, would provide him in a better pair, had frankly agreed to the first request, but as he knew Cupples never paid anything, he was very reluctant to part with his half guinea. However, having at last agreed, we at last set out, and I think gallant troops, but so and so accoutred, to make an inroad on the English border. By good luck the river Tweed was not come down, and we crossed it safely at the ford near Norham Castle, and as the day mended, we got to Woolerhaughhead by four

o'clock, where we got but an indifferent dinner, for it was a miserable house in those days; but a happier or more jocosely and merry party could hardly be assembled.

"John Home and I, who slept in one room, or perhaps in one bed, as was usual in those days, were disturbed by a noise in the night, which being in the next room, where Lawrie and Monteith were, we found they had quarreled and fought, and the former had pushed the latter out of bed. After having acted as mediators in this quarrel, we had sound sleep till morning. Having breakfasted as well as the house could afford, Cupples and I, who had agreed to go two days' journey further with Mr. Home, set off southwards with him, and the rest returned by the way they had come, to Berwickshire again."

They were truly a free and easy set, these moderates—potent men at the punch-bowl—their "*often infirmities*" called for wine, and they ministered sedulously to relieve them. Thus we are told: "During the sitting of the General Assembly, (1756) by desire of James Lindsay, (minister of Corstorphine) a company of seven or eight, all clergymen, supped at a punch house in the Bow kept by an old servant of his." Again: "It was during this Assembly that the Carrier's Inn, in the lower end of the West Bow, got into some credit, and was called the Diversorium. Thomas Nicolson was the man's name, and his wife's, Nelly Douglas." "Home and I followed Logan, James Craig, and William Cullen, and were pleased with the house. He and I happening to dine with Dr. Robertson at his uncle's, who lived in Pinkie house, a week before the General Assembly, some of us proposed to order Thomas Nicolson to lay in twelve dozen of the same claret at eighteen shillings per dozen, from Mr. Scott, wine merchant at Leith—for in his house we proposed to make our Assembly parties; for, being out of the way, we proposed to have snug parties of our own friends. This was accordingly executed, but we could not be concealed; for as it happens in such case, the out-of-the-way place and mean house, and the attempt to be private, made it the more frequented,—and no wonder, when the company consisted of Robertson, Home, Ferguson, Jardine, and Wilkie,

with the addition of David Hume and Lord Elibank, the Master of Ross, and Sir Gilbert Elliot."

What Carlyle esteemed his share of persecution came at length upon him—not exactly of that kind which preachers of old were called to endure, but yet sufficiently annoying to a man of his *liberal* sentiments—his friend Home's play came to be acted in Edinburgh, and he went to see it along with some of his brethren. Instantly the "high-fliers" were upon him, and the public generally were against him; but play-going, like card-playing, was a matter of conscience with him, and with the carnal weapon of a ready pen, set agoing by a haughty, proud spirit, he hurled defiance at his assailants.

He was, however, libelled by the Presbytery of Dalkeith, and the libel, besides charging him with going to the theater, charged that he had attended several rehearsals of the tragedy, and had supped with the actors and actresses in a tavern in the Canongate. He was severely reprehended as outraging the Christian feelings of the public. Against their finding, who had a majority of "highfliers" among them, he appealed to the Synod, in which the Moderates greatly preponderated. Of course he was exculpated, though, as a general rule, play-going in a minister was discommended. Against this finding, the Presbytery, in its turn, appealed to the General Assembly; but in it he was safe. Accordingly the appeal was dismissed and the finding of the Synod sustained. However, to calm the clamor that had been raised, it was considered necessary to pass an act forbidding the clergy to countenance the theater; but as it was a mere sop to stop the mouth of the public, so it was totally neglected, for Carlyle affirms that all the country ministers in their visits to Edinburgh frequented the theater, and that when Mrs. Siddons was engaged to perform during the sitting of an Assembly, its business had to be so arranged as to admit of the younger ministers getting away by three o'clock in order to get a place near the door, to be sure of good sittings when it opened.

Will it be believed that he regarded this acquittal by the Assembly as a triumph and the proudest event of his life? Hear what he says: "Of the many exertions I and my friends

have made for the credit and interest of the clergy of Scotland, there was none more meritorious or of better effects than this. The laws of the Church were sufficiently strict to prevent persons of conduct really criminal from entering it, and it was of great importance to discriminate the artificial virtues and vices, formed by ignorance and superstition, from those that are real, lest the continuance of such a bar should have given a check to the rising liberality of the young scholars, and prevented those of better birth or more ingenious minds from entering into the profession."

To a man of such principles and habits, everything that savored of vital religion was repulsive,—of course he takes no notice of the great revivals in Cambuslang, and Kilsyth; the labors of Whitfield he sneered at, and regarded him as a designing hypocrite, and all who followed him as credulous, ignorant dupes; but we must stop. His autobiography comes down to 1770, though he lived till 1805, and it is sad to think that no change had taken place in his mind, for he commenced the compilation of these reminiscences in his seventy-ninth year, and apparently gloated over the scenes through which he had passed, the companions he had associated with, and the course he had pursued; but no pious reflection occurs, for to piety he was a stranger, indeed, the scenes in which he delighted were the convivial meetings of his innumerable clubs, and the quality of the wine he drank was as much the subject of his commemoration as the sayings and doings of his brilliant companions; even from the diary which he appears to have kept until within ten days of his death, the editor gives us no scrap that would indicate his state of mind, or the ground of his hope, before God. The name of the Saviour never occurs throughout the autobiography, nor is it mentioned in the brief extracts given from the diary. One of these recording the death of his wife, January 31st, 1804, just six months before his own, is as follows: "She composed her features into the most placid appearance, gave me her last kiss, and then going gently out, like a taper in the socket, at seven breathed her last. No finer spirit ever took flight from a clay tabernacle to be united with the Father of all, and the spirits of the

just." Some time in the following summer, he writes, "By the first Sunday of August, I intend, God willing, to gratify my people by opening my new Church, if it were only with a short prayer, (for Othello's occupation's gone), when I shall have been fifty-seven years minister of this parish." "But," says the editor, "it was not to be." Among the last entries in his brief diary, in 1805, are "25th July—John Home and Mary Home;" "27th, George Hill called, going east." Next day the entry is, "Very ill." For some days afterwards, "no change;" and the last entry, as distinct as any, is "August 12th and 13th, the same." He died on the 25th.

The concluding remarks of the gifted editor, present Carlyle in a true light: "It seems to have been his one and peculiar ambition that he should dignify his calling, by bringing it forth into the world, and making for it a place along with rank, and wealth, and distinction of every kind.

"This object he carried through with a high hand; and scarcely a Primate of the proud Church of England could overtop in social position and influence the Presbyterian minister of Inveresk."

Along with very considerable abilities, Carlyle had a remarkably fine countenance, and a majestic, commanding presence. When presented at Court, he attracted the eyes of all. And on two occasions he was requested to sit, as the Painter's and Sculptor's bean ideal of Olympian Jove.

The book is certainly a curious as well as an entertaining one; a sort of catalogue raisonnée of a crowd of characters who, in their day, were men of mark, and whom we here see as they lived, and moved, and had their being, men of like passions with ourselves, who fretted out their hour upon the stage, and then passed into eternity. "The fashion of this world passeth away."

Such were the men, who, for one hundred years, bore sway in the Councils of the Church of Scotland, and stamped a character of dead formalism in religious profession, with a living ungodliness in practice throughout the nation; and but for the labors of such men as the Erskines, McCulloch, Robe, McLaurin, Willison, Gillespie, and others, with the repeated

ministrations of Whitfield, vital religion had nearly perished in the land; but by them, and the faithful few within the Church itself, "the glorious gospel of the Blessed God" was preached, and a goodly remnant, who had not bowed the knee to Baal, were preserved amid the general declension; the later visits of Whitfield had also this good fruit resulting from them, that numbers of the clergy were induced from curiosity to hear him; indeed, on one occasion, they were so numerous that in the application of his discourse he addressed them particularly, and with such power that many were awakened, and from that day forth consorted with the Pauls and Silases, whom they had previously ridiculed and maligned.

In this way the strength of the moderate party was weakened, and that of the "wild men" proportionally increased, until on the great revival, wrought under God's blessing, by the itinerating labors of James A. Haldane, John Aikman, John Campbell, Rowland Hill, and many other devoted and zealous preachers, in the close of last century and the beginning of this, it was so extended, that ere long it first neutralized, and at last destroyed that of the Moderates.

For years thereafter the Evangelical ministers and elders in the Church controlled its affairs, but in their zeal for a reformation of long established abuses, and in eager haste to accomplish it, they came into contact with the civil power. This infused new life into the "Moderate" minority, who appealed to the power of the civil magistrate in the disputed cases; the struggle continued for ten years, and at length issued in the disruption of the Church by the withdrawal of about four hundred ministers from its communion, and the organization of the Free Church. That great event, though it paralyzed the remanent members from the difficulty of filling up so many deserted parishes, has been overruled for good,—for a different style of preaching is now heard in its pulpits, and, in the generality of cases, a most decided stand has been made in seeking to stem prevailing ungodliness in the Establishment, by the inculcation of the pure morality and saving truths of the Gospel.



Indeed, with such men as Drs. Norman McLeod, Caird, and others, the Church is again exerting a powerful influence in the land, and Moderatism can be charged upon only the lingering remains of Carlyle's party; it cannot justly be laid against the major part of its ministers.

To conclude this desultory Article, we have seen that Carlyle's professed aim in patronizing the theatre, balls, dancing assemblies, card-playing in rooms with unlocked doors, was, to give such a liberal aspect to the discipline of the Church, as should induce young scholars of good birth and condition to enter into it and redeem it from those narrow and ignorant prejudices, which many low born men brought with them into it. What effects his and his friends' liberal policy had in elevating the Church became very palpable, especially in those Presbyteries where the Moderates were happy in having no "wild men" amongst them; there things went on like clock-work, all roughnesses in "Acts of Assembly" and "Statutes of Parliament" were smoothed down,—all difficulties in the way of interpreting them had been got over,—a pleasant uniformity in procedure became established, and use and wont constituted the rule by which their deliberations and decisions were guided.

One or two master spirits took the lead, and the residue of the Court, the *Vis inertiae*, placidly following, gave to each decision its legal momentum. All being thus of one mind, their unanimity was beautiful in its way, aptly illustrating that verse of their quaint version of the 133d Psalm:

"Behold, how good a thing it is,  
And how becoming well,  
Together such as brethren are  
In unity to dwell."

In nothing was this simple, considerate, harmonious mode of procedure more observable in some Presbyteries, than in the tender manner probationers were dealt with, when they came before them to be examined on application for license. The young men were not excruciated by any searching examination, their erudition was not severely tested, and many who

came quaking with apprehension, because of conscious leanness, went away, wondering in themselves at that which had come to pass; for lo! instead of a fiery trial, they found it a thing of nought—in fact, a pompous, heroical, public assertion of attention to the letter, qualified by a compassionate ignoring of the spirit of the “form prescribed for trial of probationers.”

The writer once asked the then incumbent of a parish, a few miles to the west of Edinburgh, how his Presbytery conducted the examination of those applying for license. “Ou,” replied he, “we long ago agreed that we would ask no questions on Hebrew, and in the Greek restrict ourselves to a few questions on the first verses of the first Chapter of John’s Gospel, and we find it to work very pleasantly; we have never any trouble wi’ our young men.”

Matters were managed in a similar spirit and manner in the Universities, of which a clerical friend, now of high standing in the Congregational body, gave the writer an inkling. He was studying in the ancient seat of learning in that kingdom which, in Scotland, is an *imperium in imperio*;—had gone through the prescribed curriculum, and the full term of attendance, and had notified his desire to be examined for the degree of M. A.

As the day of examination drew nigh, he became nervous and anxious, and being of a highly excitable temperament, his dread of the formidable tribunal before which he was to appear, and the trying ordeal through which he was to pass, waxed more and more painful, until in the extremity of his distressing apprehensions, he determined to call on one of the Professors, whose kindness he had more than once experienced, (the late Rev. Dr. T—— G——, of facetious memory), and get from him, if possible, some idea of the course the examinations might take. He accordingly did so, made known his fears, and besought counsel how he should prepare, (technically cram), so as to pass through the scrutiny safely. The Dr. heard this recital of his cares and fears, and laughing heartily, said, “Ah! You do not know how easy a matter it is to pass

through these examinations; you run no risk, I assure you, keep up your heart, you have no need to fear, there is nothing very searching in them; you are a novice yet in these matters. Did I ever tell you how I got my license from the Presbytery of D——?" "No, you never did." "Well, I'll tell you now, and it will show you how very little reason you have for being anxious.

"When I attended the classes here, I was a sorry student indeed. I paid far more attention to golfing than to learning. My club (for golfing) was far more attractive than either Latin or Greek; as to Hebrew, the look of the letters was enough, I never grappled with it.

"Well, time ran on; I was an expert golfer; could tee, strike, and hole my ball with the best, but woe's me for my studies. I had made little progress in them, and my course was nearly through, when I would have to apply to the Presbytery for license,—then my idleness and love of sport rose up as accusing spirits, and I was miserable from the consciousness that I was not fit to pass through an examination. I was scantily furnished in every branch which I had ostensibly studied; I had a very slight acquaintance with Greek, of Hebrew I knew not a letter, and I was aware that there were some Hebrew scholars in the Presbytery. You may judge how I felt. I assure you my feelings were not enviable. I had to meet these inquisitors, was satisfied I should be rejected, my negligence exposed, and how was I to answer to my father for my abuse of his self-denying exertions to bear me through my college course? After much rueful cogitation, I at last determined, so soon as I got home, to go to Dr. S——, an old friend of my father's, who had always taken an interest in me, and make a full confession of my delinquency,—make a clean breast of it, and cast myself on his compassion, for counsel, guidance, and help.

"Well, I did, and he heard me patiently to an end.

"Shaking his grave head very solemnly at me, he said, 'ah! T——, T——, ye've been a bad boy,—does your father ken?' 'No, he does not, he has no suspicion how matters stand with

me.' 'A weel,—aweel, it's better he should na. Let me see—hum—how on airth could you do, as ye've done, T——? But it canna be helpt now, and we mauna let ye stick, for your father's sake.'

"He sat ruminating for a few minutes, and then began again, 'I daur say I'll can manage the business:—there's just anither besides mysel' in the Presbytery that kens oucht o' Hebrew, and he reads without the points, and I read wi' them, and that makes a fell difference in the sound. So, sit down at my desk, and write in English letters, the words, just as I read them. I'll take your examination in Hebrew on mysel, and propose to examine you on the first five verses of the 110th Psalm. Noo, write in plain letters as I read; make it plain.' I did so, and every word as written was repeated until I had caught the exact pronunciation. When the five verses were thus committed to paper, they were again read and I was ordered to make myself so familiar with them, that on the day of trial, I might without hesitation go through them seriatim.

"Well, I did make myself master of them, but I had sore misgivings when I met the Presbytery on the appointed day. Oh! how my heart beat in spite of my natural effrontery; and how I quaked when my turn for examination came; it was the penalty I had incurred by my own folly.

"Well, my old friend Dr. S—— rose, and with more than wonted gravity, said, 'Mr. Moderator, I propose that Mr. G—— read to the Presbytery the first five verses in the Hebrew of the 110th Psalm, as his exercise in that tongue.' This was of course agreed to, and I began, and was going fluently on, when the other Hebraist, who had been sitting with his chin leaning on the top of his cane, lifted his head, and asked, 'Mr. G——, do you read with the points?' 'Yes, sir, with the points.' 'Weel, weel, go on.' I did so, and soon got to the end of my tether; but what was my consternation, when the old gentleman desired me to go on to the end of the Psalm! Here was a poser,—I looked at Dr. S——, who was fidgetting, and for a moment I was dumb-founded; but the devil, I be-

lieve, came to my help, for the thought struck me to read back from the fifth to the first verse, and run the risk; and I did so, with all the boldness I, under the circumstances, could muster, and what was the result? Why, I got my license, with the compliment, that I was the best Hebrew scholar who had for some time come before the Presbytery. Now, *that* is my experience of an examination, so, you see, you have no great cause for alarm."

If these members of Presbytery are to be regarded as samples of Carlyle's men of better birth and higher erudition, what must the residuum have been?

## ARTICLE VI.—THE CONFLICT WITH SKEPTICISM AND UNBELIEF. FIRST ARTICLE:—THE QUESTIONS AT ISSUE.

WE purpose, in several Articles, to examine the foundations of the Christian faith, with particular reference to some of the leading theories of unbelief which are in vogue at the present day. It will aid us in performing the work we have taken in hand, if we present, at the outset, a statement of what we conceive to be the real question or questions, with which the controversy of Revealed Religion with Skepticism, in our day, is chiefly concerned. This discrimination seems important on account of the multiplicity of controverted points relating to the subject, which are brought into popular discussion. Physical science, historical study, metaphysical speculation, has each its own inquiries to raise and doubts to suggest, and the effect of the simultaneous agitation of so many different topics, none of them unimportant to a Christian believer, is, doubtless, to breed confusion. We shall do a service, therefore, as we hope, to some of our readers, if we stop amid the "confused noise" of the battle, survey the field where so many are running to and fro, and direct attention to the really essential points which are threatened, though not, as we trust, imperiled, by the assault.

We shall not delay long for the purpose of characterizing the prevailing *tone* of the existing skepticism and unbelief, as contrasted with similar phenomena at other periods in the past. Yet not to leave this interesting topic altogether untouched, we extract a passage from the last volume of Bampton Lectures, in which the peculiarity of the present development of skepticism is well enough outlined. "The unbelief of the present day," writes the author, "differs from that of the last century in tone and character; and in many respects shares the traits already noticed in the modern intellectualism of Germany, and the eclecticism of France. It is not disgraced

by ribaldry; hardly at all by political agitation against the religion which it disbelieves: it is marked by a show of fairness, and professes a wish not to ignore facts nor to leave them unexplained. Conceding the existence of spiritual and religious elements in human nature, it admits that their subjective existence as facts of consciousness, no less than their objective expression in the history of religion, demands explanation, and cannot be hastily set aside, as was thought in the last century in France, by the vulgar theory that the one is factitious, and the other the result of priestly contrivance. The writers are men whose characters and lives forbid the idea that their unbelief is intended as an excuse for licentiousness. Denying revealed religion, they cling the more tenaciously to the moral instincts: their tone is one of earnestness; their inquiries are marked by a profound conviction of the possibility of finding truth: not content with destroying, their aim is to reconstruct. Their opinions are variously manifested. Some of them appear in treatises of philosophy; others insinuate themselves indirectly in literature: some of them relate to Christian doctrines; others to the criticism of Christian documents: but in all cases their authors either leave a residuum which they profess will satisfy the longings of human nature, or confess with deep pain that their conclusions are in direct conflict with human aspirations; and, instead of reveling in the ruin which they have made, deplore with a tone of sadness the impossibility of solving the great enigma. It is clear that writers like these offer a wholly different appearance from those of the last century. The deeper appreciation manifested by them of the systems which they disbelieve, and the more delicate learning of which they are able to avail themselves, constitute features formerly lacking in the works of even the most serious-minded deists,\* and require a difference in the spirit, if not the mode, in which Christians must seek to refute them."† A general description like the foregoing is, of course, liable to much exception and qualification when it is applied to particu-

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\* Such as Herbert and Morgan.

† Farrar's Bampton Lectures, Am. Ed., p. 307.

lar individuals. Yet the drift of it will be recognized as correct by those who regard with a penetrative eye the skeptical literature of the day. In contrast with the past, unbelief is oftener now an infection than a willful attack. There are more at present who can truly be said to be *afflicted* with doubt. In the refinement and learning exhibited by the antagonists of Revelation, an incomparable superiority belongs to the present. Just place Paine's *Age of Reason* by the side of Renan's newly published *Life of Christ*! The difference of the old infidelity from the new, is instantly felt by the dull-est observer. The spirit of the one is coarse and bitterly hostile to Christianity; the dependence is more on railing than reasoning; and the warfare is waged without the aid of historical knowledge. The Deistical writers were, to be sure, frequently above Paine in the character of the weapons they employed, and in the temper with which they wielded them; and yet the name of Paine fairly suggests the general character of the movement, especially in its later stages. The work of Renan is the production of a scholar possessed of abundant philological and historical learning; it is dedicated to a departed sister who aided in its composition; it abounds in expressions of graceful sentiment; it knows how to value much that is sacred to the Christian believer; it is founded upon laborious studies and upon travels in the land of the Bible. Skepticism has without doubt improved immensely in its general tone. And yet the sketch which we have quoted above, in order to be full, would require the fact to be mentioned that there is witnessed on the side of skeptical writers of the more refined school, in our own times, the occasional development of an animosity towards the Christian faith, which ill accords with their habitual tone, and seems to imply that after all there lies deep down in the heart an unwholesome fountain of bitter feeling with reference to the doctrines and restraints of religion.

For the reason that the peculiar traits of the modern skepticism, and the peculiar character of the class who are affected by it, are not clearly discerned, the comparative strength of the infidel party in our times is undervalued by not a few even



of Christian teachers. When the present is compared with the past, they begin at once to take a census of the known or avowed opposers of Christianity, and to put the result of this count of heads by the side of a similar reckoning made for an earlier epoch. They are not awake to the subtler form which skepticism has assumed. They fail to see that though it be often less tangible and pugnacious, it is more diffused like an atmosphere. They are not aware how widely the seeds of unbelief are scattered through books and journals which find a hospitable reception even in Christian families. And they do not appreciate the significance of the fact that so large a number of the leaders of opinion on matters outside of the sphere of religion, are adherents, more or less outspoken, of the skeptical school. Infidelity appears in better dress and in better company than of old; it takes on the function of the educator and social reformer: it prefers a compromise with Christianity to a noisy crusade against it; but the half friendly attitude it assumes may render the task of exposing and withstanding it all the more difficult. This ambiguous, fluctuating tone of the skepticism of our day, renders the analysis of its fundamental position the more incumbent; and this we attempt in the present Article.

We begin with remarking that the principal question at issue is *not* the Inspiration of the Scriptures. There is one point of view, as we shall shortly explain, from which the importance of this question is not exaggerated. But the mere question of the relation of human agency to divine agency in the production of the Scriptures is, in itself considered, of not so great moment. The fact of Inspiration is chiefly important as containing a guaranty for the authority of the Bible. If the Bible were exclusively the work of men, and yet came to us attended with a divine attestation to the truth of its contents, the main end for which Inspiration is desired and thought necessary, would be attained. The authority of the Scriptures as a Rule of Faith and Practice is the doctrine of prime value; and Inspiration is required as a shield against the liabilities to hurtful error, which pertain to every exertion of the human mind

without the aid of a higher light. Something is gained, in our view, in the discussion of these topics, when we keep in mind the great object to be secured, (if it can be consistently with truth), which is none other than the Protestant principle of the Authority of the Bible as a guide to the knowledge of duty and salvation. Whether he proceed from a scientific or a practical motive, the first thing to be done by an enquirer for religious truth is to settle the question, where shall this truth be found. This is obviously the first step. Until this point is determined, there is no criterion of truth, no "judge to end the strife" of diverse opinions. The Roman Catholic considers the Church through the voice of its clergy and their head, the infallible expounder of truth. In every doubt, he has an arbiter at his side whose verdict, being the result of divine illumination, is held to be conclusive. The Protestant agrees with the Roman Catholic in holding to an objective standard, but the standard with him is the Bible, which he feels authorized to interpret for himself. Denying that the Church is either the unerring interpreter of Scripture, or the infallible guardian of oral teaching of Christ and the Apostles, which has been handed down from their day by tradition, he falls back upon the Bible itself. The Bible alone is his Rule of Faith. This we take to be the fundamental position of Protestantism on the question which, as we have said, stands at the threshold of all profitable religious inquiry. On the contrary, the Rationalist differs from both the Roman Catholic and Protestant, first in rejecting every objective Authority, every Authority beyond the mind itself, in matters of religion, and then in positively maintaining the sufficiency of Reason. Nothing is allowed to stand which cannot justify itself at this tribunal of his own understanding. There is no divine testimony separate from the thoughts and deductions of the human mind, and entitled to regulate belief. We may stop to observe that an ingenious German writer\* has not improperly classified the Mystic with the Rationalist, so far as the former takes his own feeling for a source and criterion of truth, superior to any external Rule.

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\* Kliefoth, in his "Einl. zur Dogmengeschichte."

The Mystic and the Rationalist meet on the common ground of a renunciation of objective Authority, the one relying ultimately upon subjective reason, the other upon subjective feeling, for all his convictions of religious truth. And hence the Mystic is found to pass over, not unfrequently, by a natural and easy transition, to the standpoint of the Rationalist, the difference between them often depending for the most part on a diversity of temperament and education. Now the Protestant principle which is thus distinguished from that of the Romanist and of the Rationalist, is of vital moment ; and it stands in close connection with the other doctrine of Biblical Inspiration. Give up the doctrine of the Normative Authority of the Bible, and we are driven upon the alternative of either abjectly surrendering ourselves to the Church, or of being set adrift, with the Rationalist, upon a sea of conjectures and uncertified reasonings of men. When, for example, I open an Epistle of St. Paul and find there a passage upon the design and use of the Saviour's death, and when I have ascertained the sense of the passage, by a fair exegesis, may I then be sure of its truth ? Or when I meet on the page of Scripture with a practical injunction pertaining to the duties of life, may I depend upon it as strictly conformed to the truth, and shape my conduct in accordance with it ? Here is the practical question concerning the Bible ; and the fact of Inspiration, or of supernatural aid enjoyed by the writers, has its value chiefly in the assurance it may afford upon this primary question. It is interesting to observe that the most discerning of those theologians at the present day, who are dissatisfied with the old formulas concerning Inspiration, feel the necessity of keeping secure the cardinal Protestant principle of the Normative Authority of the Scriptures. The Bible is still held to be the safe and sufficient Rule of Faith, upon which the Christian may cast himself without misgiving. Thus Dr. Arnold, holding that the apostles in the New Testament predict the speedy Advent of Christ to judgment, is careful to remark, nevertheless, that by the recorded words of Christ which declare this point not to be a subject of Revelation, and by the circumstance that those injunctions of St. Paul, the propriety of which depended in his

own mind on this expectation, are given expressly not by divine authority, but as counsel, this error of the apostles is prevented from having the effect to weaken with us their general authority. That is to say, it was an error, but an error into which they do not profess that Inspiration led them, and from the misleading influence of which all are saved who attend to the words of Christ in the passage above referred to. Another witness to the importance of upholding the Protestant view upon this subject, is the learned and brilliant theologian of Heidelberg, Dr. Rothe. In the essays † which he put forth not long ago, and which he has more lately collected in a small volume, the old theological definitions in regard to Inspiration are frankly discarded, for the reason that they were constructed, in the opinion of the author, from a mistaken conception of the nature and method of Divine Revelation. Not only does he extend the influence of the human element, or factor, in the composition of the Scriptures so far as to admit of the introduction of errors in physical science and in history, but he does not hesitate to allow that the Apostles fell into mistakes in reasoning and in their mode of interpreting the Old Testament, and to distinguish between the doctrines they set forth, and the arguments to which they resort in confuting adversaries, and which are more or less the result of their own fallible reflection. In these and other particulars, Rothe departs widely from the accepted formulas of doctrine. And yet he maintains, and feels it necessary to maintain, the Normative Authority of the Scriptures. This he endeavors to save by his view that the Bible is not only a self-explaining, but, to some extent also, a self-correcting book. If we are able to discern the imperfection of an ethical sentence, or ethical judgment in one portion of the Scriptures, we do this only by means of the ethical standard which the Gospel, or the Scriptures as a whole, have given us, so that the Rule of Faith—the Source of knowledge—remains an objective one. We are still moving in the sphere of the Bible, following the

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† First published in the *Studien u. Kritiken*. They are collected under the title, "*Zur Dogmatik*."

Bible's own teaching, judging by the Bible's own standard. It is foreign to our present purpose to criticize these views of Rothe, which have made so strong an impression in Germany. We advert to them simply to illustrate wherein lies the importance of the doctrine of Inspiration, and how essential it is, even in the opinion of profound theologians who are held to be the most liberal of the adherents of the Evangelical system, to uphold the Protestant doctrine of an objective and *on the whole* unerring, standard of religious truth and duty.

Yet the subject of the Normative authority of Scripture is of subordinate interest when compared with the debate that has arisen upon the historical reality of the Scriptural miracles. The attention of thoughtful men, everywhere, is concentrated upon the question of the verity of those parts of Scriptural history which describe miraculous events. If this be established, the speculative objections to the doctrinal system of Christianity, at once fall to the ground. All opposition of this sort is then silenced, if not satisfied. On the other hand, if the miracles are disproved, Christianity is stripped of its essential peculiarity. The central fact of a Supernatural Interposition having for its end the restoration of man to communion with God, is lost. The Christian system of doctrine is reduced to a mere product of the human mind, having no divine sanction, and mixed, we know not how largely, with error. That this question of the historical reality of the Scriptural miracles involves the whole claim of Christianity to be a Revelation, is plain, for Revelation and Miracle are inseparable from each other. In fact, the ablest skeptical writers of the present day have set themselves to the work of undermining the evidence for the Scriptural miracles. To explain the origin of Christianity, and the origin also of the New Testament narratives of supernatural events, on some hypothesis that shall dispense with the need of putting faith in the latter, is the problem which they are struggling to solve. The *Life of Christ* by Strauss, is simply an elaborate attempt to set aside miracles, by propounding some hypothesis more plausible than the old exploded theory of a willful deception on the part

of the early disciples. The Life of Christ by Renan, is likewise little more than an effort to account for Christ and Christianity and the Christian Scriptures, without giving credence to miraculous events. The recent criticism of the New Testament canon, embracing the attempt to impeach the genuineness of various books, is only a part of the great discussion of the historical truth of the New Testament miracles; for it is difficult to attack the credibility of the Gospel histories without first disproving their genuineness. This main issue is never withdrawn from the mind of writer or reader. The resources of learning and skill which are expended by the Tübingen school of critics with Baur at their head, and in turn by their antagonists, in reference to the authorship and date of the Gospels and of other portions of the New Testament, are only a chapter in the controversy to which we allude. The spectacle presented is that of a conflict for the possession of a place not so much valued for itself, as for being the key that carries with it another position on which all thoughts centre. Thus the real issue between the believer and the unbeliever has become distinct and conspicuous. Did Christ do the works which none other men could do? This is the vital question—we might almost say, the only question. The case of Christianity rests upon the decision of it. Its claim to a rank essentially different from that of other religions and philosophies, stands or falls according as this question is answered. Is the doctrine of God, or does Christ speak of himself, uttering a human wisdom which, however rare, is only human, bearing upon it no loftier sanction, and even mixed with an amalgam of error?

This being a question so momentous, we have a right to require of every one who enters into the discussion of the character of the Scriptures, especially if he be understood to represent the Christian cause, that he shall declare himself in regard to it without ambiguity. Whatever view he may take upon special questions, upon this cardinal proposition of supernaturalism he has no right to appear to halt or to oscillate between two opinions. The volume of Essays and Reviews which lately kindled so great an excitement in the English

Church, appears to us to be liable to this charge. In several of the dissertations that compose it, there is manifest an evasiveness and indecision, a disposition to pare down the supernatural in the Scriptures to a minimum, if not to doubt its existence altogether. An explicit, unshrinking avowal of a belief in the historical reality of the Christian miracles, would have redeemed that book, in our judgment, from its gravest fault. We remember that a critic of the "Essays," in one of the English literary journals, cited from the book one skeptical insinuation after another, appending to each the question: "but what of the Resurrection?" This or that stricture may be just, or may not be—such was the purport of the criticism—*but what of the Resurrection of Christ from the dead?* On what ground do these authors stand? Is it the design to shake the faith of men in supernatural Christianity and recommend a naturalistic theory? If not, why this hesitation to commit themselves to a bold avowal on the subject of miracles, and to let their readers see how much is implied in the fact of the Resurrection of Christ? The concession that a single miracle took place in connection with it imparts to Christianity an unspeakable elevation and awfulness in the view of every considerate mind. Although in these remarks we have chiefly in mind the New Testament, yet we should be inclined to bring a similar accusation against Stanley, for the ambiguous tone of his recent *History of the Jewish Church*, did he not expressly disclaim the ability to sever, in his own mind, in many cases, the natural and the supernatural. We are continually left afloat in regard to this most interesting and most important question. Now an event appears to be represented as miraculous, and in the next sentence it is resolved into a merely natural occurrence. Were it not for the distinct avowal of the author, to which we have adverted, his work would be justly chargeable with being written in a jesuitical tone—a tone least of all corresponding with the author's character. For ourselves we must acknowledge our preference for a single page of severe scientific criticism, over a library of volumes like this of Dr. Stanley, where so little is decided and settled. What men crave in these days, is satisfaction upon the difficult

questions which meet them in the early portions of the Old Testament, and, if at all in earnest, they will not be content to be put off with pleasant description. In striking contrast with the censurable uncertainty of the Essays and Reviews upon the subject of miracles, is the tone of Rothe in the little work to which we have already alluded. Starting with the avowed design to oppose the views more commonly taken of the Scriptures, he is careful at the outset to avow his undoubting faith in miracles and in the supernatural character of Christianity. He desires it to be distinctly understood that on this subject he is full and clear. On this platform he will stand in the prosecution of the further inquiries to which he invites attention. Such a course alone is worthy of a theologian who has a nobler aim than merely to instill doubts concerning the justice of received views.

Thus, the principal question in the controversy with unbelief is an historical one. Hardly a worse mistake can be committed in dealing with most skeptics at the present day, than to *begin* by insisting upon the inspiration of the Bible. We should rather place ourselves back in the position which the apostles occupied in preaching to the Gentiles, before the New Testament Scriptures were written. We should make it our first aim to substantiate the great facts which are recorded in the New Testament, and which formed the pith and marrow of the apostles' testimony. We must meet the skeptic on the ordinary level of historical investigation, and bring before him the proof that the Gospel miracles were actually performed, substantially as these histories of the New Testament narrate. There is no other common ground on which he and we can stand. Unless he can be satisfied of the credibility of the Gospels in these main particulars, it is useless to go farther and attempt to convince him that this body of writings is the product of Divine inspiration—much less that they contain no sort of error. The first and the great proposition to be established is that God has made a supernatural revelation, and this done, other points of truth may follow in their proper place. In this controversy, it behooves us to keep in mind the order of things to be believed. First comes the leading, the command-



ing truth, of a miraculous attestation to the mission of Jesus. Let this once become a firm conviction, and the next step is to ascertain his teaching and the contents of his religion. Every earnest mind will be ready to take this step; will immediately look about for some authentic source of knowledge on this subject; and then the peculiar character and claims of the Bible will be made a theme of investigation.

While we hold that the direct question at issue with the skeptic and unbeliever is an historical one, we think that Apologists fall into a mischievous error in defining the nature of the evidence for Christian Revelation. This evidence, it is frequently said, being historical, is of a moral or probable kind, as distinguished from demonstrative. The appreciation of it, therefore, it is added, depends in no small degree upon the spirit of the individual by whom it is weighed. So far we fully agree with the ordinary Apologist, and could say with him that the force which the historical proofs will actually have in persuading the mind, differs with the tempers of feeling which are brought to the consideration of them. Only we say, it is a fatal error to confine the inward qualification for judging of this evidence, to the virtues of candor, simplicity, and honesty. On the contrary, we freely concede and contend that these virtues may exist up to the ordinary measure, and even beyond it, and yet this evidence fail of leading the mind to conviction. We freely grant that unbelievers have lived in the past and some live to-day, whose ability for historical investigation is of an unusually high order. In the treatment of secular history, they evince no want of candor and no excessive incredulity. And although they withhold their belief from the supernatural facts of Christianity, we cannot charge them with any marked disposition to pervert, conceal, or disparage the evidence by which these facts are supported. We would not for a moment deny that great names are on the roll of infidelity; names of men who, to say the least, are not *peculiarly* liable to the charge of being uncandid and prejudiced in their investigation of any important subject. The Christian Apologist, as we think, is entitled and required to take higher ground, and to extend this qualification for appreciating the proofs of revela-

tion beyond the common virtues of fairness and honesty. We are called upon distinctly to recognize the truth, that in the consideration of this subject, we find ourselves in a sphere where the deep alienation of the human heart from God and Divine things, exerts a powerful influence upon the judgment.\* When we are called to determine the truth or falsehood of any historical statement, our judgment will be affected inevitably by the view we take of the conditions and causes at work in connection with the event which is alleged to have occurred. The same law is applicable to the Gospel history. Were these events ordinary, or unmiraculous events, the evidence for them would not only be convincing, but for all thorough students, overwhelming. But another element may come in to arrest the judgment and defeat the natural effect of the proof; the circumstance, namely, that the events are thought to be either out of the range of possibility, or in the highest degree unlikely to occur. The evidence may be felt to be all that could be asked, and more than could be required, in the case of any natural event, but the event being, if it occurred, a miracle, there is a positive incredulity beforehand, which, it may be, no amount of historical proof can overcome. This *variable element*, which *may* neutralize the strongest array of historical evidence, lies in the general habit of feeling with reference to supernatural things. At the bottom of unbelief is a rationalistic or unreligious temper. This truth is admirably set forth in one of the sermons of Arnold. "The clearest notion," he says, "which can be given of Rationalism would, I think, be this: that it is the abuse of the understanding in subjects where the divine and human, so to speak, are intermingled. Of human things the understanding can judge, of divine things it cannot; and thus where the two are mixed together, its inability to judge of the one part makes it derange the proportions of both, and the judgment of the whole is vitiated. For example, the understanding examines a miraculous history: it

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\* It may be well to compare here what the New Testament itself has to say of the prerequisites of faith. See Matt. XI., 25; 1 Cor. I., 19-27; and like passages.

judges truly of what I may call the human part of the case; that is to say, of the rarity of miracles, of the fallibility of human testimony, of the proneness of most minds to exaggeration, and of the critical arguments affecting the genuineness or date of the narrative itself. But it forgets the divine part, namely, the power and providence of God, that He is really ever present amongst us, and that the spiritual world, which exists invisibly all around us, may conceivably and by no means impossibly exist, at some times and to some persons, even visibly." This Rationalism, however, is a thing of degrees. Where not including an absolute disbelief in the realities of a higher world, it may still involve a practical insensibility to their influence. They are left out of the account in determining the question of the truth or falsehood of the New Testament history. We would make this variable element still more comprehensive, including within it the soul's sense of sin and discernment of the beauty of holiness. The judgment which the mind forms in respect to the proofs of Christian Revelation, is greatly affected by the presence or absence of certain experiences of the heart, which are rational and just, but which belong in a very unequal degree to different men. An illustration of the general truth contained in Arnold's remark, may be taken from another, but, in some respects, a kindred department. Let us suppose that a painting is discovered in some Italian town, which, it is claimed, is a work of Raphael. Now for the settlement of this question there are two sources of proof. There is, in the first place, all that bears on the outward authentication of the claim; as the consideration of the place where the painting is found, the integrity of those who had it in charge, the historical circumstances which are said to connect it with the artist to whom it is ascribed, the known facts in his life which tend to prove or disprove the truth of the pretension. As far as this kind of proof is concerned, any discriminating person may be pronounced competent to appreciate the degree of force that belongs to it, and if the settlement of the point depended exclusively upon this branch of the evidence, to come to a just conclusion. But there is obviously another sort of evidence to be considered and weighed. The

character and merits of the painting, as a work of art, in comparison with the high and peculiar excellence of Raphael, must enter into the case, as a part of the proof. But how many are the acute and painstaking men who are here disabled from estimating—from *feeling*, we might rather say, the force of this branch of the evidence! They can examine the documents, they can question the witnesses, they can scrutinize all the outward testimony, but they are destitute of the perceptions and feelings which are the necessary qualification of a critic of art! The analogy holds true in this particular, that in the question of the verity of the gospel histories, one great part of the evidence lies in a province beyond the reach of the faculty of understanding, in the sense in which Arnold uses the term. The whole mode of thought and feeling concerning God, and His Providence, and His character, concerning human sin and human need, has a decisive influence in determining the judgment to give or refuse credit to the historical proof. Possibly God has so arranged it, that while this proof is sufficient to satisfy one whose spiritual eye is open to these realities, it is yet endued with no power to create conviction where such is not the fact. He who magnifies the presumption against supernatural interposition, not allowing for the moral emergency that calls for it, and hardly recognizing the Power from whom it must come, puts on a coat of mail which is proof against all the arguments for Revelation. He is shut up to unbelief by a logical necessity. The effect of the internal argument for the supernatural origin of the Gospel is directly dependent upon that habit of feeling, either rationalistic or the opposite, the operation of which we have described. The various particulars of this argument, at least the most important of them, are lost upon an unreligious nature. The painful consciousness of sin, for example, is the medium through which is discerned the correspondence of the gospel method of salvation with the necessities and yearnings of the soul. An experience of the disease opens the eye to the true nature and the value of the remedy. Such an impression of the evil of sin and of personal guilt, as men like Luther and Pascal have had, uncovers the deep things of the Gospel. In the gospel system alone is the

situation of the soul, which is slowly learned by the soul itself, understood and met. Another eye has looked through the heart before us, and anticipated the discovery, which we make imperfectly and by degrees, of its guilt and want. We might point out how the same self-knowledge will find in the spotless character of Christ a glory and impressiveness undiscernible by such as think not how great a thing it is to be free from sin. And so the tremendous power exerted by Christianity to reform the world—to move men to forsake their sins—will be estimated aright. It is no part of our present purpose to exhibit in detail the blinding effect of the rationalistic temper. Whoever carefully surveys the more recent literature of skepticism will not fail to see the source from which it springs. It was by ignoring the existence and character of God that Hume constructed a plausible argument against the possibility of proving a miracle. The moment that the truth concerning God and the motives of His government is taken into view, the fallacy of Hume's reasoning is laid bare. The first canon which Strauss lays at the foundation of his criticism is the impossibility that a miracle should occur. Any and every other hypothesis, he takes for granted, is sooner to be allowed than the admission of a miraculous event. He assumes, from beginning to end, that "a relation is not historical, that the thing narrated could not have so occurred," when "it is irreconcilable with known, and elsewhere universally prevailing, laws." By this circumstance before all others, the unhistorical character of a narrative is ascertained.\* So M. Renan at the outset of his late work, remarks: "Let the Gospels be in part legendary,—that is evident, since they are full of miracles and the supernatural."† Afterwards, though he does not with Strauss affirm the strict impossibility of a miracle, he lays down "this principle of historical criticism, that a supernatural relation cannot be accepted as such, that it always implies credulity or imposture, that the duty of the historian is to interpret it, and to seek what portion of truth and what portion of

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\* Strauss's *Leben Jesu*, B. I., S. 100.

† Renan's *Life of Christ*, p. 17.

error it may contain.”\* But how futile is the attempt to convince one that an event has occurred, which he professes to know is either impossible, or never to be believed! In other words, how futile to argue with one who begs the question in dispute!

The foregoing observations upon the reception that is given by skeptics at the present day to the proof of Christian miracles, brings us to the deeper and more general cause of unbelief, which is none other than the weakening or total destruction of faith in the supernatural. It is not the supernatural in the Scriptures alone, but the supernatural altogether, which in our day is the object of disbelief. At the root of the most respectable and formidable attack upon Christianity—that which emanates from the Tübingen school of historical critics—is an avowed Pantheism. The doctrine of a God to be distinguished from the World, and competent to produce events not provided for by natural causes, is cast away. The apotheosis of Nature

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\* Renan's *Life of Christ*, p. 45. The force of this prejudice against the supernatural is strikingly exhibited in the case of M. Renan. His book contains not a few hasty and erroneous statements; but two remarks are sufficient to show the weakness of the entire structure he has raised. I. He concedes that at least the narrative portions of the Fourth Gospel are from John; and although, misinterpreting the testimony of Papias in Eusebius, he has a groundless theory as to a change and growth which the First and Second Gospels are supposed to have undergone,—Papias had the same Matthew and the same Mark that we have—he nevertheless concedes that the synoptical writers also present, to a large extent, the testimony given by the apostles. Having made these concessions, he cannot impeach, on any plausible hypothesis, the *credibility* of the testimony. To hold the testimony to be genuine, and yet false, is too much even for the credulity of his confrères, the skeptical critics of Germany. They see very clearly how unsafe it is for them to concede the genuineness of the documents. II. Renan describes Jesus as a person of the loftiest intellectual and moral character, and yet holds that he stooped to connive at a fraud in the case of Lazarus, and to allow himself to be falsely considered a miracle-worker by the people about him. That is, he makes Him out a Jesuit. To such weakness is this writer *driven* by his inability to recognize the supernatural. An Article by Renan, (we may add), which is conceived in a thoroughly Pantheistic spirit, appears in the *Revue des Deux Mondes* for October, 1863, under the title, “*Les Sciences de la Nature et les Sciences Historiques.*” “*Deux éléments,*” he says, “*le temps et la tendance au progrès expliquent l’univers.*” p. 769. Renan, like Strauss, espouses a philosophy that leaves no room for the Supernatural.

or the World, of course, leaves no room for anything supernatural, and a miracle becomes an absurdity. Indeed, the tacit assumption that a miracle is impossible, which we find in so many quarters, can only flow from an Atheistic or Pantheistic view of the Universe. The Deist can consistently take no such position. He professes to believe in a living and personal God, however he may be disposed to set Him at a distance and to curtail His agency. He must therefore acknowledge the existence of a Power who is able at any moment to bring to pass an event over and beyond the capacity of natural causes. Nay, if his Deism be earnestly meant, he must himself believe in a miracle of the most stupendous character—in the creation of the world by the omnipotent agency of God. Holding thus to the miracle of creation as an historical event, he cannot, without a palpable inconsistency, deny that miracles are conceivable or longer possible. For no sincere Deist can suppose that the Creator has chained Himself up by physical laws of His own making, and thereby cut Himself off from new exertions of His power, even within the sphere where natural forces usually operate according to a fixed rule. One of the marked characteristics of our time, therefore, is the loose manner in which Deism is held even by those who profess it, as shown in their reluctance to take the consequences of their creed and their readiness to proceed in their treatment of the subject of miracles upon Pantheistic principles. The theories and arguments of Strauss and the Tübingen skeptics, which are the offshoot of their Pantheistic system, are appropriated, for example, by Theodore Parker, who professes to believe in the personality of God. But though entertaining this different belief, it is plain that he generally brings to the discussion of miracles the feeling and the postulates of a Pantheist. His Deism is so far from being thorough and consistent, that he not only, here and there, falls into the Pantheistic notion of sin, as a necessary stage of development and step in human progress, but also habitually regards a miracle as equivalent to an absurdity. Not a few ill-supported speculations of physical science, which have been lately brought before the public, have their real motive in a desperate reluc-

tance to admit a supernatural cause. The most unfounded conjectures are furnished in the room of argument, so earnest is the desire of some minds to create the belief that the worlds were *not* framed by the word of God, and that things which are seen *were* made of things which do appear. To this we must refer the ambition of some philosophers to assert their descent from the inferior animals—a wild theory only to be compared with the old doctrine of transmigration. The disposition to remove God from any active connection with the world, or to place Him as far back as possible in the remote past, is the real motive of this attempt which can plead no evidence in its favor, to invalidate the distinction of species and discredit our own feeling of personal identity and separateness of being. There can be no doubt that a powerful tendency to Pantheistic modes of thought is rife at the present day. The popular literature, even in our country, is far more widely infected in this way than unobservant readers are aware. The laws of Nature are hypostatized,—spoken of as if they were a self-active being. And not unfrequently, the same tendency leads to the virtual, if not open, denial of the free and responsible nature of man. History is resolved by a class of writers into the movement of a great machine—into the evolution of phenomena with which the free-will neither of God nor of man has any connection.\*

We are thus brought back, in our analysis of the controversy with the existing unbelief, to the postulates of Natural Religion. On these the Christian Apologist founds the presumption, or anterior probability, that a Revelation will be given. These, together with the intrinsic excellence of Christianity, he employs to rebut and remove the presumption, which, however philosophers may differ as to the exact source and strength of it, undoubtedly lies against the occurrence of a miracle.

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\* The tendencies to Naturalism, at work at the present day, are forcibly and comprehensively touched upon in Chapter I. of Bushnell's "Nature and the Supernatural"—a work which, in its main parts, is equally profound and inspiring.



The antecedent improbability that a miracle will occur, disappears in the case of Christianity. The issue relates to the miracles ; but the ultimate source of the conflict is a false or feeble view, on the part of the unbeliever, of the primitive truths of religion. This will explain how a new awakening of conscience, or of religious sensibility, has been known to dispel the incredulity with which he had looked upon the claims of Revelation.

It is more and more apparent that the cause of Natural Religion, and that of Revealed Religion, are bound up together. But the native convictions of the human mind concerning God and duty cannot be permanently dislodged. Pantheism mocks the religious nature of man. It is inconsistent with religion—with prayer, with worship—with that communion with a higher Being, which *is* religion. It is inconsistent, also, with morality, in any earnest meaning of the term ; for it empties free-will and responsibility, holiness and sin, of their meaning. Everyone who acknowledges the feeling of guilt to be a reality and to represent the truth, and everyone who blames the conduct of another, in the very act denies the Pantheistic theory. Conscience must prove, in the long run, stronger than any speculation, no matter how plausible. In the soul itself, then, in its aspiration after the living God and its conviction of freedom and of sin, there is erected an everlasting barrier against the inroads of false philosophy, and one that will be found to embrace within its impregnable walls the cause of Christianity itself.

ARTICLE VII.—RELATIONS OF SEPARATE STATES TO  
GENERAL JUSTICE.*Staatsrecht, Völkerrecht und Politik.* VON ROBERT VON MOHL.  
Tübingen : 1860.

Two widely diverse views may be taken of the relations which the separate States of the world sustain toward general justice. One, which may be called the selfish view, regards the individual State as fulfilling its work, when it has observed all its obligations to other States, and has likewise taken the best means in its power to secure just conduct, on the part of those who are subject to its laws, towards the subjects of other States and towards these States themselves. Beyond this it has no work in the world outside of its own borders, unless control over what is done upon its ships on the high seas be an exception; and if any wrong, anywhere abroad, is committed, it is in no way called upon to interfere, either for the help of the injured, or in the execution of the laws of another State. If, in the progress of civilization and of mutual trust, the intercourse between the inhabitants of neighboring States becomes closer, and their relations become more and more complicated, it has a right to use its own laws exclusively in its own courts, but if, instead of doing this, in certain cases it allows the laws of other States to regulate decisions, such complaisance is to be regarded as being by no means a right which other States can claim, but a concession for which they ought to be thankful, or which is paid for by equal concessions on their part. Thus the whole system of private international law, one of great and continually increasing importance, rests on no foundation of justice, but simply upon the comity of States. Again, when a crime has been committed within the limits of one State, and the offender escapes into another, he is, according to this same view, like any other emigrant: the State may harbor him, and

no foreign law or punishment can penetrate beyond its boundaries. If it surrender him up, this is not done to promote the interests of general justice, but either because the harboring of rogues is injurious at home, or the escape of them into foreign parts, where no rule of reciprocity prevails, will embolden transgressors within its own limits. Thus the extradition of criminals is not obligatory, but a matter of comity or convenience. And still again, when a State is at peace and two of its friends at war with one another, there are, indeed, well defined obligations as well as rights of neutrality, but it is not held to be necessary to hold a strict watch over the conduct of traders towards these friendly powers, and all the apparatus for carrying on war even to ready made ships may be exported, and, practically, the whole burden of executing justice lies on the foreigner: if he can catch the guilty ship, he may; otherwise it is sure of impunity.

These examples show the influence of a narrow view of national obligations; on the other hand, a very wide view has been entertained, which may be even called cosmopolitan. According to this theory nations are the individuals composing a world-wide community or virtual confederation, united together by principles of justice, and bound to give a helping hand in the execution of justice, as far as the power of each member extends. The laws of every State, therefore, ought to be sacred in the eyes of every other, so far forth as they are regarded to be just. In the conflict of foreign and domestic law there is a principle of justice, which demands, in certain circumstances, that the latter give way to the former. When a crime is committed in any country, the fugitive criminal ought to find no refuge from just punishment in any other part of the world. When war breaks out between two States, those States which remain neutral are obligated not only to maintain a rigid neutrality themselves, but, by an effective police and by sufficient penalties, to keep their subjects from all contraband trade, and from every violation of the law of blockade. Nor does this principle stop here, but it must also maintain, if carried out to an extreme, that inasmuch as there is a right and a wrong side in every conflict, whenever that can be

ascertained, neutrality itself is wrong, and all States ought to take a part with the injured belligerent. And, still farther, the right of interference in the internal affairs of any State, will, according to the same principle, lie open to every other State, which regards a government as oppressive, or a people as engaged in an unjust revolt. Nor is it necessary that an invitation should go forth from one government to another when help is needed; the interference is equally right when uncalled for, if dictated by the feeling of justice. And thus every State has a vocation, like a knight errant, to defend the oppressed,—to take the cause of the injured, wherever in this world oppression and injustice can be found.

It is obvious from this exposition that the second of these principles is unsafe, and even, when carried to an extreme, unjust. But it is not so obvious that the first, which is safer and has been the rule for the general practice of nations, deserves equal condemnation. This we shall attempt to show, and then it will be time to ask whether a middle ground between these extremes,—a rule which admits the obligations of States to aid one another in preventing wrong and securing the interests of justice, and yet limits these obligations by the independence of nations and in other ways,—may not be the *juste milieu*, the equitable plan, in accordance with which the law of nations, if defective at present, may be reformed.

Let no one urge that this is an abstract and useless speculation. It is not abstract, but eminently practical; for if every State has a part to act in the justice of the world outside of its own territory, the knowledge of such a calling must awaken a sense of obligation, and put the nations upon the track of common rules, by which their obligations of this sort can be discharged, as well as be brought into consistency with their functions as separate States. Or, to take another view, if nations can be made to feel a certain sort of brotherhood and unselfish community, they will aid one another in the great work of well-doing, and if they render such mutual aid, the feeling of brotherhood will be awakened still more. The proper result of a Christian civilization is to awaken and extend through mankind such a feeling of brotherhood. If, in a

better day, nations can be made to feel it, the leading spirit of all international law will be not to maintain separate sovereignties against invasion, nor to defend just rights; nations will have outgrown these inferior principles, just as, when the individual has reached the higher stages of his character, love takes the place of obligation. The enquiry then will be, how can the common welfare of the States of the world,—of this great confederation bound by ties of mutual regard,—be best promoted?

In our enquiries into the duties of States towards general justice, we shall avail ourselves of the rich materials furnished by M. Von Mohl, in an essay on the “International Doctrine of Asylum,” contained in the work placed at the head of this Article. The opinions of this writer on public law entitle him to high respect. In his *Geschichte von Staatswissenschaften*, (history of political sciences), in three volumes, he gives a condensed view of the newest literature in those departments with valuable criticisms on the leading writers. In his *Encyclopädie von Staatswissenschaften*, (Encyclopedia of political sciences), he exhibits the method and leading principles of polity, including international law. In the work to which we shall have especial reference, *Staatsrecht Völkerrecht und Politik*, (the doctrine of the State, the law of nations and politics), he brings together a number of independent monographies, most of which had appeared in German journals before, but which are here elaborated, and express his views in the year 1860. These and several other writings, which are more occupied with the interior of the State or with his own country,—“the political system of the kingdom of Wurtemberg,” “the responsibility of ministers united with a representative system in the government of a State,” “the science of police according to the principles of a State founded on justice,” and “the system of preventive justice, or jural police,”—all of them extensive works,—show his industry, and place him among the most active and learned publicists now living.

The first point which meets our eyes, when we enquire into the relations of States to general justice, is the territorial char-

acter of law, or rather the opinions which have prevailed in regard to such territoriality. Every part of the world, every race, every nationality has its own law, and its own views of what ought to be law, which it has the province of making real within its own boundaries by penalty and other force. There are, thus, a vast number of separate States, within the jurisdiction of any one of which no other can intrude, unless justice in the relations of States has been invaded. Crimes committed abroad pertain to the province of a foreign lawgiver; crimes committed at home are to be judged by laws of domestic origin, whoever be the criminal, whether native born or foreign resident. Thus it would seem, that no question can arise concerning crimes committed abroad, or concerning the violation of law anywhere except within our own limits. Is a foreigner guilty of a forbidden action here? It must be an action against our law, not against the law of his birth-place or proper home. Is one of our citizens guilty of a crime abroad? He is in the same manner amenable to the law of the territory where the offense occurred. Suppose him to have been punished. Will you have him tried again for the same offense? Suppose him to have evaded foreign law, and now to be at home? Will you interfere to remedy the imperfection of foreign police, and remand him to a country whose relations to him were only local and temporary? Has he not a right of asylum, and, above all, on his own native soil?

Something like this will be urged in favor of adhering pretty strictly to the *territorial* application of law, and against what may be called the *personal* principle, that is, against the doctrine that the law of a State ought to control the actions of a subject during his foreign residence, on the ground of his close personal connection with his country. And when the many inconveniences which would arise from any other than the territorial principle—the want of evidence, the need of increased police, the danger of collision with foreign jurisdictions and the like, are taken into view, it must be confessed that the advocates of this side have a strong case.

This side is taken, with more or less strictness, by a considerable number of writers on international and on criminal law.

Thus Heffter in his work on criminal law lays it down that no single State has the vocation to attempt to realize justice all over the world. Its means for doing this are insufficient. It cannot require that its opinions as to what is just shall be accepted outside of its own limits. Only within its territory can its jurisdiction be exercised. It can, for instance, punish only where it can impose obligations, and this is the case only as far as its own subjects are concerned. Another writer on criminal law, Köstlin, expresses himself to the effect that the specific functions of States are essentially territorial, and *that* in the two-fold sense, that they have exclusive control within their own territory, and no control beyond it. In the punishment of an offense committed beyond its borders a State would encroach on the rights of another. A native-born person cannot be punished at home for a wrong done abroad, nor a foreigner be punished abroad for a wrong done at home. And to cite but one opinion more,—Mittermaier, a leading living jurist of Germany, lays it down that the State has no universal care over the interests of justice. All that can be required of it is extradition of foreigners under certain circumstances, and punishment of “inlanders.” These citations are from Mohl, whom we shall use freely without further acknowledgment.

Grotius stands at the head of the line of writers on the law of nations. His well known opinions were wholly opposed to such narrow limits of state action. He goes to the dangerous extent of allowing the heads of nations to interfere in foreign affairs for the purpose of punishing injustice. In regard to the surrendry of fugitive criminals his doctrine is, that “since States have the right of punishing offenses which affect their honor or security, no foreign State ought to protect a fugitive who has been guilty of such an offense. But as it is not usual or convenient to allow any foreign power to enter the territory of a State with an armed force in order to seize an offender, the State in which he has taken refuge should either punish or surrender him, or at least compel him to leave the country.” This, it seems, he regards as an obligation which cannot be neglected without injury to other nations. Few would agree with Grotius in this, and Mr. Wildman protests energetically against

putting extradition on the ground of right. Most other writers on international law take similar views. Heffter, in his "*Völk-errecht*," takes the same ground which we have quoted him as advocating in his "criminal law." Oppenheim goes so far as to say that all a State's office is self-protection, and of course advocates the strictest territoriality of penal law. Story takes much the same ground, that the punishing power is confined within the limits of the State and to offenses there committed. The late Sir G. Cornwall Lewis has written a book "on foreign jurisdiction and the extradition of criminals," in order to make this point good. Wheaton and Phillimore, however, widen the sphere of the State by embracing subjects *wherever* they commit crimes within its jurisdiction. The former considers the judicial power of every independent State to extend to all acts forbidden by its laws, whether taking place at home or abroad, and remarks that the principle of law, which considers "criminal offenses to be altogether local, and to be justifiable only by the courts of that country where the offense is committed," is peculiar to the jurisprudence of Great Britain and the United States. Phillimore says that the strict rule of international law undoubtedly is, that a State can only punish for offenses committed within the limits of its territory: this is at least, he adds, "the natural and just consequence of the territorial principle." It is, however, he goes on to say, a pretty general maxim of European law that offenses against their own country, committed by citizens in a foreign land, are punishable by their own country, when they return within its own confines. But the law of the foreign country can punish them also, especially if their offense has been of a private character. In case of a public character, a double offense is committed; one against the State of which the offender is a subject, another against the general law of the land within which the offense is devised and perpetuated. Whether his own State will punish him the second time for the same offense is not a question of international but rather of public law.\*

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\* Grotius, lib. 2, 21, §4. Wildman, 1, 59. Wheaton, part 11, chap. 2, § 13. Phillimore, 1, 855.



From the opinions of publicists we turn to the practice of nations. All Christian nations agree in these points, that every State has a right to prevent or to punish offenses against itself or its subjects, whether committed by subjects or by resident foreigners, and that it is authorized and bound to punish crimes committed within its borders against foreign States or their subjects. Yet even in regard to this last point, the views of States are not quite uniform. England punishes such crimes against foreign States rather as disturbances of international relations than as violations of right. But beyond this there is little agreement. *First*, on the question whether a subject can be punished for crimes committed abroad, England and our country take the negative side, not without some exceptions, indeed, but strictly enough to show that it is a principle of our criminal law. The United States go so far, it is believed, as to carry the same rule into the relations between the States of the Union. France adopts the same rule, but makes the important exceptions of subjecting to her own law certain foreign crimes of her subjects which touch the *public* welfare, and of allowing the use of her courts to injured *private* Frenchmen, when crimes ('*crimes*,' not '*delits*') have been committed against them out of the land by Frenchmen who have returned to France. At the opposite extreme from these stands another group of States, comprising the great majority of the German powers, Naples, Portugal, Russia, Norway, and a number of the Swiss cantons. These States punish every foreign crime of a subject, whether directed towards themselves or their subjects or foreigners. But in so doing they follow their own definition of crimes and offenses, and not those which prevail in the country where the offender resided. Thus when an action is made penal by foreign law and not by their own, they will naturally allow no complaint to be brought before their courts. Besides these extreme groups there are other less important States which make more or less of a compromise between the opposite views, mentioned above, and may here be passed over in silence.

*Secondly*, cases occur where *foreigners in foreign territory* commit wrongs against a State or its subjects, and afterwards

come within its boundaries. Here again great differences exist. Our English and American law is disinclined to notice these cases, but gives such persons, like other foreigners, a free right of asylum. A large number of States, among them Russia and many or most of those composing the Germanic body, go to the opposite extreme: they have no hesitation in punishing according to their own laws foreign offenders against themselves or their subjects, if they can catch them within their confines. France again takes no notice of wrongs done by foreigners abroad to individual Frenchmen, but makes such foreigners punishable for the same offenses for which Frenchmen residing abroad are called to account.

A *third*, and far less important case, is that of foreigners committing wrongs in a foreign land against foreign States or individuals. Most States take no notice of such crimes, as being beyond their province. A few, however, as Austria, Bavaria, Saxony, reach even this remote point of justice with their laws, either giving up the offender, if required, or banishing him, or, as is the case with Austria, punishing him, unless he is handed over to the operation of foreign justice.

When to what has been said we add that modern publicists place extradition on the basis of comity rather than of obligation, and that nations by their varying treaties concerning the delivery of fugitives from justice admit that they have reached no settled convictions in that matter, and cannot demand such delivery as a right, we shall have given an imperfect, it is true, but for our purposes sufficient, sketch of the views and practice which prevail in relation to the treatment of crimes committed beyond the limits of the injured party.

From this survey of one part of the subject, and of one in which nations might be expected to establish a common practice without great difficulty, it is evident that there is no one ground either of theory or of positive law, upon which they stand. In the development of a law between independent sovereignties it is natural that this should happen, for each start from a state of comparative isolation, with conceptions of justice already formed, and with suspicions of attacks upon its independence. The friction and intercourse of ages afterwards

is needed, to bring the views of States together, and to educate their sense of right up to a high moral standard. In part, such is the nature of man that intercourse between States begins and goes forward upon a calculation of advantages. There is at first scarcely any sense of justice except that manifested by the assertion of claims against other States, there is still less of a spirit of brotherhood, there is no conception of any duty of doing good to others ; and the old type of nations is represented by Japan, which wants no dealings with the world, and regards the admission of foreigners into its territory or ports, as a favor to mankind, for which no sufficient return is received.

It is not strange that with such a genesis of law and of relations between independent States, the moral and humane side of international law should fall behind the jural, or that which concerns itself with strict justice. But by and by it begins to be felt that the world, or at least a large circle of nations on its surface, form one whole ; at the same time religion may be elevating the sense of justice and of humanity ; and enlightened interest discovers that what is right is useful, and that what is useful for both parties is very generally right. At this time law becomes capable of improvement, and even private persons may, without charge of officiousness, thrust their views of right on the public, in the hope that some fruit will grow up from the free discussion of the principles upon which the intercourse of States ought to be conducted.

In such a spirit we proceed to lay down certain propositions which bear on the part to be taken by separate States in the maintenance of general justice.

1. Every moral being, and much more every collection of such beings called a State, which is founded and grounded on ideas of immutable justice, is bound not only to act justly and righteously, but to hate injustice wherever it is manifest, to sympathize with justice and to endeavor to support it, so far as is consistent with the definite sphere and special duties assigned to each individual and nation in the world. This proposition will, no doubt, be regarded by many as unmeaning, by many again as meaning too much. We will however make no unfair use of it, and simply remark here that it is verified by the con-

duct of nations, where they go beyond their definite sphere in order to put an end to gross injustice. England helped the Low Countries in their rising against Philip of Spain, and no one blames her for it. Cromwell interposed to put down the persecution of the Waldenses in Savoy, and most righteously. The great powers of Europe delivered Greece from the yoke of despotical Mohammedans, and the calmest, most judicial writers, such as Wheaton, praise them for the act. Nor can it be doubted, if some great barbarity, as for instance that of wholesale court-murder, were perpetrated by Russia against rebellious Poles, or by the United States against rebels in the seceding portion of this country, that it would be the impulse and the duty of civilized governments not only to protest against such conduct, but to prevent it from going on by any means within their power. The conclusion is that if this may happen beyond the definite sphere of state action, it may much more naturally happen on those confines where the functions of two States meet, or where two sovereignties must concur in order to secure and realize justice.

2. The strict territorial principle cannot be maintained in an advanced age of the world ; it is in fact departed from by those nations to whose laws and institutions it gives color ; and it has, as an absolute, unchangeable principle, no rational ground of support.

Here are three distinct assertions, which need to be made good. As *for the first*, it is enough to appeal to well known matters of fact. There are modifications of state law occasioned by the concurrence or conflict of foreign laws. The whole branch of private international law is of this description. Nations in a thousand cases, touching the personal status, or contract obligations, or the family obligations, do undertake to enforce foreign law through their courts of justice, and this great branch of law has grown up in the first instance, not through treaty stipulations, but by the actions of courts, first in neighboring States, and then, as intercourse widened, in all the countries of the Christian world, however separated by land or sea. This is, in fact, a fine illustration of what must happen, as the parts of the world come to know one another,

and to find out that justice will be wronged by adhering rigidly to the *lex fori*. Nor is it of any use to allege that this is a result of international comity. Granting this to be so for the moment, yet the fact remains that in certain cases nations waive the application of their own law, and adopt that of a foreign territory.

The practice of extradition is another fact which shows that close intercourse between nations will lead them to aid in the execution of each other's law. It is true that all this is arranged by previous treaty, and this of itself proves that it cannot be demanded as a strict right, the refusal of which would be a ground of complaint or even of war. But it is true also that nations thereby admit that it is right and proper to assist foreign justice. Nor could this admission be more entire, if a State, instead of delivering up the fugitive, judged him by the law of his own country.

But in the *second* place, even those nations which carry the territorial principle farthest are obliged in certain cases to depart from it, and thus admit that it will not cover all the cases that arise in the intercourse of the world. No countries are more attached to this principle than England and the United States: let us look at some of the cases, in which they are obliged to resort to a different principle in their legislation.

They both, like the rest of their circle of nations, exercise jurisdiction on the high sea over vessels partaking of their nationality. It will be at once said here, as has often been said, that such vessels are territory; but this is a legal fiction, of use to defend a certain theory of neutral rights, but irreconcilable with fact. How can that be territory on the high sea, which becomes amenable to foreign law in a foreign port? The truth is that the ship, when it has a crew on board, is territory for certain purposes, and against the aggressions of other States, and, what is more important, that the crew are under the laws of their own country, where no other law exists. In other words, a new principle is here applied,—that the law of their own home goes with them, whenever no other law holds sway; otherwise men would be without a law, and crime on the high seas would have impunity.

And again, in those arrangements where a foreign law is superseded within its own territory by their law, *i. e.* in all cases where the rule of extritoriality applies, they set aside the principle in question. They have adopted this rule by treaty with many nations which are not governed by our views of justice, as Japan, China, Muscat, and Turkey, on the ground that justice would not be done if the native courts were to try offenders from countries so different in their civilization. They claim thus that the principle of territoriality be broken, whenever their relations with certain parts of the world demand it. And in that other kind of extritoriality which is given to ambassadors and public vessels by the law of nations, both nations grant this right to foreign envoys, as well as claim it for their own abroad. What is this but a confession that the law of the territory must be silent in certain cases? And in private international law, or the "conflict of laws," the same confession is made.

So also, if we come to certain particular crimes, both nations have to punish them, although committed beyond their own limits. Our laws concerning the slave-trade make that crime piracy, not only when taking place on our own vessels, but also where foreign vessels are the scene of the offense. In like manner England punishes high treason against Great Britain, when committed by her citizens abroad; as well as murder, homicide, and bigamy, and certain crimes committed in barbarous countries. The last above all most righteously, but inconsistently with the principle.

But in *the third place*, if we look at the reason of the thing we shall find that this principle, although of wide application, is not for all the exigencies of justice sufficient, nor the only principle that justice demands. In a time of no travel and commerce, when the nations are separated by insurmountable walls, the *lex loci* may be the supreme and sole monarch within its sphere, and powerless beyond it; but the close intercourse of modern life, the mingling together of men of various nationalities, the rapid passage from one side of the world to another, the greater interdependence of nations,—these and kindred causes make the strict and exclusive control of the law of the

territory seem narrow, and lead the minds of just men to modifications of a system, whose narrowness has now become apparent. As soon as intercourse began to be close among the countries of continental Europe, and especially between the members of the Germanic body, Holland, and France, the system of private international law grew up, as we have said, under the fostering care of the courts. It had become a necessity, and this made it a duty. The good of the nations between whom it began required it, and this they were the first to perceive. Although of voluntary origin, and gradual, and hitherto imperfect, it is as truly a normal development from social principles as any form of government, or as the provisions of any treaty.

We say then that the fact now so general of waiving the application of the *lex loci*, proves the duty of so doing. This is as much a duty as intercourse itself. If it be dictated by a view of the advantages which are looked for by the nation which thus abridges its own sovereignty, the same may be said of many of the engagements into which nations enter. They are selfish in their treaties, but their selfishness is on the side of justice, instead of being opposed to it.

But the principle which we have once before just alluded to deserves mention here: namely, that man must always be under law; hence, wherever no law exists, he must carry with him the law of his country, as far as it can be applied, and wherever no law derived from Christian morality exists, he ought to be under the control of Christian law. This principle applies to all offenses committed upon ship-board, (for it is with penal law chiefly that we concern ourselves here,) to the residents in savage countries, and to such as do business in half-civilized lands, where the institutions differ greatly from those of the Christian world. The extension of law beyond its local bounds to those whom no other law can reach, is not only for the peace of the world, but is also required by the very essence of justice, and by the tie binding the citizen to the State. If he is under no law, he can claim no protection. An *exlex*, or outlaw, is at the mercy of those who come near him;

law has nothing more to do with him, unless, alien as he has become, he treads upon the soil where law must reign.

The relation of the citizen to the country is too little thought of in these days of emigration, of domicil, and of speedy naturalization. It is evident, however, that no State is bound under all circumstances to allow its inhabitants to emigrate; still less is every State bound to receive all new comers into the territory without discrimination or condition; nay, the obligation is just the opposite,—the good of the State requires that some be excluded, and others subject to a term of probation. This lays a natural foundation for one of the kinds of help which nations can afford to one another. If it is not for the advantage of the United States to receive persons who flee from justice at home, there will be no unwillingness to part with them; and if these runaways have no claim to protection, and their country ought to enforce its law in their case, the duty of extradition is evident.

3. But the justice which nations are bound to aid through the world is not justice in the shape of the *lex loci*, but justice, as they severally apprehend it to be; it is not law, but *subjective* justice. The views of nations in regard to the duties of citizens and the expedience of law vary endlessly, even when they partake of the same civilization. They cannot be expected to support the absurd or oppressive laws of other territories, nor to adopt the principles of justice according to which other States legislate, but their own views of what is just and right must be their guide. This is not only a good ethical rule, but is freely admitted in practice. We give two illustrations. It is a generally admitted provision of private international law that the status of the person in his domicil is to govern the decisions of foreign courts whenever that question comes before them. Now it might seem from this that the status of a person, who left his domicil as a slave, would rule in a foreign court, where an action was brought against him by his master. But all Europe and our Northern States, (so far as the Constitution has not interposed), have maintained that slavery is unjust and unnatural, that therefore it is local, and the slave, beyond the *lex loci*, regains the rights of a man. In other



words, they all refuse to let the local law in this case have any force, because it contradicts their sense of right. And the like is true of bigamy and polygamy, and in several other cases.

The other illustration is drawn from the practice of extradition. Most nations except the *political* offender from the operation of laws or treaties which remand other accused persons to their domestic courts. But why is he excepted? Not because political machinations are always innocent, nor because one nation wishes to promote designs against the peace of another; but because, in political trials, where the offended party is both accuser and judge, the conviction is apt to be unjust, and the penalty severe, and because the exile may have been engaged in a righteous work.

Hence it follows, that the help extended to foreign justice must be determined by treaty. It is not *stricti juris*, although required by proper views of duty. It must be defined by the parties, and until such definition is made, there is no ground of complaint on either side.

4. The limits to such help are given in the sovereignty of States. No State can demand to have a part in maintaining justice upon foreign soil, still less may it execute justice there, when not invited. It may offer its assistance, in all cases leaving the right of rejection and of acceptance to the other party.

Still, it ought to be observed, that the strictest conception of sovereignty is not that to which a nation ought to adhere, as if its safety and dignity lay there: quite the contrary,—the more civilized a nation is, the more will it abandon the savage idea of atomic separation from the rest of the world. Every treaty abridges the power of sovereignty by a voluntary renunciation of power for the time, or for all time. The sovereignty is exercised at the time of entering into the brotherhood of nations, and at the time of making every special treaty. After that, it cannot be revoked, and even on supposition that all treaties between a State and the rest of the world have expired, it is no longer at liberty to retire into a state of isolation. Other States have now, by usage, acquired rights of intercourse, which they may enforce even by war. Sovereignty spends itself in settling the terms of intercourse, and has no

power to revoke what has been once conceded, whether by stipulation or by custom.

We are now prepared to look at some of the duties of States which relate to the maintenance of foreign justice and the prevention of wrongs committed against any State by the subjects of another. We have said next to nothing hitherto on the duty of *preventive* justice. Nor is it necessary to say more than a word in this place, for such justice, where it can be exercised within the specific sphere of state action, is as important and as obligatory as that of helping to punish actual wrongs, and being exercised within the limits of the coöperative State, may be safer and more easily managed than justice of a penal description.

1. One of the means by which the justice of foreign States is maintained, is the respect paid to their laws in certain cases outside of their jurisdiction, or the substitution of an external law for the *lex loci* on special grounds. After the references in the earlier parts of this Article to private international law, we need add little in this place. This preference of foreign to domestic law has been ascribed to comity, and, in a certain sense, this is true; the State is under no constraint in granting such favors, which have their source not in strict obligation but in free concession. And yet they would not be allowed, had not the courts become convinced that justice is in this way better secured,—in short, that the law of the place had failed to apply in certain cases the proper remedies. As soon as a nation or its courts have found this out, a sense of duty requires that they adopt that law which is the best for the case and the class of cases.

2. All extraterritorial jurisdiction, and all exemption from foreign jurisdiction, are to be explained in the same way. They are expedients for the furtherance of justice, proceeding originally from the free consent of the party concerned, but obligatory because justice cannot go on without them. The rights which ambassadors enjoy in a foreign land are defensible not on the ground that it is undignified for the representative of one State to be subject to the law of another, but because he could not be independent and free in his actions, if he were re-

stricted by the law of the place where he exercises his functions; and the courts, which Christian nations are permitted to hold in the territories of various eastern nations, have grown into being through the fear that the native courts would depart widely from Christian views of justice. All such privileges are naturally reciprocal, but as these eastern nations have been chiefly passive in their intercourse with Europe and America, they have never had occasion to demand the same privileges for their subjects in return.

3. Extradition is, in a still higher sense, a way of assisting the cause of general justice. When a fugitive from justice escapes into a foreign land, there are three ways of dealing with him. He may enjoy the right of asylum, without enquiry into his case; or be brought before the courts of the territory; or be sent back for trial to his own country. Few States now would think of adopting the first of these methods, for it would fill the foreign territory with rogues, and the right of asylum is not of an absolute character. The plan of trying the criminal by the courts of the State where he has found a refuge, has its advantages in this, that he is more sure of an impartial court, and is exempted from the necessity of returning to a country which he may have innocently left; but the far greater advantage is secured by extradition of having the criminal where the witnesses can be easily gathered. In fact, so great would be the expense of sending witnesses to a remote land,—across the ocean, for instance,—so great the hardship to them of such a loss of time and risk of life, that the practice of extradition is nearly universal, and the practice of trying fugitives abroad by the law of the place of their sojourn is only conceivable where States are near one another.

Extradition is in itself a way of aiding justice beyond our own bounds; and however nations may have favored it because it enabled them to lengthen their own arms so as to reach the fugitive criminal, or because they did not wish to harbor all offenders against law within their borders, the true ground for defending it is that it is a means of securing justice throughout the world, of helping to put down crime when the criminal comes under the power of another government, which

must sympathize in the exercise of justice, and which, although not injured by the offense, takes the part of law and order.

The limitations of extradition, as it is practiced in most States, have already been referred to. For special reasons political fugitives are exempted from the operation of the rule, and are seldom included in treaties. Generally it is only heavier crimes against the person and against commercial morality to which extradition relates. The lighter delicts are passed over. Yet the rules of the present day may be much changed at some future time. It is possible, when all governments shall have become just and beneficent, that even political crimes—if any such there shall be—will not be looked on with the indulgence they receive now. At that day a political revolutionist will be regarded as a disturber of the peace of the world, as an enemy of justice, whom it is right to send back for trial to the place of his crime.

4. A point not often discussed is, whether a State is in any manner bound to uphold the revenue laws of another, especially whether it is bound to endeavor to keep its subjects from smuggling. The common feeling has been that this is an affair between the smuggler and the officer of customs; that the smuggler is engaged in trade useful to his country, and if he is willing to run the risk, is more worthy of praise for his spirit and craft than of blame for his violation of foreign law. Trading nations, again, regard foreign tariffs, even when fair towards all the world, as evidences of hostility to themselves, so that any assault on the revenue laws of another land is patriotic and calls for sympathy. Hence, unless where a tariff system established by treaty has provided for the repression of it by the parties concerned, smuggling has gone unpunished. Nor have respectable merchants felt ashamed to partake in such adventures.

M. Mohl gives a paragraph to this matter, and decides that as foreign tariffs are often unreasonable, and must be regarded as such by nations who are injured by them, these nations cannot be expected to give them their protection, but must take a neutral attitude. We admit the justice of these re-

marks: the case is parallel to that of political fugitives. But suppose that revenue laws are admitted to be fair and right in their operation. It now becomes, we think, a duty of a State to keep its subjects, as far as possible, from smuggling,—not indeed by an expensive police scouring the seas, but by less troublesome methods, such as demanding bonds from exporters, with forfeiture if they engage in an unlawful trade. Nor would this fail of inculcating the principles of commercial morality which are feeble even in most Christian nations. There are men in fair standing who will cheat the custom-house when they can do this with impunity. There are foreign merchants, especially, who feel no scruple about violating the laws of the country where they live, as if they were not as truly bound to obey them as the native born citizen. There are many more who would laugh at the idea of being held by foreign laws of trade, who will smuggle opium into China, and then, wiping their mouth, will say, “I have done no wickedness.” Such men are encouraged by the low tone of morality in the intercourse of States, and would learn to take higher ground if States themselves set the example.

5. We come next to a somewhat analogous case. What attitude ought to be taken by States towards contraband trade carried on by their citizens, or, more generally, towards unlawful trade proceeding from their ports, in time of war?

It is admitted on all hands, that such proceedings as the conveyance of contraband and attempts to enter a blockaded port, being an identification of one's interests with those of a belligerent, are violations of neutrality, and therefore wrong. And it is because they are wrong, that no one complains when the cargo, or the ship, or both, according to the circumstances of the case, are taken and condemned by the other belligerent. But with this it is held, unless treaty may possibly have ordained otherwise in a case or two, that the neutral government is passive as to all such trade; it may see and know that ships leave its ports laden with munitions of war intended for a belligerent, but it is not bound to prevent, nay, may have no authority to prevent, such a trade. The means of carrying on

war for an indefinite period may all be furnished by neutral merchants; thousands of lives may be sacrificed to the spirit of gain which supplies both parties alike with the instruments of death, if wanted; the traffic is admitted to be a violation of neutrality; and yet merchants, in neutral ports, engage in it without scruple, and would probably ridicule a man who should contend that it was against the rules of morality and ought to be abandoned.

Still further, the theory of contraband seems to be framed on purpose to prevent any public interference. The doctrine is that the contraband trade begins when the ship leaves the country. The buying, chartering a ship for this purpose, lading, weighing anchor, are all innocent. It is only when the vessel reaches the high sea and turns its prow towards a certain point of compass, that the violation of neutrality commences. Until then there is no responsibility for its movements, for it commits no crime. Afterwards, it has passed beyond the operations of territorial law and the belligerents must look out for themselves. It is as if a thief could not lawfully be arrested when he was in a house, but when he had taken leg-bail, a set of policemen who had no right to enter the dwelling, must be summoned to catch him. If you add to all this that the merchant vessels of the belligerents are generally allowed to procure munitions of war in neutral ports, you have a law of nations framed in the interest of commercial States which deal in contraband articles,—a law so contrived as to make a confessedly unlawful trade as safe as possible.

What is to be said of all this? Has the neutral government no duty, according to the right view of justice, save that of preserving the neutrality of the State itself? May the private man be left to do as he pleases?

It will not be thought presumptuous, we hope, if we affirm that the law of nations leaves things here on a false ground. It seeks to secure neutral States against being entangled in foreign wars, but leaves private persons free to light the fires which their country may not endeavor to put out. It shows

no regard to general justice or the general welfare of States, but allows neutrals to make the most out of war that is possible.

But what is right and just in this case? We shall not be regarded as going very far when we say that the sale of munitions of war to a belligerent within the territory of a neutral ought to be prohibited. Such prohibition is more or less the practice at present; it is advocated by eminent jurists, and rests on good grounds of justice; for neutrality between combatants is justice, and that only is neutrality which consists in standing aloof from all the operations of the war, not that which renders favors to both belligerents alike. There can practically be no equal favors to both parties, and such favors only prolong a contest by the help of neutrals, who thus become belligerents on both sides. On this point we cannot forbear quoting the opinion of an eminent English authority, Mr. Phillimore, who seems to us to be animated by a sincere love of justice.\* "If the foundations of international justice have been correctly pointed out in a former volume of this work, and if it be the true character of a neutral to abstain from every act which may better or worsen the condition of a belligerent, the unlawfulness of any such sale is a necessary conclusion from these premises. For what does it matter *where* the neutral supplies one belligerent with the means of attacking another? How does the question of locality, according to the principles of eternal justice and the reason of the thing, affect the advantage to one belligerent, or the injury to the other, accruing from this act of the alleged neutral? Is the cannon or the sword, or the recruit who is to use them, the less dangerous to the belligerent, because they were purchased or he was enlisted within the limits of neutral territory? Surely not. Surely, the *locus in quo* is wholly beside the mark; except, indeed, that the actual conveyance of the weapon or the soldier may evidence a bitterer and more decided partiality, a more unquestionable and active participation in the war."

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\* International Law, iii. § 280.

Let no one say that in these words Phillimore confounds the act of the belligerent State, and of the private person within its jurisdiction. If an act is hostile by whomsoever committed, and can be prevented, the government is responsible for it, and for its consequences, if occasioned by neglect on the part of the public authorities. In the present case there is no special difficulty in preventing all such sales within the territory of the neutral State, any more than in preventing the belligerents from enlisting men there, or in enticing them to go elsewhere for the purpose of enlistment. Yet this is prohibited by international and municipal law. Nay, the purchase and exportation of munitions of war by such parties is more patent than secret agreements between two men within four walls, and far more so than lending money to a belligerent, which the English courts and ours regard as an invalid contract. There are certain manufactories, few in number, where the munitions of war are made, and certain ports, few in number, from which they are shipped, and certain vessels which can be watched with no great expense or addition to the police. We have then a simple case of prevention where the ends of neutrality and general justice can be without any peculiar difficulty attained.

Can the exportation and sale abroad by the neutral trader of contraband articles at his own risk be put on any different ground? We think not; except that it is worse for the peace of the world, and puts the neutral dealer in the attitude of actively helping the belligerents, while he was only passive when they came into his country to buy of him. Will it be said that a war between friends ought not to injure the commerce of a third party? Why then make the distinction between articles that are contraband and those that are not, and with great array of words preach the duty of neutrality? Moreover, is it not probable that a war will end sooner, if the neutral abstains from helping it on, than if he supplies the parties or either of them with the materials of fighting? Will it be said that sympathies are enlisted with one side rather than with the other, and help may be rendered to a weak, oppressed nation, which must otherwise succumb? But if such sympathy



may be active, what becomes of the doctrine that a neutral must regard a war between its friends as in a certain sense just on both sides, because they have conflicting views of justice between which there is no court of nations to decide. Or will it be said that the violation of neutrality begins on the sea and not before? This is however a mere fetch. If the intention of the dealer can be made out, he is purposing to do an act in violation of neutrality or he is not. If he is not, let him weigh anchor and go where he will. If he is, let him be prevented. Will it be said that nothing can prevent merchants and ship owners from pursuing a gainful traffic? To us it seems that if bonds were given, for example, to double the amount of the articles in question, and if you please of the ship, the forfeiture of so much on detection would check contraband trade more than all the risks from belligerent cruisers, which risks are paid for by the increased price of those cargoes that escape capture. We would not require the neutral to keep watch upon the seas, but simply to have an oversight of trade within his own territory, which, as we have said, is no onerous task.

Such action would be comparatively new in the world, and doubtless the commercial States would refuse to give it their assent. But suppose that two measures should take effect at once,—the exemption of all innocent ships, to whomsoever belonging, from molestation, and an increase of the penalties attached to contraband trade and breaches of blockade. The parties actively concerned in such trade, when captured, shall be regarded as prisoners of war, unless their innocence can be established; the ship that has the contraband on board shall be a lawful prize, as well as the contraband articles themselves. This, with the penalty hanging over the exporter's head in the land from which the goods came, would greatly lessen that illicit trade, which, in these days of steamboats, is so much easier and less hazardous than formerly. At the same time the protection given to all other trade, by which war would be made a state of peace for most vessels, would be too solid an advantage not to facilitate the adoption of these more rigid rules, if the two arrangements should be accepted or rejected together.

We will only add, that to reach such an end, more precise definitions of contraband, of blockade, and of attempts to break it than now exist, would need to enter into the law of nations.

The opinions of private persons, albeit they hide under the mask of the anonymous reviewer who is conceived of as the organ of some unknown body, are of small account. It may be allowed to us, however, to say that the opinions here expressed, touching the duty of neutrals in aid of general justice; have been long entertained by us. We are willing to confess, however, that we have been strengthened in our views by what has happened during the present war. The English are now neutrals; we do not blame their merchants for acts which our own did not commit in like circumstances, as in the contests between Spain and her colonies; nor do we blame them for any peculiarly sinful cupidity beyond that of sinners in the United States; nor do we blame their courts for decisions in favor of questionable neutral trade which our courts have not often sanctioned. But we are taught the immense resources of modern commerce, and its fearful power to prolong a war which would have been quenched long ago but for such help; and it seems to us as if this war was mainly indebted for its tenacity and exhausting power to neutrals and not to belligerents. The principal war power now is a neutral adhering to the rules of rigid neutrality. Are the rules right? Ought not the law of nations to be reformed? Does not general justice require more protection?

6. We mention, in closing this Article, one more kind of aid which nations can give to general justice: we refer to assistance rendered by the State itself to foreign nations or governments. We refer not to interference in order to preserve the balance of power, which may be dictated by mere self-preservation, but to cases of extreme oppression by a government on religious or political grounds, and to cases where a weaker nation is treated with great injustice by a stronger. Such interference is authorized in extreme cases, and will amount sometimes to taking part in war. It may be offered,

or even obtruded. As for the extremity of the case, of course no rules can be laid down, any more than in a case where a private person defends another in the street from a drunken or malignant assault. Interference of this kind is more disinterested than any other; it is also more rarely called for, and its rarity prevents it from setting a dangerous precedent. The Greeks may be rescued from Turkish oppression by force, but so righteous an occasion for interference may not occur again for ages.

## ARTICLE VIII.—A NEW WORK BY THE AUTHOR OF THORNDALE.

*Gravenhurst*: or Thoughts on Good and Evil. By WILLIAM SMITH, Author of "Thorndale," etc. William Blackwood & Sons, Edinburgh and London. 1862. Post 8vo. pp. 356.

SOME of the American readers of "Thorndale" may not know that the author has followed it by another work, in somewhat the same vein or direction of thought. There is this striking difference between the two—that the one exhibits the Conflict of opinions, without attempting to adjust the strife, while the other seeks to bring these opinions to Harmony. The first describes with boldness and freshness the various types of opinion on the most momentous themes which agitate the minds of the thinking men of these times, leaving the reader to his own resources in deciding which should prevail—furnishing, at the most, only some tentative efforts, outlines, or preliminary studies, which might aid in a right decision. The second furnishes us with a scheme of doctrine which is positively enounced as the last word of the author, uttered after much reading and thought. The style and manner of the two volumes are appropriate to the contents of each. The first is more dramatic and exciting; the second is more calm and judicial. There are in both the same attractive features of style and imagery. Both abound in passages of elaborate, yet natural description. There breathes in both the same genial and tender human sympathies, tempered with calm and considerate reflection. In both, there are abstract propositions and reasonings, and also animated and well sustained conversations, conducted by a few personages who are clearly conceived and successfully individualized.

The scene is at Gravenhurst, a retired English village, in the description of which the author displays those remarkably graphic powers which make his pictures of landscape to stand forth from the written page, drawn in outlines so sharp and yet

so delicate, and invested with colors so soft and yet so glowing, that you can almost behold the scene with the bodily eye. The principal characters are these—Mansfield, a retired East Indian General; Ada Newcome, his niece; and Sanford, who personates the author. To these personages of the conversations, are now and then introduced the vicar of Gravenhurst, who represents the moderate and not unphilosophical defender of Christianity, as somewhat modified by modern thinking, and not refusing to give an account of itself to earnest inquirers after the truth.

We cannot deny our readers the pleasure of perusing the following passage:

“Let me stop to observe that if there are moody reasoners who think it fit to express nothing but commiseration for the lives of men battered in the business and rascality of the world, even these will confess that there is something to admire, and a theme for gratulation, in some fair European girl or woman on whom has been showered wealth, beauty, and intelligence. When I see, for instance, a young English girl, full of grace and full of energy withal, dismount from her favorite horse, which she does not quit without a fond and grateful patting of the neck, and follow her in imagination into her cheerful drawing-room, more or less elegantly furnished, supplied with books of a thoughtful character, which are really read, and perhaps with instruments of music that are skillfully played upon, I think I have before me one of the most highly-finished, certainly one of the most significant, products of our civilization. I suppose that a learned jurist or a profound divine would cite themselves, or cite each other, as loftier examples of humanity—as higher types of European culture. I must be permitted to demur. I grant, indeed, that either of them may be a shade wiser than the English damsel of nineteen, and many shades more learned; but it is a newer wonder in the world that there should be many damsels of nineteen intelligent and wise, than that there should be learned lawyers and deep divines. And when I think that the mental cultivation has not disturbed one natural grace or one maidenly virtue—when I think of the blooming health and exquisite play of every limb and feature—the vivid emotions, the keen perception of the beautiful in nature, of the generous in character, that distinguish my English girl—I must pronounce her altogether the far higher creation. Yes, a greater boast of the age than all its chancellors, and even all its bishops!

“Such a charming English girl, you would have said, was Ada Newcome. There came, however, one bitterness in her lot, which marred the picture I have to draw.

“I call to mind the first time I saw Ada Newcome. It is now some years ago, but I remember it as vividly as if it were yesterday. She passed me (I was on the way to her house) sitting upon her horse. A more light and graceful figure, or a better rider, I thought I had never beheld. The slight figure sat balanced so perfectly, and swayed so harmoniously with every movement of the high-spirited

yet gentle-hearted animal, that you looked on with unalloyed pleasure, and without one moment's anxiety for her safety. If her fleet Arabian should give himself to the winds, you felt she would be as safe as if she were one of the winds herself. I see her rein up that proud Arabian; I see her dismount at her own door; she caresses the beautiful creature, who bends down his head to meet the caressing hand. I perceive his eye brightens as he feels that the eye of his mistress is on him. It rests on him with something of a tender gratitude, and there is some unspoken sadness mingling with her fond caress. She leaves the horse, and proceeds to walk up the wide old-fashioned staircase of the ancient family house she inhabits. But what is this? What change has come over my beautiful picture? Can it be the same figure which I saw a moment ago, light and buoyant as the air, that I now see dragging itself slowly and painfully up those stairs—one hand, sometimes both, clinging to the banisters for aid? Ada is lame—the result, I believe, of some early accident—hopelessly lame. Well might she love that horse! Seated on his back, she flew—no bird of the air more graceful; descended to the earth, one limping and disabled limb mars all. At each slow step the fair figure drops sideways—is broken—sinks and rises, as if each step were a fall and a recovery. The balance is recovered, to be directly lost again. She advances up the stairs as children do, putting always the same foot foremost, and bringing the other up to it. And when the stairs are accomplished, the level surface that remains to be traversed makes the plunging, broken gait still more conspicuous; our lily threatens to snap at every instant." pp. 45-49.

The book is made up of an Introduction, in which the author describes his scene, introduces his personages, announces his themes, and proposes his method. This is followed by Part I. The Exposition: in five chapters, under the following titles—Pain and Painful Emotion; Too much Evil; Moral Evil; Remediable Evils, or Man Progressive; The Irremediable. Part II. Conversations: consists of familiar discussions between the *dramatis personæ*, with the following titles or mottoes: Inequality of Happiness; Crime and its Punishment; The Rationale of Punishment; The Rainbow, or Suffering an Element in our Highest Forms of Mental Life; The Development of Human Society inseparable from Contest and Division; Explanatory Hints on Several Topics; The Whole is One.

It will be surmised, at once, from these titles, that the author has grappled with some of the toughest subjects of human speculation, and has ventured, in his way, to give a Theodicy or a vindication of the ways of God to man in the permission of physical and moral evil.

The theory of the author is peculiar, and though by no means novel or original in some of its single features or positions, it is worthy of attention from the ingenuity and interest with which these features are combined. We turn to Chapter III. of "The Exposition" on Moral Evil, and find the following ethical definition: "That which amongst animals, or idiots, is mere hurt or injury, becomes moral evil, becomes crime or sin, to intelligent man occupied with the interests of society or the presumed judgments of God. Evil, therefore, becomes moral evil—how? by the development of human reason. And a pleasure-giving act becomes Moral Goodness by the same development of intelligence. The intentional acts of men become *moral evil* because they are performed or contemplated by beings capable of moral judgments." This doctrine is sufficiently intelligible. The author's definition of moral evil needs no addition to make it clear and explicit. The act or intention of causing pain or pleasure which is performed without intelligence, is simply harmful or wholesome, undesirable or desirable. When performed by one who can judge of its relations and its tendency, it becomes morally good or bad. The *differentia* is intelligence, which, being present, converts natural into moral evil; or, in the author's own language, "evil becomes moral evil by the addition of these judgments."

Observe, here, that the author implies, though he does not distinctly assert, that this is the only addition that is required; and that no other new element than that of intelligence is needed to transform the naturally harmful into the morally malicious, or the malevolent. He intends this, however, and would not hesitate to affirm it if asked. The reader cannot, however, do justice to the author's view, or enter fully into the import of his definition, unless he adverts distinctly to the fact that the author is a philosophical necessitarian, and rejects entirely the opinion that freedom or the exercise of the will is necessary to invest an action with moral quality. Upon the back ground of this assumption he projects his entire theory of the evolution of moral quality, and of the possibility of moral judgments. He does not, indeed, give to this matter of the

will any great prominence in the present volume, though he discusses it briefly in one of the Conversations. He is too earnest and too honest to be guilty of any disguise or any intended subreption of thought. That he does hold this view, however, is necessary to be held distinctly in mind, in order to judge of the import and reach of his analysis of moral good and evil. Mr. Smith, then, holds that a naturally useful or harmful action—meaning by act, of course, a spiritual feeling, wish, or desire, and not corporeal exercise only—becomes virtuous or vicious when performed by a being who can judge of its nature. No matter how he comes by the wish or desire, if he only has an intellect sufficiently developed to be able to judge of certain relations of the wish, the wish or feeling is thereby rendered right or wrong. In this opinion, we remark, in passing, he has the happiness or the misfortune to agree with not a few theologians of the more rigorous type, such as teach that sin may pertain to the natural constitution, or pass over by inheritance from parent to child, or ancestor to posterity, or enter into the generic unity of the race to be thence evolved under the law of regular development, all agreeing, however, with the author of *Gravenhurst*, that there must be a modicum of intelligence to qualify the person to be morally responsible. As all these theological philosophers are somehow constrained to believe and to admit that the feeling or desire must also, in some sense, belong to the person who is intellectually qualified to judge of it, so, we observe, that our author, perhaps inadvertently, uses the epithet “intentional” as an attribute or an accompaniment of the acts in question. We submit that “intentional” cannot here signify “intelligent;” but that there lies hid beneath, an, as it were, extorted concession, that some other relation of the act must be involved than that which it holds to the intellect only. Intentional, when used in such a connection, seems to us to signify, not merely “known in its real relations,” “rightly judged,” “intelligently conceived,” but “indulged notwithstanding it is clearly known,” “deliberately chosen,” “voluntarily designed.” In short, we think that Mr. Smith’s unconscious language is better than his philosophy. This, however, is no unusual phenomenon.



But leaving this point, we proceed a pace further and ask, or rather Mr. Smith answers, and thus really asks the question for us, what is it, that the intelligence judges to be morally good or evil,—and how is it that it is qualified to pronounce upon the act as right or wrong? We must confess that we were surprised, if not startled, at his answer: "It is because we *have* to check and regulate both ourselves and each other, that there is such a thing as morality at all. No theorem in Euclid is more clear than this, that moral good and evil start into existence together. Reason and conscience are themselves developments from the experience of the good and evil of life. The moment reason and conscience are thus developed, good and evil have become moral good and moral evil. The creation of man as a moral being involves the necessity of moral evil."

This Thesis he thus explains, illustrates, and defends. If men acted spontaneously from instinct or perfectly balanced passions, there would be no room for the development of the moral sentiments. Conscience would be latent and undeveloped. If you suppose a race all and each uniformly and energetically impelled to act for the best good of the whole, there would be no moral approbation, because there would be no law by which such "perfect conduct could be tried or measured, and in view of conformity to which, there might be self-approval. Law is elicited by the antagonism of impulse or unbalanced passion to the well-being of society. This awakens reaction on the part of those offended, which is expressed in the form of law enforced by the approbation or disapprobation of others. Even should there be irregularity enough to elicit law, and then after law were called into being, the passions of men were to be calmed by and adjusted to this newly developed regulating force, even then there could be no sustained moral sentiments and moral judgments; or in the author's own words, "I am at a loss to conceive how, in such a state of things, when all would be equally obedient to the moral law, there could be any feeling of merit, any glow of virtue, any praise given or received." In other words, the author must hold that not only to the development of moral law, there must be necessarily moral evil, but in order to its perfection there must

be the repetition of various forms of moral evil so as to call out the reprobation of law in that variety, which is necessary to make the law complete. So also in order to sustain the moral code, in distinct recognition and active force, there must be the constant recurrence of offenses against it. In this way it is that the author seeks to make good his paradox that "the creation of man as a moral being involves the necessity of moral evil."

We do not care to examine how the author meets the views of those who would oppose his own by another ethical theory, or who ask how God can "punish moral evil if he created it." It may be that he successfully sets aside all the theories and objections of others which he brings into the field, particularly if his version of these theories and objections is to be accepted as precisely just. We prefer to call attention to the defects of his own theory. Its first defect is that it leaves out of view the Will as the ground of moral responsibility. A better psychology would have furnished the materials for a more profound and accurate ethical analysis. An "intentional" act is more than an act which is simply intelligent. Second: the moral code or the moral law, which the author contemplates, is simply the code or law which relates to external actions and their relation to human welfare. If we ask what we are to *do*, in order to bless mankind, we must learn very largely, we have no objection to saying wholly, from experience, *what* are the consequences or tendencies of our *doings* in respect to human welfare. But if we ask what we ought to intend, we may have the means, without experience of knowing, that we ought to intend, *i. e.* to voluntarily desire their welfare. It is one thing to know the superiority of benevolent love to selfish hatred, and quite another thing to learn what are the actions, the doings, or even the special wishings and desirings to which benevolence and love would prompt. The last is taught by experience, and it is because it is taught by experience that the moral code is continually advancing, and may never be complete. But the first of these may not be dependent on experience at all; or if so, it is an experience which is purely spiritual and subjective, one which is equally within reach of the infant as of the instructed sage. Third: the author confounds the occasions under which

the attention of the human race is called to moral distinctions and made acquainted with moral rules, with the elementary constituents into which the rule as objective, and the judgment concerning it as subjective, are resolvable. If it be granted that in point of fact the infant first learns to apply moral distinctions to itself, on some occasion when it has opposed the wish of a parent, yet it by no means follows that the conformity or non-conformity of our conduct to the expressed or imagined will of others is all that the mind is or might be awakened to discern. The oversight in respect to this distinction, committed by the author, is the same of which Hobbes, and Locke, and Adam Smith, have been guilty in their ethical theories. We are surprised that a writer of his penetration, insight, and comprehensive knowledge, should not have avoided this error. It may not be easy to adjust the proportion which belongs to the rational and the experiential, but it certainly is not in keeping with the superior gifts and discrimination of the author of "*Thorndale*," who so fully acknowledges this distinction in other applications, to lose sight of it wholly, when he is called to use it in respect to relations which are so fundamental and all important as those of the conscience.

Besides, there may be other reasons than he seems to have considered why in the conduct of man's history, and in the development of man's being, the development of the moral judgments and feelings into actual consciousness and universal acknowledgment should have been left so largely to these external circumstances—why conscience, in the case of so many individuals, and of so many communities, should so generally seem to be the after-growth of crime and sin, and the moral law, not only in its external relations, but even in its spiritual and subjective application, should have been wrought out by the always painful and the sometimes terrific experiments of the individual and social evils which have followed transgression. The Christian theory of a grand moral economy—embracing all the generations of the race, and yet not overlooking a single individual—contemplating the moral recovery of many, through appropriate moral and spiritual influences, would, if accepted by the author, explain why the moral experiences of men should

follow the order which they do, beginning with the outward and working inward—beginning with the education of society, of the family, and of law, which, by its instruction and discipline, *awakens* but does not *create* the conscience; stimulates to the exercise of the moral nature, but does not thereby furnish its constituent elements.

We have not room to follow out the applications which the author makes of his principles to the vindication of the ways of God. It is not necessary that we should. If his analysis of the prime elements of moral good and evil is fundamentally defective, his applications of them cannot but be unsatisfactory to the consecutive and consistent thinker. That they are most unsatisfactory to the feelings, we need not say. It gives little relief to the earnest and troubled inquirer, to be told that in bodily pain, in sickness, in sorrow, and in death, there is this, and this only "soul of goodness," that they stimulate to noble doing and daring, and that in acting and bearing the soul feels itself to be strong. Still less are we satisfied with the doctrine that God must allow sin in order that the conscience may exist at all, for the inquiry springs at once to the thoughts, what so great good is there in having a conscience at such a price? Why not endow the race with unconscious natural goodness, if we can only be conscious of moral worth by the experience of moral guilt? Still less are we satisfied with the theory of Divine punishment which does not recognize the prevention of sin as its end, but makes it necessary that the Creator should create the sin which he punishes, and create it continually in order that he may keep alive the moral law, according to which he condemns.

The author has evidently been led to adopt these extraordinary theories by the reaction of his own mind against the very vague and unsatisfying ethical and theological defenses of the Christian system which he has happened to encounter. But his heart seems to revolt against the logical conclusions to which his philosophy seems to impel him. Indeed, if we are not greatly mistaken, it is this conflict between his better convictions and sympathies on the one hand, and the logical deductions which he seems compelled to make from his too

scanty conceptions and too narrow assumptions—it is the presence of this conflict which imparts an almost dramatic interest to the Conversations which constitute the larger part of the volume. In these Conversations he seems all the while to be lingering upon the objections which may be urged against his views. He is ever desirous to do full justice to all that may be said or suggested in reply, and his own feelings seem to cleave to the construction of the topic that is more in harmony with the ordinary faith of men. Hence the eloquence with which the pleadings for the old faith are uttered by the warm-hearted Ada Newcome, and the apparent candor and truthfulness of many of the protestations of the Vicar of Gravenhurst. A kindly father of another age might say, in a pardonable conceit, of these two tendencies, that the philosophy of the author was Naomi stoically obeying the voice bidding her go back to the desolate mountains of Moab, while his promptings to faith were the voice of the reluctant and almost rebellious Ruth looking with eyes of love and hope toward the land of promise and of peace.

We began this notice of Gravenhurst, thinking to give a brief outline of its contents. We have been beguiled into these somewhat extended remarks by the interest of its principal theme. We cannot describe the interesting discussions, with the delightful pictures by which they are relieved, the eloquent discourses which are constantly returning, the apposite illustrations which are so beautifully introduced, and the perfect style in which all these beauties are enshrined. To attempt to do this without copious extracts would be in vain, and for neither description nor extracts have we time or room. As we read these pages, we are reminded of a beautiful and inviting arbor overhung with a luxuriant vine and fragrant with the breath of flowers, decorated so beautifully within and without that for the leafy luxuriance we cannot see the bare and deformed structure of feeble scantling over which this covering is drawn, and of which it is at once the support and the ornament. One push of the foot, the withdrawal of a single prop, and this stately edifice for shelter and delight, will fall; yet still the beauty that made it attractive, in its seeming strength, will remain to decorate the prostrate ruin.

## ARTICLE IX.—A LETTER FROM MR. HERBERT SPENCER.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NEW ENGLANDER.

SIR —While recognizing the appreciative tone and general candor of the Article in your last number, entitled “Herbert Spencer on Ultimate Religious Ideas,” allow me to point out one error of moment which pervades it. The writer correctly represents the leading positions of my argument; but he inadvertently conveys a wrong impression respecting my tendencies and sympathies.

He says of me—“The spirit of his philosophy is evidently that of the so-called positive method, which has now many partial disciples, as well as some zealous adherents, among the thinkers of England.” Further on, I am tacitly classed with “the English admirers and disciples of the great Positivist;” and it is presently added that “in Mr. Spencer we have an example of a Positivist, who dares not treat the subject of religion with supercilious neglect.” Here, and throughout, the implication is, that I am a follower of Comte. This is a mistake. That M. Comte has given a general exposition of the doctrine and method elaborated by science, and has applied to it a name which has obtained a certain currency, is true. But it is not true that the holders of this doctrine and followers of this method, are disciples of M. Comte. Neither their modes of inquiry nor their views concerning human knowledge in its nature and limits, are appreciably different from what they were before. If they are Positivists, it is in the sense that all men of science have been more or less consistently Positivists; and the applicability of M. Comte’s title to them no more makes them his disciples, than does its applicability to the men of science who lived and died before M. Comte wrote make these his disciples. My own attitude towards M. Comte, and his partial adherents, has been all along that of antagonism. In an essay on the “Genesis of Science,” published in 1854, and re-published with other essays in 1857, I have endeavored to show that his theory of the logical dependence, and

historical development of the sciences, is untrue. I have still among my papers the memoranda of a second review, (for which I failed to obtain a place), the purpose of which was to show the untenableness of his theory of intellectual progress. The only doctrine of importance in which I agree with him—the relativity of all knowledge—is one common to him and sundry other thinkers of earlier date; and even this, I hold in a different sense from that in which he held it. But on all points that are distinctive of his philosophy, I differ from him. I deny his Hierarchy of the Sciences. I regard his division of intellectual progress into the three phases, theological, metaphysical, and positive, as superficial. I reject utterly his Religion of Humanity. And his ideal of society I hold in detestation. Some of his minor views I accept; some of his incidental remarks seem to me profound; but from everything which distinguishes Comtism as a system, I dissent entirely. The only influence on my own course of thought, which I can trace to M. Comte's writings, is the influence that results from meeting with antagonistic opinions definitely expressed.

Such being my position, you will, I think, see, that by classing me as a Positivist, and tacitly including me among the English admirers and disciples of Comte, your reviewer unintentionally misrepresents me. I am quite ready to bear the odium attaching to opinions which I *do* hold. But I object to have added the odium attaching to opinions which I *do not* hold. If by publishing this letter in your forthcoming Number you will allow me to set myself right with the American public on this matter, you will greatly oblige me.

I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

HERBERT SPENCER.

LONDON, November 21, 1863.

It is fair that we comply with Mr. Spencer's request; and we gladly record his emphatic dissent from some of the distinguishing features of M. Comte's system. In justice to the reviewer, however, it should be noticed that those whom he classes as English Positivists are said to be "not generally blind adherents" of M. Comte, and that some of them were said to "follow him afar off." If there was an apparent impli-

cation in the review, that Mr. Spencer is merely "a follower of Comte," it was certainly unintentional. That he is an independent thinker, and that his system differs in several important respects from that of the French philosopher, are facts too obvious to be overlooked. Not only in the essay alluded to, on the "Genesis of Science," but in Part II. of the *First Principles*, the elements of a different (and, we think, a better) theory of scientific evolution are presented; and it was one purpose of the reviewer to indicate certain other points of disagreement. In describing "the *spirit* of his philosophy," therefore, as that of *Positivism*, this term was used in that broad sense which it now so commonly bears, as inclusive of opinions and modes of thought differing in various respects, but agreeing in the same general attitude towards the objects and means of theological inquiry which was assumed by the method of M. Comte. Partially to characterize this attitude, we may say that it consists in utterly refusing to recognize, in the supposed marks of design in Nature, anything more than conditions of existence under general laws, which bind together in one category all the phenomena both of matter and of mind, excluding the possibility of spiritual freedom; also, in assuming that the belief in a personal Deity is inconsistent with a scientific state of mind, and must finally be abolished by the progress of the intellect. It is true that these characteristics were not original in the philosophy of M. Comte; which, however, embodied them so fully as very naturally to have given name to that general style of philosophizing to which they belong. That it is not the style adopted by "*all* men of science," illustrious examples of Theistic and Christian naturalists, in our own day, abundantly show. It appears that Mr. Spencer regards the theory of the *three phases* of intellectual progress as superficial, and that he has criticised it (in an unpublished essay) as untenable; yet his own theory of intellectual progress, as bearing on religious belief, manifestly tends to a very similar result. Much more might be said on these points; but to proceed farther would lead us into an argument rather than an explanation. Since Mr. Spencer objects to the title of Positivist, it is certainly proper that it should no longer be applied to him.



## ARTICLE X.—NOTICES OF NEW BOOKS.

## THEOLOGICAL AND RELIGIOUS.

STANLEY'S SERMONS ON THE BIBLE. ITS FORM AND ITS SUBSTANCE.\*—These sermons are not inferior in interest and importance to any of the works of the author which have been republished in this country. We are somewhat surprised that they have not been brought within the reach of his numerous admirers on this side of the Atlantic. The somewhat long preface does indeed touch very significantly upon the doctrines and positions of parties in the Church of England, and intimates quite distinctly to which side the sympathies of the author incline. On page 81 we find also the following: "Even within our own memory the catastrophe of the disruption of the United States of America was foretold, even with the exact date, several years beforehand." But in spite of these unsuitablenesses to our condition and our convictions, the discourses themselves are admirably adapted to the condition and temper of mind of a multitude of ingenious and thoughtful young men, who know not what to think of the authority and inspiration of the Scriptures amid the din of varying opinions and the noise of antagonist partisans.

The theme of the three discourses is Hebrew i. 1, 2. "God who at sundry times and in divers manners spake in time past unto the fathers, by the prophets, hath in these last days spoken unto us by His Son." It is subdivided as follows: The first discourse is devoted to the topic suggested by the words "at sundry times and in divers manners," and treats of the variety of methods in which He has spoken in the Old Testament. The contrast between the variety which characterizes the Old Testament Scriptures and the dreary and wearying monotony which prevails in the Koran, is finely conceived and eloquently illustrated. The fact that we have in these Scriptures a Revelation manifestly progressive, is also distinctly announced. These important principles are, it is

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\* *The Bible: Its Form and its Substance.* Three Sermons preached before the University of Oxford, by ARTHUR PENRHYN STANLEY, D. D., Regius Professor of History, and Canon of Christ Church. Oxford, and London: John Henry & James Parker. 1863. 8vo: pp. 115.

to be confessed, little more than stated; they are neither so carefully stated, nor so fully defended, nor so watchfully guarded as we could desire, or as the vindication of the Old Testament requires; but the eloquent assertion of them by the author would of itself suffice to relieve the difficulties of many an honest but troubled inquirer.

The second sermon is on "God spake by the Prophets," and treats of the various functions and the wonderful adaptations of the prophetic office. In explaining these he inquires, "What, then, is the essence of this prophetic teaching? It may be divided into three parts, according to the three famous words of St. Bernard—*Respice, Aspice, Prospice*. The interpretation of the divine will respecting the Past, the Present, and the Future." According to this division the prophets are viewed as the Historians, the Preachers, and the Seers of the Covenant People. Each of these functions is briefly described and well illustrated.

The third sermon is on "God hath spoken by his Son," and the theme is "The final Revelation of God is in the person and character of Jesus Christ." This the highest and the most difficult of themes proposed by the author, is far from being exhausted. It is scarcely entered upon before it is abandoned for the conclusion of the discourse. But the author does not leave it without suggesting truths of the profoundest importance to the theology of the present day.

This brochure cannot be considered as a finished or satisfactory discussion of some of the most important topics in Christian Theology; but as an eloquent vindication of the authority and claims of the Scriptures, it is, in our opinion, admirably adapted to produce a strong and happy impression upon the educated young men of the present day.

CHRISTIANITY THE RELIGION OF NATURE.\*—The title of these lectures may startle some of our readers. In former times it might have provoked sharp controversy and unrelenting criticism. As used and explained by the author, it signifies no more than that the truth which Christianity reveals is as old as the Universe, that it did not begin

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\* *Christianity the Religion of Nature*. Lectures delivered before the Lowell Institute. By A. P. PEABODY, D. D., LL. D., Preacher to the University and Plummer Professor of Christian Morals in Harvard College. Boston: Gould & Lincoln. 1864. Royal 12mo. pp. 256. [New Haven: T. H. Pease. Price \$1.25.]

to be in the counsels or character of God because it has been brought to man's knowledge at a later period in man's history. The title was selected because the author was requested to deliver a course of lectures on Natural Religion, and at his own desire was permitted to incorporate with it a special argument, showing that Christianity harmonizes with the teachings and intimations of Nature. This special desire of the author gives additional interest to the discussions contained in the volume, though it interferes somewhat with the clearness of its divisions, and the orderliness of its development.

If we lay aside considerations of this sort, and examine the handling of the several topics proposed by the author, we find abundant occasion for commendation.

The first lecture is on Natural and Revealed Religion. We quote a few sentences to show the stand-point of the author, and the general strain of theological sentiment which pervades the volume :

"We come now to the distinction between natural and revealed religion. These terms designate, not different classes of truths, but the different methods in which religious truth becomes known to mankind. What is ascertained by the unaided exercise of man's own powers is called natural religion; what is received on testimony is called revealed religion. But the latter is no less natural than the former. The fatherhood of God, the forgiveness of sins, mediation, atonement, retribution, if truths, are truths of Divine and human nature, essential, everlasting truths, no less so because unknown, formerly to all, and still to the greater part of mankind, than if man were born to the knowledge of them. The Bible, indeed, recognizes the validity of this statement. Its Gospel is 'the everlasting Gospel.' Its promises are 'the eternal purpose of God.' Its redemption sacrifice is 'the Lamb slain from the foundation of the world.'"

Lecture second contains a very able and well-put argument in support of the *a priori* probability of a direct Revelation from a personal God. For fullness, force, fervency, and beauty, as well as for its felicitous adaptation to the audience for whom it was designed, it deserves the highest praise. The third lecture on Miracles is clear and outspoken in its vindication of the supernatural origin of the Christian miracles, and in the main is successful in its exposition of the doctrine of the nature, necessity, and credibility of miracles in general. Were we disposed to be critical, we should both add and subtract somewhat to and from what he says of the inviolability of the laws of nature, and of the evidence that they may at times be overruled. We think Dr. Peabody too unguarded in his assertion, that we know too little of the Universe to be war-

ranted in presuming that any of the laws are fixed; and on the other hand a little too unexact in his views of the character of those exigencies, which will justify the belief that these laws have in fact been set aside. His handling of the objection of Hume does not quite meet the case; not fully satisfying either the objections of modern science, nor the requirements of the modern theologian. Had Dr. Peabody felt authorized to press into his service the length and breadth of his own views as to what Christianity is, his argument would in our view have been far more successful. It is however so out-spoken and decisive on the principal points, and conducted with so much skill and felicity, that we find no disposition to criticise it minutely.

Lecture fourth is on the Records of Revelation. Here we might find somewhat more to criticise as imperfectly or incautiously stated. But yet on the other side we find such reverent treatment of the Scriptures, and such devout homage to their worth, that we only desire to commend.

Lectures fifth, sixth, and seventh, on The Love of God, The Providence of God in Human Art, The Providence of God in Human Society, all treat of themes which are finely adapted to the author's peculiar powers, and in the treatment of which he is uniformly successful by eloquent and beautiful achievement.

Of Lecture eighth, The Holiness of God—God in Christ—we can hardly trust ourselves to speak in a single sentence, not even in a single page. It is so excellent, so beautiful, and so true, as far as it goes, that we can only express the desire that it went still farther.

Lectures ninth, tenth, eleventh, and twelfth, on Immortality, Christian Morality, The Natural Religion of the State, and the Sabbath a Law of Natural Religion, fully sustain the interest of the reader to the end of the volume, and we close it with the assured conviction that the much esteemed and greatly honored author has produced a volume that will not suffer by comparison with those which have preceded it in the series of "The Lowell Lectures," and is a valuable contribution to the argument for the defense of Christianity, as Christianity needs to be defended in these passing years.

RENAN'S LIFE OF CHRIST.\*—M. Renan is a man of learning, and

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\* *The Life of Jesus.* By ERNEST RENAN, Membre de l'Institut. Translated by Charles Edwin Wilbour. New York: Carleton, 1864. [New Haven: Judd & Clark. Price \$1.50.]

especially distinguished in Oriental studies. He writes with the compression and liveliness of an accomplished Frenchman—with a piquancy, indeed, that closely borders on flippancy. Regarding the four Gospels as legendary histories,—like the Lives of St. Francis—he is left at liberty to take and to reject whatever he pleases. He avails himself of this liberty to the full extent, throwing out whatever is inconvenient for the web which he sets out to weave. But what of the result of his combinations? So far from having the character of plausibility, the representation he gives of Christ is a medley of incongruities. After reading his work, we are utterly unable to frame any consistent conception of the personage whom he undertakes to construct for us by the free handling of the sacred documents. So that were we to allow his position to be correct as to the unhistorical character of these, we could not say very much in praise of M. Renan's conjectural criticism. Moreover, his book abounds in misrepresentations of the meaning of New Testament passages. Not unfrequently he ascribes to Christ, and the early disciples, doctrines which they never held,—for example, the obligation to poverty and celibacy. What, we are impelled to ask on laying down this book, is the essence of Christianity, according to the author? What is there substantial and peculiar to this world-conquering religion? The lack of any satisfactory answer to these questions is a curious weakness of M. Renan's work.

Nevertheless, there is not a little of vivid description, which is rendered the more life-like from the author's personal knowledge of Palestine, and familiarity with Semitic languages. To one who has the leisure and the means to pursue to the end the inquiries which are brought forward in this book, it will be profitable. But for those who cannot investigate thoroughly these most important topics, it will be likely to prove very harmful.

On a preceding page (pp. 128-9) the reader will find additional remarks on M. Renan's book; and some of its prominent positions we shall take occasion hereafter to canvass.

SHEDD'S HISTORY OF CHRISTIAN DOCTRINE.\*—We have received from Mr. Scribner, Professor Shedd's Lectures on the "His-

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\* *A History of Christian Doctrine.* By WILLIAM G. T. SHEDD, D. D. In two volumes. New York: Charles Scribner, 1863. [New Haven: Judd & Clark. Price \$6.]

tory of Christian Doctrine." This important work is, in respect to paper and typography, truly beautiful. We are obliged to postpone our notice of its contents to our next number. We simply call the attention of our readers, at present, to the fact of its appearance.

**PALMONI.\***—The signification of Palmoni, as rendered in the margin of our English Bibles, is the Numberer of Secrets, or the Wonderful Numberer. It is therefore appropriately made the title of this essay, of which the object is to show that many of the numerals of the Scripture have a symbolic signification, and that this higher or more spiritual meaning is a decisive proof of inspiration. It is divided in three parts. The first is a summary of the six epochs and six days of preparation for Christ's kingdom. These epochs are marked by six great events, viz.: the expulsion from Eden, which closes a day without limit, and is called the Lord's Day; the second: the Flood, which terminates Adam's day; the third: the overthrow of Sodom and Gomorrah, ending Noah's day; the fourth: the judgment upon Pharaoh, completing Abraham's day; the fifth: the destruction of Jerusalem and the captivity, closing the day of Moses; the sixth: the final desolation of the temple, the evening of the day of the Prophets and the morning of the day of the Son of Man.

The second part is devoted to the summing up of many of the dates and numbers given in the Scriptures, for the purpose of showing that these present correspondences and recurring similarities, such as cannot be accounted for except on the theory of symbolic and spiritual significance. The third part is given to the consideration of some of the so-called sacred numbers, as *eight* and *seven*, *nine* and *thirteen*. We cannot enter into a criticism of the views of the author, and must content ourselves with referring our readers to the volume, if they desire to investigate the topic itself, or to gratify their curiosity in regard to the views of the author.

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\* *Palmoni*; or, the Numerals of Scripture a Proof of Inspiration. A Free Inquiry. By M. MAHAN, D. D., St. Mark's-in-the-Bowery Professor of Ecclesiastical History in the General Theological Seminary. New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1868. 12mo. pp. 176. [New Haven: Peck, White & Peck. Price \$1.]

**HOPKINS'S EVIDENCES OF CHRISTIANITY.\***—These lectures by President Hopkins were reviewed, and in general highly commended in the *New Englander*, for 1846. They have been very favorably received by the public, and have been used extensively as a Text Book for instruction in our colleges and higher seminaries. In the present edition the matter of the original edition is left nearly entire, some few additions and omissions only having been made. The form has been changed by breaking the matter into paragraphs, and prefixing to each its proper title or explanatory phrase.

In this way the usefulness of this well known and excellent volume will be increased, and its circulation greatly extended.

**MUSIC OF THE BIBLE.†**—In this elaborate work the author examines critically every text in the Bible, in its order, from Genesis to the Revelation of John, which contains any allusion, even the most remote, to music; and gives every necessary explanation. His plan embraces, also, a history of music, as it was practised in each of the early nations of the world, to the time of the Romans. The volume everywhere bears honorable testimony to the diligence, the critical skill, and the unwearied enthusiasm of the author, in this particular branch of study, and is a valuable contribution not only to biblical literature, but to that also of the art of music itself. The book is beautifully printed and is amply illustrated.

**THE MERCY SEAT: OR, THOUGHTS ON PRAYER.‡**—This is one of the most systematic, as well as practical and common sense treatises on the all-important subject of prayer with which we are acquainted. It should have the widest circulation by all the channels in which standard religious books are distributed. We can-

\* *Evidences of Christianity*. Lectures before the Lowell Institute, January, 1844. Revised as a Text Book by MARK HOPKINS, D. D., President of Williams College. Boston: T. R. Marvin & Son, 1863. 12mo. pp. 356. [New Haven: T. H. Pease. Price \$1.25.]

† *Music of the Bible*: or, Explanatory Notes upon those passages in the Sacred Scriptures which relate to music, including a brief view of Hebrew Poetry. By ENOCH HUTCHINSON. Boston: Gould & Lincoln. 1864. 8vo. pp. 513. [New Haven: Judd & Clark. Price \$2.75.]

‡ *The Mercy Seat*: or, Thoughts on Prayer. By AUGUSTUS C. THOMPSON, D. D. Boston: Gould & Lincoln. 1863. 12mo. pp. 345. [New Haven: T. H. Pease. Price \$1.25.]

not, in a short space, give a better idea of the scope of the book, and its value, than by transferring to our pages the analysis of its contents.

*I. Introductory.* 1. Prayer a want; 2. a privilege. *II. Efficacy of Prayer.* 1. Efficacy defined; 2. doubts and difficulties; 3. prayer a telegraph. *III. The Being Addressed.* 1. God the Son; 2. the Holy Spirit. *IV. Primary Conditions of Prayer.* 1. In the name of Christ; 2. union with Christ; 3. office of the Holy Spirit; 4. faith and love. *V. Method.* 1. Address and adoration; 2. confession; 3. thanksgiving; 4. Hallelujah victories. *VI. Qualities.* 1. Humility and dependence; 2. right motive; 3. earnestness; 4. constancy; 5. perseverance. *VII. Auxiliaries to Prayer.* 1. Devotional culture required; 2. reading of Scripture; 3. retirement and meditation; 4. devout fasting; 5. devout living. *VIII. Adjuncts to Prayer.* *IX. Prayer, Individual and Social.* 1. Secret; 2. family; 3. social. *X. Seasons of Prayer.* 1. Amid trials; 2. under bereavement. *XI. Subjects of Prayer.* 1. Temporal blessings; 2. mental aid; 3. the Holy Spirit; 4. spread of Christianity; 5. large requests. *XII. Intercessory Prayer.* 1. Reasons and benefits; 2. for believers; 3. for pastors; 4. for children; 5. for colleges; 6. for communities. *XIII. Answers to Prayer.* 1. Certain; 2. delayed. *XIV. Conclusion.* 1. Province; 2. future achievements.

HEAVEN. HEAVENLY RECOGNITION. HEAVENLY HOME.\*—The author reminds us, in his preface, of a sentiment of Stilling: "Blessed are they that are homesick, for they shall get home;" and then adds: "Nothing can better create, or keep alive, this homesickness for heaven, than a vivid representation to our minds of celestial treasures and attractions." Well has Dr. Harbaugh succeeded, in the discussions of these three volumes, in presenting such views of the realities of the invisible world as to confirm the faith and increase the desires of all who look forward to Heaven as the home of their friends and their own home. The three separate works have been for some time known and highly valued; and now, in this new and elegant uniform edition, we trust they will have a still wider circulation.

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\* *Heaven.* 12mo. pp. 290. *Heavenly Recognition.* 12mo. pp. 288. *Heavenly Home.* By Rev. H. HARBAUGH, D. D. Philadelphia: Lindsay & Blakiston. 1863. 12mo. pp. 365. [New Haven: Judd & Clark. Price \$1.25 each.]



THE WITNESS PAPERS.\*—Our first thought, on reading the title-page of this somewhat bulky duodecimo, was that it was ill-adapted to the American market, as all the papers which it contains have a direct reference to the ecclesiastical questions, which were so earnestly agitated in Scotland before the memorable disruption of May, 1843. Or at the best we judged it would prove interesting to the few who are devoted to special researches in Ecclesiastical History, and delight in recalling the minute details which make up the story of the forgotten and neglected past. As we looked through the volume, we were soon attracted by the vivid portrait sketches, the masterly discussion of principles, the copious and felicitous allusions to English History and Literature, and above all by the earnest and elevated piety which breathes in every sentence and animates every page. The charm of Hugh Miller's matchless style is everywhere present, and his buoyant and cheerful manliness is a perpetual spring of healthful and animating feeling to the reader. Alas! that the soul which was a fountain of delight and vivacity to so many thousand readers, should have been shrouded in deepest gloom, before its tragic exit from its mortal habitation!

The volume opens with the celebrated letter to Lord Brougham, which was occasioned by his speech in the House of Lords in 1839, containing opinions adverse to the non-intrusion party. The author was at that time comparatively unknown to the public. This letter led at once to his appointment as editor of "The Witness," a newspaper which was soon to be published in Edinburgh as the organ of the Free Church party. The selection of Hugh Miller for this place was fortunate for himself, for the cause of the Non-Intrusionists, and for "The Witness" itself, which soon came to be acknowledged as one of the most powerful and popular newspapers of the United Kingdom.

The leading articles on the church question which he contributed, from the establishment of the paper in 1839, till the disruption in 1843, follow in chronological order, and constitute a vivid and

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\* *The Witness Papers*. The Headship of Christ and the rights of the Christian people; a collection of essays, historical and descriptive sketches, and personal portraiture, with the author's celebrated letter to Lord Brougham. By HUGH MILLER, author of "Foot-prints of the Creator," &c. &c. Boston: Gould & Lincoln, 1863. pp. 502. [New Haven: T. H. Pease. Price \$1.50.]

minute interior history of this memorable event of the present century. To our own times and circumstances the principles discussed in these papers are by no means inapt, and the discussions themselves are not inopportune. The conflict which prevailed so long in the church of Scotland between the Moderate and the Evangelical party, is similar to the strife which in our country has been maintained so long between a formalistic Christianity on the one hand, and a Christianity which is earnest and spiritual on the other. In Scotland it was for the most part a contest between parties within the church. In our own country it is more a strife between different sects. Just at the present moment we are fallen upon the days of "Moderatism" and "Toleration." This has its good and its evil side. It is attended with its advantages and its dangers. No better antidote to these dangers could possibly be furnished than is contained in the vivid portraiture from the earlier and later periods of the history of the Scottish church, and the earnest protests for evangelical Christianity which these papers contain.

To the editors and conductors of our religious newspapers these papers are invaluable, as furnishing a model of what their leading articles on questions and principle might and ought to be. It would be well for the church and for our country if the articles, in these well-nigh omnipotent organs and controllers of opinion, even approximated to these masterly papers of Hugh Miller, in the mastery over principles, in the copiousness of knowledge, in the wealth of illustrations, in the power and felicity of style, and above all in his large-hearted charity, united with the earnest and fervid assertion of his own convictions and preferences.

**CATHOLICITY OF THE NEW CHURCH AND UNCATHOLICITY OF NEW CHURCHMEN.\***—The title of this little volume indicates its character. The writer, Rev. Mr. Barrett, of Orange, New Jersey, is well known as the author of several books designed to expound and to commend the doctrines of Swedenborg. As the result of his own personal experience, among those who profess to be the followers of that celebrated teacher, he has now been compelled to the unpleasant task of showing that, as a general thing, they have

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\* *Catholicity of the New Church and Uncatholicity of New Churchmen.* By B. F. BARRETT, author of "Lectures on the New Dispensation," "The Golden Reed," etc., etc. New York: Mason Brothers. 1863.

swerved far from the doctrines and principles by which they profess to stand. It was never the design of Swedenborg, so Mr. Barrett teaches, to establish a new sect, or to arrogate for those who should accept his doctrine any exclusive title to the Christian name. He had a far higher, nobler purpose. He wished to be not a schismatic but a reformer; to be the means of kindling a new and higher life within the Church, and not to lead a vain attempt to found a new denomination which should contain no tares among the wheat. This view Mr. Barrett defends by copious extracts from the works of Swedenborg himself. It seems to us that his argument is a conclusive one to all who reverence those works as in any sense authoritative, and it is for such readers that this book is especially designed. Certainly his view is one that harmonizes best with the sincere and Christian temper which, as all confess, pervades the writings of the learned Swede. And it is a real satisfaction to discover that so careful and earnest a student of them, as Mr. Barrett shows himself, asserts, so positively and with such substantial proof, that they are not responsible for the narrowness and bitterness and bigotry by which the so-called Swedenborgians have been so frequently distinguished.

It is not pleasant to read the narrative of the experience by which Mr. Barrett has been forced to make this protest. It is never pleasant to see the pitiable arrogance of a few sectaries who declare themselves to be the temple of the Lord, and who make all those who differ from them in opinion to be unchristian and profane. But, just in the same proportion, it *is* pleasant to find anywhere a man who rises up against the contradiction and authority of those about him, to assert the sacred truth that the Church of Christ is not and cannot be a *sect*. This is the great idea of Mr. Barrett's book, and it is one which should secure a welcome for it from all who love and long for Christian unity, and who shun intolerance and the fierce, unlovable spirit of sectarianism. We are glad to believe that not a few who bear the name of Swedenborgians hold with Mr. Barrett, and unite in his manly protest against the absurd pretence that Swedenborgianism or anything else can make itself *the Church*, simply by calling itself so.

GOLDWIN SMITH ON AMERICAN SLAVERY.\*—This eloquent and

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\* *Does the Bible sanction American Slavery?* By GOLDWIN SMITH. Cambridge: Sever & Francis. 1863. 12mo. pp. 107. [New Haven: Judd & Clark. Price 25 cents.]

masterly pamphlet has already attracted the attention of thousands of readers in our country. We wish it might be read by as many millions. It is alike valuable in its theological and political relations. It does not hesitate to view the civil institutions of the Hebrew people as in great part conceded to their previous customs, and the moral culture in which they were found, when their polity was fixed. It destroys, by the only argument which it is possible to apply, the pretense that God has sanctioned slavery as a perpetual institution by permitting and regulating it as a local custom, a prevailing usage, a relic of barbarism that could be modified and mollified, but not eradicated and destroyed. We could wish that the London Committee of the Evangelical Alliance would ship a few thousand copies by the blockade runners that are to carry the solicited consignment of Bibles to the Confederates, who are "perishing for lack of vision." It would be a good plan for our government to send a few packages across the lines, or, at least, to distribute them freely within the lines, when our bayonets can open the way for their distribution. We fear the argument would be thrown away upon the wooden-headed theologians and the copper-head politicians of the Free North.

DR. HARWOOD'S SERMON ON CANAAN, SHEM, AND JAPHETH.\*

—This timely and able sermon is in part an argument to show that the interpretation of the curse on Canaan in Gen. ix., 25, 26, 27, which finds its fulfillment in the slavery of the African race, is entirely unsupported by any evidence whatever. In fact it is a brief but forcible and eloquent exhibition of the fulfillment of the entire passage in the subsequent fortunes of the descendants of the three sons of Noah. In connection with the first part of the discourse, the author, who is well known as an able Biblical critic and scholar, has exhibited in a note the opinions of Josephus, Augustine, Chrysostom, Bochart, Bayle, Bp. Patrick, Dr. Turner, Tuch, Knobel, on the side of his view, and those of Bp. Newton, Keil, and Bush in support of the view which he rejects. In the second part, he portrays with much force and eloquence the places which the descendants of these sons have occupied in history, and from a review of all the centuries, carries back a striking and strong

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\* *Canaan, Shem, and Japheth.* A Sermon, preached in Trinity Church, New Haven, Sunday, October 25, 1863. By EDWIN HARWOOD, D. D. [New Haven: Thomas H. Pease, 1863. 8vo. pp. 28. Price 20 cents; six copies for \$1.]

confirmation of the sober truth and the divine inspiration of the original declaration. We have reason to thank the author for his excellent discourse, as well as for the boldness with which he does not shun to declare the truths suited to these times.

## SCIENTIFIC.

RITTER'S GEOGRAPHICAL STUDIES.\*—The translator and editor of this volume was a friend and pupil of the great and the good Carl Ritter. We say, emphatically, the great and the good, for no person who had the happiness to know him would fail to accord to him both these titles of veneration and love. No one who has followed him in his lecture-room day after day, and listened to the simple yet profound principles which he so quietly evolved, and to the amazing store of facts with which he illustrated and enforced his principles, or traced the wide-reaching yet exalted applications he was constantly making of both principles and facts to the illustration of human history and development, could hesitate to call him not only great, but one of the greatest men of the present century. He was the creator of a new science—the science of Philosophical Geography, or geography considered in its most comprehensive and elevated relations, viz.: its relations to the development and history of man. By the suggestion of a few master principles, he made its otherwise multitudinous and uninteresting details to marshal themselves in beautiful symmetry around central points of interest, and to group themselves into a well-ordered system. He united Geography with History by showing that the arrangement of man's dwelling place on the earth has had much to do in determining the entire course of his development. For example, the coast line of a continent must necessarily affect the entire life of the people who inhabit it, as it incites or forbids commercial and social communication within and without. In a similar way the presence or absence of long rivers through the interior, with their attendant valleys, the lifting of the surface into abrupt and lofty mountains, the breaking it up into diversified and checkered

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\* *Geographical Studies.* By the late Professor CARL RITTER of Berlin. Translated from the original German, by WILLIAM LEONHARD GAGE, translator and editor of Prof. Heinrich Steffens' "Story of My Career." Boston: Gould & Lincoln. 1863. 12mo. pp. 356. [New Haven: T. H. Pease. Price \$1.25.]

slopes, the expansion of it into elevated table lands, or its depression into marshy flats, must determine the pursuits, the wealth, the manners, the civilization, the art, and the literature of the population, so far as its own independent life is concerned. Such influences can be set aside or overcome by no near contiguity or intimate intercourse with more favored regions. These physical arrangements for man's development, with their necessary results, were regarded by Ritter from a still higher stand-point, in their discerned adaptation to the highest purposes and the most comprehensive designs of the Divine mind. In this way Geography was by him connected with Theology, and the study of the physical arrangements of the earth's surface was made to cast a clear and strong light on the history of man's recovery through the conduct of Human History by Divine Providence, and the interruption, or, rather, the transfiguration of it by supernatural interventions.

This was the science of which Ritter was the creator. These were the grand principles which he suggested and applied. In the service of these views he gathered his vast stores of facts, and gave them to the world in that encyclopædia of geographical knowledge: the *Erdkünde*, consisting of nineteen solid octavo volumes.

It is natural to compare Ritter with Humboldt, from the similarity of their pursuits, the proximity of their residence for many years, and the slight difference in the age and the date of the death of each. Both were great. Whether Ritter was not the greater in the highest attributes of the intellect, may well be doubted. He did not occupy so large a space in the world's attention as Humboldt, because his field of scientific observation was not so wide, and because geographical researches are by no means so brilliant as the more adventurous flights of the astronomer. But though his observations were not so wide, it may be questioned whether, on the whole, his knowledge of facts was not as wonderful, and whether the firm grasp which he held of this infinitude of minutiae was not quite as surprising as the similar mastery of Humboldt over the facts which he gathered from more numerous fields. But the accumulation of facts is neither the sign nor the test of the highest style of intellectual greatness, especially when the greatness is tried in the field of science. Ritter,

as the discoverer and creator, was, in our view, greater and more grand than Humboldt, the recorder and methodizer.

In all moral traits, whether the more superficial or the more profound, he was immeasurably the superior of his illustrious compeer, thereby illustrating the power of the Christian faith by its ethical results, when tested in men extraordinarily alike in original genius, tastes, culture, age, and fame. Ritter was simple, serene, warmly benevolent, patient, and humble. Humboldt was conscious, pettish, courtly, uneasy, and vain, notwithstanding a native kindness of heart and a thorough schooling in the experience of life. The impression derived from personal interviews with the two men revealed striking differences in these and other characteristics, which could be accounted for by no explanation so satisfactory as the manifest presence and recognition of Christian truth in the soul of Ritter. On the morning of Christmas, 1853, it chanced to the writer to be present in the Dom Church of Berlin, in a crowd of four thousand people, all excited by the associations of joy and worship which are responded to so fervently by every devout German, on this their hallowed day. The whole assembly were chanting together an animated Christmas hymn. Among the mass Ritter was conspicuous not merely for his kingly height, his gigantic breadth, and the noble simplicity of his port, but for the yet humbler ardor which shone forth from "his face as if it had been the face of an angel."

This being our estimate of Ritter as a philosopher and a man, we need not say that we welcome any contribution to our literature which is fitted to introduce to our countrymen a more exact knowledge of Ritter as a philosopher and a more just appreciation of him as a man. Dr. Guyot has done us a great service in expounding to us, in his "Earth and Man," the principles which he learned from the great master whom he delights to honor, and we hope that others will follow in his footsteps. The present volume consists of a Sketch of the Life of Ritter by the translator; of an Account of Ritter's Geographical Labors, by Dr. Bögekamp, of Berlin; of the following Papers by Ritter himself: An Introductory Essay to General Comparative Geography; General Observations on the Fixed Forms of the Earth's Surface; The Geographical Position and Horizontal Extension of the Continents; Remarks on Form and Numbers as Auxiliary in Representing the Relations of Geographical Spaces; The Historical Element in

Geographical Science; Nature and History as the Factors of Natural History; or, Remarks on the Resources of the Earth; The External Features of the Earth in their Influence on the Course of History. These papers exhibit the principles of Ritter, and bring them within the reach and comprehension of the careful reader. It is to be regretted that they are presented and discussed in so abstract a form, and are enlivened with so few illustrations. The style of Ritter, as the translator pertinently observes, presents extraordinary difficulties. With all these drawbacks, the volume is very valuable and interesting.

HEAT CONSIDERED AS A MODE OF MOTION.\*—This volume contains twelve lectures, delivered in 1862, before the Royal Institution of Great Britain; and furnishes a popular exposition of the most important principles which have been established respecting heat. These lectures abound in experiments which are very ingenious and satisfactory, and which were performed in such a manner as to be distinctly witnessed by a large audience. Many of the effects of heat are so minute that in the ordinary mode of experimenting they can only be witnessed by one or two persons at a time. But Prof. Tyndall is able to show to a large audience that mercury is heated by pouring it from one glass vessel to another; he can show the cold produced by the expansion of a small quantity of air; that a drop of water resting upon a hot metallic surface does not actually touch the surface of the metal; and a multitude of other experiments which most lecturers do not attempt to perform in public on account of the difficulty of making them visible to a large number of persons at the same time. Prof. Tyndall's usual mode of performing such delicate experiments, is by the use of a thermo-electric pile, which gives motion to the needle of a small galvanometer; and inasmuch as the movements of this needle are often very slight, and could not be directly witnessed by a large audience, he illumines the needle by a brilliant voltaic light, and by means of a convex lens, forms a magnified image of the needle upon the ceiling of his lecture room. Thus the heat radiated from the hand of the lecturer, even at a great distance, is rendered visible to every spectator in a large hall.

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\* *Heat considered as a mode of Motion.* By JOHN TYNDALL, F. R. S., Professor of Natural Philosophy in the Royal Institution of Great Britain. D. Appleton & Co. New York, 1863. 12mo. pp. 480. [New Haven: Peck, White, & Peck. Price \$2.]



The leading object of this course of lectures is to show that heat is not a material substance, but a *mode of motion*; a motion of the ultimate particles of matter. One of the experiments most relied on to prove that heat is not material, is that performed by Sir H. Davy, who took two blocks of ice having a temperature of 29 degrees. and rubbed them against each other for some minutes, when the ice was almost entirely converted into water, having a temperature of 35 degrees. Now the capacity of water for heat is much greater than that of ice; and ice must have an absolute quantity of heat added to it before it can be converted into water. Hence it is concluded that heat is a kind of molecular motion, and that this motion may be generated by friction, percussion, or compression. There ought then to be a certain relation between the heat developed by mechanical action, and the force which produces it. Dr. Mayer, of Heilbronn, in Germany, and Mr. Joule, of Manchester, England, have endeavored to determine this relation. Mr. Joule placed water in a suitable vessel and agitated it by paddles, and determined both the amount of heat developed by the stirring of the liquor, and the amount of labor expended in the process. He did the same with various other substances. These experiments indicate that the quantity of heat generated by the same amount of force is fixed and invariable; and it has been concluded that the quantity of heat which would raise one pound of water one degree in temperature, is equal to what would be generated if a pound weight, after having fallen through the height of 772 feet, has its moving force destroyed by collision with the earth; and commonly, the amount of heat necessary to raise a pound of water one degree in temperature, would, if all applied mechanically, be competent to raise a pound weight 772 feet high; or it would raise 772 pounds one foot high. Thus 772 pounds is called the *mechanical equivalent* of heat. According to this principle we can compute the heat generated by a rifle bullet on striking a target. Mayer and Helmholtz have computed that the heat which would be generated if the earth was suddenly stopped in her orbit, would be sufficient not only to fuse the entire earth, but to reduce it in great part to vapor.

We wish here to point out what appears to be a non sequitur in the reasoning of most writers on this subject. If, in the example just supposed, the motion of the earth were destroyed by collision with a material body, the conclusion above stated would be in ac-

cordance with our experiments ; but it has never been proved that the same effect would be produced if the earth's motion were destroyed simply by the attraction of other bodies without collision. If a meteor in passing near the earth should have all its motion destroyed simply by the earth's attraction, it has never been proved that the meteor's temperature would be changed in any degree by this loss of motion. It is possible that there would be an elevation of temperature ; but our experiments have only shown such a change of temperature where motion is destroyed by collision with a material body.

Prof. Tyndall concludes his lectures with a beautiful statement of the agency of the sun's light and heat in the grave operations of nature. "The earth's atmosphere contains carbonic acid, and the earth's surface bears living plants ; the former is the nutriment of the latter. The plant apparently seizes the combined carbon and oxygen ; tears them asunder, storing up the carbon, and letting the oxygen go free. By no special force, different in quality from other forces, do plants exercise this power ; the real magician here is the sun. It is at the expense of the solar light that the decomposition of the carbonic acid is effected. Without the sun, the reduction cannot take place, and an amount of sunlight is consumed exactly equivalent to the molecular work accomplished. Thus trees are formed, thus the meadows grow, thus the flowers bloom. Let the solar rays fall upon a forest, and the quantity of heat given back is less than that received, for the energy of a portion of the sunbeams is invested in the building of the trees. I have here a bundle of cotton, which I ignite ; it bursts into flame and yields a definite amount of heat ; precisely that amount of heat was abstracted from the sun, in order to form that bit of cotton."

"Every mechanical action on the earth's surface, every manifestation of power, organic and inorganic, vital and physical, is produced by the sun. His warmth keeps the sea liquid, and the atmosphere a gas, and all the storms which agitate both are blown by the mechanical force of the sun. He lifts the rivers and the glaciers up to the mountains ; and, thus the cataract and the avalanche shoot with an energy derived immediately from him. Thunder and lightning are also his transmuted strength. Every fire that burns, and every flame that glows, dispenses light and heat which originally belonged to the sun. Every shock and every charge in battle is an application or misapplication of the mechan-

ical force of the sun. He blows the trumpet, he urges the projectile, he bursts the bomb. This is not poetry, but rigid mechanical truth. He rears the whole vegetable world, and through it the animal; the lilies of the field are his workmanship, the verdure of the meadows, and the cattle upon a thousand hills. He forms the muscle, he urges the blood, he builds the brain. His fleetness is in the lion's foot; he springs in the panther, he soars in the eagle, he slides in the snake. He builds the forest and hews it down. The clover sprouts and blossoms, and the scythe of the mower swings by the operation of the same force. The sun digs the ore from our mines; he rolls the iron; he rivets the plates, he boils the water, he draws the train. He not only grows the cotton, but he spins the fibre, and weaves the web. There is not a hammer raised, a wheel turned, or a shuttle thrown, that is not raised, and turned, and thrown by the sun. His energy is poured freely into space, but our world is a halting place, where this energy is conditioned. Here the Proteus works his spells; the self-same essence takes a million shapes and hues, and finally dissolves into its primitive and almost formless form."

#### HISTORICAL.

MERIVALE'S HISTORY OF THE ROMANS.\*—The Messrs. Appleton have undertaken to reprint, in seven volumes, Mr. Merivale's work upon Roman History. The first two volumes of the series are now before us. The substantial and elegant dress in which they are printed, will win the praise of all readers. We have seldom looked upon so fair a page. It is evident that the old days of double columns and eye-destroying type are fast passing away; and leading publishers seem to be vying with each other in the effort to bring out their issues in the most attractive style.

Merivale's History has already taken rank in England with the standard productions in the department of historical literature. His subject is far from being so vast and difficult as that of Grote, and his power, as a writer, would be generally deemed inferior to that of Macaulay; and yet, after these two, there is no other En-

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\* *History of the Romans under the Empire.* By CHARLES MERIVALE, B. D., late Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge. From the Fourth London Edition. New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1863. [New Haven: Judd & Clark. Price \$2 a volume.]

glish name, among the recent historical writers—save, perhaps, that of Arnold—which would be placed above Merivale. It was the original design of the author to carry his narrative down from the fall of the Republic to the transference of the imperial court to Constantinople. He has felt constrained, however, to limit his task to a narrower compass, and to stop at the close of the reign of Marcus Aurelius,—the point where Gibbon's great work begins. The idea at the foundation of his plan is set forth in his preface. There are two histories of every people,—the one interior and domestic, or national, and the other exterior. The former is the history of the laws, institutions, and internal changes—its onward growth until it has attained to its political individuality. The latter relates to the action of the people upon others and the part it performs in the general history of mankind. "The great interest of Greek and Roman history consists in this, that we can trace them with singular completeness in both these respects." The downfall of Greece, as a political Power, did not end its history in the second of these respects; for its influence on the destinies of mankind continued for ages, and has not yet ceased. The story of the Roman conquests is the prelude to the second branch of Roman history, which has for its end the description of the influence which the Roman government and Roman institutions exerted upon the nationalities subject to their sway. This particular subject is the one which has excited the interest of Merivale, and been chosen for the theme of his elaborate work.

These first two volumes bring the history down from the first Triumvirate to the assassination of Julius Cæsar. They comprise a full exhibition of Cæsar's entire career. The parties in the State, anterior to the Empire, and subsequent to it, as well as the leading personages, are thoroughly described. It is refreshing to come into this living contact with Roman times and Roman men; to find that underneath the rivalries of statesmen and soldiers was a contest of great principles and antagonistic political tendencies; and to see the mist which youthful imagination throws over the heroes of Roman history vanish and give place to a clearer perception. Cicero, for example, stands out upon the canvass, the ambitious young advocate and orator; the rising statesman, making his way to the highest offices; the patriotic magistrate; too vain and too timid to be ranked in the first order of greatness, and yet great enough to be immortal. His relations to the parties

and politicians, whose conflicts agitated Rome, are lucidly set forth.

Mr. Merivale writes, with a sustained animation, in pure, forcible English. The following passage upon the condemnation of Cataline is selected, almost at random, as a specimen of his style:

"Cicero's eloquence and ingenuity had conciliated thus far the favor of the people, and nerved the arm of the oligarchs with a strength to which they had long been strangers. The question now arose how much farther this favor might be relied on. Nine of the traitors had been convicted; of these five were in confinement; the nature of their punishment remained for decision. The law of the republic, as interpreted at least by the patricians, invested the chief magistrate with power of life and death as soon as the Senate should issue its ultimate decree,—Let the consuls see that the State suffers no harm. Nor were there wanting precedents to support in the present case an act of extreme rigor, which the majority of the Assembly might be found to justify and applaud. But Cicero was aware that the Commons had never consented to such a stretch of prerogative; while their power, as well as their jealousy of the nobles, had much increased since its last exercise in the time of the Gracchi. There existed also a conflicting principle in the Roman law, according to which no citizen could be put to death except by a vote of the tribes. But the Senate still hesitated to appeal to the people, by which course they would risk the failure of justice and vengeance altogether. Nor by delegating their own authority to the Consul would they secure his impunity, should he venture to act upon it. The passions of the populace, stimulated by angry demagogues, would scorn submission to any such questionable pretensions. Accordingly, even in the moment of triumph, Cicero was too wary to assume at once the proffered responsibility. He appealed once more to the Senate itself. He restored to the Assembly the sword it had thrust into his hand. The fathers met in the Temple of Concord, the ground-plan of which may yet be traced beneath the brow of the Capitoline; and from the memorials still preserved to us, we may picture to ourselves a vivid representation of the debate which ensued. The speakers on the side of the government were urgent for capital punishment, which was resisted not less vehemently by their opponents. The popular faction could not be expected to acquiesce in the assumption by the Senate of the

power of life and death. Banishment or imprisonment was, they contended, the extreme penalty allowed by the law. But their motives were questioned, their loyalty was impeached; and Cato, on behalf of the oligarchs, could maintain, not without a show of justice, that the convicted criminals were no longer citizens, but enemies of the State. By their connection with the foreign foe, they had forfeited every Roman privilege. Cicero himself demanded a sentence of death. But it was not upon the letter of the law that either party did, in fact, lay the greatest stress. Policy or expediency dictated the most cogent arguments on either side. Finally, the harsher counsel prevailed, and the Consul's hands were strengthened by a deliberate decree in favor of the bold stroke he personally advocated."\*

We mention, in closing this notice, that Mr. Merivale takes care to fortify his statements by a copious reference to authorities, and, also, that an analytical index to the entire work is promised to appear in connection with the last volume.

THE LIFE AND TIMES OF JOHN HUSS.†—We had not been prepared to expect so important and elaborate a contribution to the religious history of modern times as Mr. Gillett has just very quietly made in these two sturdy octavo volumes, each with its six hundred pages and more. The scholar will at once see what a rich field in which to work this new candidate for literary honors has had. Neander and Milman, in their Histories of the Church, have told the story of the incredible corruption that made itself everywhere so offensive in all orders of the priesthood, and of the great schism in the Roman Church in the fourteenth century, and of the sad tragedies enacted by the Council of Constance in the beginning of the fifteenth century. But their works are too extended for full details respecting any one period, so that even those who are familiar with their accounts of Huss and his times, will now have a new pleasure, in being introduced, under the very competent leadership of Mr. Gillett, to a more intimate acquaintance with

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\* Vol. I., p. 120.

† *The Life and Times of John Huss: or the Bohemian Reformation of the Fifteenth Century.* By E. H. GILLETT. In two volumes. Boston: Gould & Lincoln. 1863. Royal 8vo. pp. xx, 632. xiii, 651. [New Haven: T. H. Pease. Price \$6.00.]

that series of events connected with the Reformation in Bohemia, which is second to no other in importance and interest in the history of modern times. Especially will it be interesting to follow this author as he shows how this earlier and apparently unsuccessful religious movement paved the way for the subsequent Reformation under Luther.

The author, Mr. Gillett, graduated at Yale College in 1841, and for many years has been the pastor of a Presbyterian Church in (Harlem) New York City. That he has been able to carry on the studies which the preparation of such a work as this has necessitated, in connection with the discharge of the many duties incident to a pastor's life, shows that he has not only a natural taste for historical investigation, but also an uncommon aptitude for historical composition, which afford us reason to hope that yet other works may be given hereafter to the public from his pen.

As already intimated, these volumes have not been prepared without diligent study of the proper sources of information. The list of works, from which materials have been drawn, shows that the facilities at the command of the author have been ample. They embrace the various histories of the Councils of Pisa, of Constance, of Basle; the Lives of the contemporaneous Popes; the various Lives of Huss, and of his principal friends and followers; the Histories of his Times, and of Bohemia itself, including those of Cochleius, Æneas Sylvius, Bezezyna, Kohler, Helfert, and Becker. It has been, indeed, stated by Moravian scholars in this country, that there have been two works quite recently published in Bohemia, which seem to have been overlooked by the author, and which, they say, might, perhaps, have been consulted with some advantage. We understand, also, that they regret that Mr. Gillett did not communicate and advise with some of the prominent men in their denomination in this country, with regard to that part of his history which respects the modern Moravian Church. Still, we are assured that none can be more highly gratified with the work as a whole; and they commend it warmly as a faithful record of the heroic times of the fathers of their church. It is well that American Christians should know more of Huss, and of Jerome, of Zisca, and of Procopius, and of the tens of thousands of noble martyrs whose blood was so freely yielded in Bohemia in the attempt to resist the usurpations of the papacy.

The style of Mr. Gillett is always clear and spirited. It is a

good, vigorous, manly, English style, and his descriptions often glow with a warmth of feeling, well suited to his noble theme. But although we say this, it is also true that there are occasionally marks of carelessness in style; and we have marked one or two inaccuracies of expression; for instance, (Vol. I., page 324), "Men whom we would have been glad to have found in better company."

The two volumes are beautifully printed, and the large fair type is a real luxury for the eye. But all this adds of course to the cost, which we fear may prevent the work from gaining at first so rapid a sale as we are sure it will find when it becomes better known.

The closing paragraphs of the last volume sum up so admirably the prominent events in this history, that we are tempted to reprint them, although the extract is rather extended.

"In connection with the revival of learning and the evils of the schism, as well as a growing religious consciousness which brought to light the corruptions of the church, an encouragement was given to the long suppressed demand for the revival of a purer type of Christianity, and at the opportune moment the men were raised up, in the providence of God, who were to give utterance to that demand. Conrad Waldhauser, John Milicz, and Matthias of Janow were the precursors of John Huss. They prepared the way for his labors, and more or less clearly apprehended the radical conflict which existed between the interests of a corrupt hierarchy and the claims of Christian truth.

"Huss inherited their views, but he brought to their elucidation and application a bold and fearless spirit, a stern consciousness, a discriminating mind, and a rare self-command. With a purpose that never wavered, and an energy that never wearied—sometimes in the face of royal authority, and in spite of unjust excommunication—he pursued the line of duty marked out by his conscientious convictions, reprobating the iniquity of the times and the abuses of the hierarchy, and holding up before the world his ideal of the church of Christ. All human authority was made by him subordinate to the authority of the Great Master himself. Hence, constantly appealing to the scriptures in support of his views and in defense of his course, he led men to look beyond the decisions of councils or the bulls of popes, and to study for themselves the word of God. The impulse was thus given to a reform more radical than he had himself contemplated. Before he was aware, he had come into conflict with the whole hierarchical system, and stood forth single-handed, and almost alone, as the champion of truth against the errors by which it was overlaid and well-nigh suppressed.

"In this conflict he fell—a victim overpowered by numerous and bitter foes. Men that stood by him at first, forsook him at the critical moment, and joined the ranks of his assailants. The force of his convictions had brought him to recognize in Wickliffe a fellow-laborer in the same great cause, and the odium that rested on the name of the English reformer was inherited by himself. The council of Constance gladly surrendered him as a sacrifice to the prejudices by which it was itself environed and controlled.



"His associate, Jerome of Prague, met the same fate. His chivalrous nature scorned to retract his conscientious convictions as to the character, the truth, and integrity, of one whom he had known and loved. And now was illustrated the trite adage that 'the blood of the martyrs is the seed of the church.' Hundreds and thousands in their native land stood ready to receive the bequest of their falling mantle. A nation imbued with their spirit set the council at defiance, and boldly remonstrated against the iniquity of the deed which had canonized forever the memory of the martyrs.

"Meanwhile an enlarged acquaintance with scripture had led to the restoration, in Bohemia, of the use of the cup in the eucharist. Considered as a mere rite, this innovation was a matter of small account. But it symbolized an element of independent thought, which appealed from popes and councils to scripture alone. It was of the nature of a practical and popular protest against errors which had crept into the church, under the sanction of ecclesiastical authority and antiquated usage. Its acceptance was an endorsement of the right of private judgment, and an impeachment of synodical and pontifical infallibility. It was a rent in the external unity of the church—an ominous crack, like that of the dome of St. Peter—which inspired terror by its portentous augury of what was yet to come.

"All the resources of papal authority and of ecclesiastical interest were consequently marshaled to suppress the rite. But it was found that many of its adherents had already made it the first step to more radical innovations. Diverse tendencies had already begun to develop themselves among the followers of Huss, and the Taborites and Calixtines, as two radically diverse parties, appear upon the stage. In connection with the first, we find a puritanic severity of morals, a demand for evangelical simplicity of worship and purity of doctrine, a valor nurtured by religious principle, and sometimes allied with a wild fanaticism. In connection with the other, we note the timidity and the prudence of a cautious conservatism, a lingering respect for ancient usage, a jealousy of further innovations, and a disposition to watch and restrain what they regarded as the dangerous tendencies of their rivals.

"But a common interest temporarily cements the alliance of these two opposite parties, and renders them, while they retain this attitude, invincible to all foreign invasion. Classed together, as alike heretical, they are threatened with the same fate, and papal fulminations and crusading armies are met by both with a bold defiance and stern resistance. One invasion after another is hurled back from the Bohemian frontier, like the waves dashed to foam upon the rocks.

"But the very humiliation of the foe opened the way for the development of the conflicting tendencies which had been temporarily restrained. Internal division was the result of foreign triumph. Calixtine and Taborite were now ranged in open and avowed hostility. It was scarcely a question which must triumph in the conflict. The Taborite was indisputably superior in all the elements of uncompromising zeal, of fierce resolve, and of desperate if not fanatical courage, to his Calixtine rival. He thought more earnestly if not profoundly. He felt more deeply. His wrongs had been greater, and his vengeance was more terrible. The strife that now arose was scarcely less bitter than that of the united Hussites against the imperialists. It ranged neighbor against neighbor, and brother against brother; but, steeled against compassion and sympathy, the

Taborites swept down before them all resistance, and encamped before Prague, ready to visit upon it such retribution as it had challenged. To save it from its threatened fate, its defenders submitted to negotiate, and the result was, the concession, in the main, of the demands of the Taborites, and the establishment of their supremacy.

"But the anarchy of the kingdom required that authority should be deputed to able hands, and that the monarch to be selected should be one whom all should be constrained to acknowledge. Sigismund, as the rightful heir, was preferred by many who differed from him in their religious views. The *Campactata* devised by the Synod of Basle, opened the way for his recognition, but reproduced the old divisions between Calixtine and Taborite. The latter were defeated in the open rupture which followed, and Sigismund at last secured his hard-won crown.

"From the Taborites, who now abandoned all further appeals to physical force in their own defense, sprang the church of the United Brethren. Through a century of persecution they still maintained their fidelity to an evangelical creed and the memory of Huss. The Calixtines, sometimes leaning toward Rome, and sometimes repelled by her bigotry, wavered in uncertainty as to their position, although still holding fast their four articles. At length the advent of Luther extended to both parties a new strength, and the current of the Bohemian reformation was swollen by the powerful tributary of German reform.

"With intervals of persecution, Protestantism made steady progress in Bohemia for another century, till it had almost secured the complete ascendancy. But its bold and violent measures provoked the vengeance of the "Catholic" league, and the bigoted Ferdinand, with unflinching purpose, resolved to suppress it. The tide of the thirty years' war swept over northern and central Europe, covering its track with desolation and crime. Of all the states that suffered, Bohemia was the most signal victim. In the general pacification, she was abandoned by her German allies, and left to the tender mercies of her unscrupulous and bigoted monarch. His vengeance was terrible. He deliberately preferred a desert to a kingdom of 'heretics,' and his preference was well nigh realized. Bohemian art, literature, and enterprise received a blow from which they have never recovered. Protestantism was almost utterly suppressed. Its ablest champions pined in exile, or in prison, or atoned for their patriotism and Protestantism on the scaffold. The nation that five centuries ago was among the foremost of Europe, dwindled into insignificance; and for more than two centuries Bohemia has ranked as little more than a province of the Austrian empire. Her old renown has been commemorated by the noble achievements of Moravian missionaries, who trace their spiritual lineage to her great reformer; but her condition to-day is such as to render her a signal monument of the impolicy of persecution, and the incalculable mischiefs that have flowed from the violent suppression of religious freedom.

"The day may not be far distant when upon her own soil the memories of her own glorious past shall be revived. Her hills and valleys have witnessed the heroism of men who stood forward as champions of scriptural authority, and the rights and privileges of religious freedom. Her plains have been moistened and fertilized with the blood of martyrs. Many a locality has been immortalized by the valor of her sons, and the names of Huss and Jerome, of Jacobel, Zisca, and

Procopius, will never die out of her annals, whoever may guide the pen. A national partiality even now triumphs over ecclesiastical prejudice, and men who would condemn Huss as a heretic, honor him as a patriot." pp. 627-633.

AN OUTLINE OF THE ELEMENTS OF THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE.\*

—Professor Clark, of Union College, has prepared a little Manual of the History of the English Language. It will be found convenient, we doubt not, by many students who have not the resolution to take up more extensive and more original works. It does not make pretense to originality or profundity, but is confessedly founded on the researches of others, especially of Marsh and Craik, the latter of which has but just been made accessible to Americans by a reprint. The body of the work proper is of somewhat less than 150 pages, and is followed by 50 pages of specimens, illustrating the history of the language, from pure Anglo-Saxon down to the fully developed modern English.

THE SOUL OF THINGS.†—The texts or mottoes prefixed to this singular book are the following sentences, the first from Carlyle and the second from Babbage: "On the hardest adamant some footprint of us is stamped in; the last rear of the host will read traces of the earliest van." "The air is one vast library, on whose pages are forever written all that man has ever said, or woman whispered." The doctrine of the volume is that all objects are continually exerting or emitting influences upon all other objects within their reach; that these influences are so taken up by and incorporated with the substance of their recipients that they are ready to be given forth to any soul that is brought into a highly sensitive condition. For example, a fragment of limestone or a bit of moss taken from the mammoth cave in Kentucky is put into the hand of a person in the psychometric state. The person does not know whence it was taken, but there begins to open before him, one by one, impressions of the interior of the cavern, which he describes in succession, as feature after feature is revealed to

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\* *An Outline of the Elements of the English Language, for the use of Students.* By N. G. CLARK, Professor of Rhetoric and English Literature in Union College. New York: Charles Scribner, 1863. 12mo. pp. vi, 220. [New Haven: Judd & Clark. Price \$1.]

† *The Soul of Things; or Psychometric Researches and Discourses.* By WILLIAM and ELIZABETH M. F. DENTON. Boston: Walker, Wise & Co., 1863. 12mo. pp. 370. [New Haven: Judd & Clark. Price \$1.]

his view. This book professes to describe one hundred and eleven different experiments, with every variety of materials taken from the earth and the heavens—meteoric stones—and from the waters under the earth. Besides the detail of these experiments, it professes to explain many other kindred phenomena. It also gives a sort of analysis and rationale of the psychometric process, by Mrs. Elizabeth M. F. Denton, who was the subject of many of these experiments. Mrs. D. attempts to make the process intelligible to all who have not experienced it, by anticipating all possible objections and questions, and answering them as satisfactorily as she can.

This is a brief account of the contents of this volume, which is quite a curiosity in its way. We do not feel qualified to pronounce upon the experiments that are narrated in it, for the best of all reasons, that we have not had the opportunity of cross-examining the witnesses.

LETTERS TO THE JONESES.\*—In these letters Dr. Holland has followed the same vein which in 1858 he began to work in his "Letters to Young People," only opening here and there, as the miners say, "a new lead." In other words, he has addressed a great variety of people, both old and young, in respect to their follies and errors, in a strain of good natured but very plain-spoken advice. These letters have the great merit of plainness of speech, without the slightest tinge of bad temper. Their good humor is irresistible, and is not a little enhanced by the exaggeration approaching to caricature in which the portraitures are drawn, and the sort of mock solemnity in which the castigations are administered. Both these features are eminently fitted to render the book immensely popular in the universal Yankee Nation. The faults and foibles of this class of humanity are admirably understood by the ingenious author, and he certainly knows how to catch their ear and please their tastes, while he administers wholesome advice.

The volume will do more good to multitudes than scores of sermons. Indeed it will reach many who never listen to sermons at all, or who will be prepared to hear sermons from the pulpit for the first time, by having previously read the less formal and more familiar discourses of that eminent lay-preacher, Timothy Titcomb,

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\* *Letters to the Joneses.* By TIMOTHY TITCOMB, author of "Letters to Young People," &c., &c. New York: Charles Scribner, 1863. 12mo. pp. 347. [New Haven: Judd & Clark. Price \$1.50.]

Esq. We trust the venerable personage will long live to prosecute the duties of his vocation.

MY FARM OF EDGEWOOD.\*—We opened this volume to while away a leisure hour by turning over its pages, and by resting the eye here and there upon a choice passage, such as we were certain we should find, from our knowledge of the other works of the author. We did not close the book till we had stolen a long evening from pressing occupations, as well as from the claims of sleep. Instead of reading here and there a page or a paragraph, we followed the book through, leaving nothing unread. It might be, in part, because we know the farm of Edgewood, and are not unfamiliar with the level, carpet-like plat that stretches out toward the east, and the billowing hill that rises so abruptly toward the west, and the hollow into which it dips so suddenly. We have watched the changes in this hollow, as it has been transformed from the coarse, bog-grown marsh into the inviting meadow, skirted so beautifully by the groups of shrubbery and flowers planted afront the ledges and boulders that obtrude themselves from the foot of the hill-side. It may be, also, that our own love of farming life has qualified us, in part, to read the narrative of the author with an enthusiasm somewhat akin to that which inspired it, and that we know how to sympathize with Wordsworth's "Farmer of Tisbury Vale," who, though doomed to live in London, never loses his love for the farm which he had left, but

"Up the Haymarket hill oft whistles his way,  
Thrusts his hands in a wagon, and smells at the hay."

But laying aside these prepossessions, and looking at the work with all the coolness which becomes the critic, we cannot but pronounce it a rare volume, to which good sense, practical wisdom, and an exquisite sense of beauty have contributed their choicest and best. If that man is a benefactor to his race who treats of important practical truth concerning subjects that occupy the thoughts, the hearts, and the hands of a very large portion of our worthiest citizens, in a manner which is fitted to instruct, to interest, and refine them, then has the author of this volume shown himself to be an eminent well-doer to his fellow-men. The man

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\* *My Farm of Edgewood*; A Country Book. By the author of "Reveries of a Bachelor." New York: Charles Scribner. 1863. 12mo. pp. 319. [New Haven: Judd & Clark. Price \$1.50.]

that not only teaches his brother farmers to grow two blades of grass or grain where only one grew before, but also teaches them how they may find dignity in an employment which too often makes them only drudges, and how to transform a life which is too often encrusted with sordid meanness, into a discipline of beauty, gracefulness, and contentment, performs, indeed, a service that is worthy the gift of genius. The volume will fall into the hands of many readers. No commendation of ours is needed to give it currency and circulation. We can only express our satisfaction that this should be. Among the amateur farmers, whose name is legion, it will find its way, notwithstanding the hard hits which it deals so good naturedly at their lavish expenditure and their lamentable disappointments. But its proper destination and its appropriate sphere is in the houses of the working farmers. Here it will meet the heartiest welcome, and here it will be read with the most intelligent appreciation. There are many sun-warmed parlors in the country that will this winter be the brighter and the more contented for the sunlight which this book will bring with itself. Many an evening, bright with the glow of the fire-side, will be the more cheerful for the delight with which the home circle will peruse its pages. The instruction which it embodies will be none the less valued because of the desultory method which the author has followed, or the many digressions into which he has been beguiled. By the great mass of readers, these very features will be considered as an additional charm. The light and easy movement of the author's style, the graceful and delicate transitions which he makes, the quiet humor in which he so naturally indulges, the sly but good natured satire which seems to drop so naturally from his pen, and the unaffected yet chastened pathos into which he rises for a moment, are all exquisitely wrought into a varied and beautiful tissue which is fitted to give perpetual delight to the cultivated reader, and to be itself an instrument of culture to the unrefined.

“REVERIES OF A BACHELOR,”\* AND DREAM LIFE.”†—Mr. Scribner has just brought out, in very elegant style, new editions

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\* *Reveries of a Bachelor*: or a Book of the Heart. By IK MARVEL. A new edition. New York: C. Scribner. 1863. 16mo. pp. 271. Price \$1.25.

† *Dream Life*: a Fable of the Seasons. By IK MARVEL. A new edition. New York: C. Scribner. 1863. 16mo. pp. 271. Price \$1.25.

of these two very popular books by Mr. Mitchell. The new prefaces with which both volumes are provided, penned in the true Ik Marvel style, add to them a fresh charm. The Dedication, we cannot refrain from reprinting for the benefit of our readers. "To one at home, in whom are met so many of the graces and the virtues, of which as a bachelor *I dreamed*, this new edition of my book is dedicated."

MILL'S PRINCIPLES OF POLITICAL ECONOMY.\*—Messrs. Appleton & Co. have published a new American edition of this well known and valuable work, which must now rank as the standard edition. It contains all the latest revisions of the author as found in the fifth and last London edition. As a specimen of the most finished and elegant typography, nothing that has appeared from the American press has surpassed it, and it is fully equal to the best English work.

MR. CHARLES SCRIBNER'S NEW PUBLICATIONS.—We have received, too late for any notice, several valuable new publications from Mr. CHARLES SCRIBNER. We have only space to say that they are all books which will be received by the public with marked interest. Among them are an American reprint of Prof. G. L. Craik's "*History of the English Language and Literature, from the Norman Conquest*,"—the most extended, learned, and critical work of the kind in the language;—the first volume, of a truly princely edition of a reprint of "*The Fæderalist*," edited by Mr. Henry B. Dawson of Morrisania—and Prof. Shedd's "*History of Christian Doctrine*," the title of which we have already given in another place. These are works which every reader of this Quarterly will know how to value, but we must defer all notice of them to the next number. In excellence of typography, and beauty of appearance, they are fully equal to the best printed English books. But those who would know what effect such successful rivalry has upon prices, must examine Mr. Scribner's advertisement on page 8th of our advertising sheet. We have also received from him a beautiful book of "*Selections of Poetry*," bearing the title of "*The School Girl's Garland*," edited by a very well known and popular writer, Mrs. C. M. Kirkland.

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\* *Principles of Political Economy*: with some of their Applications to Social Philosophy. By JOHN STUART MILL. In two volumes. From the fifth London edition. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1864. Royal 8vo. pp. 616, 603. [New Haven: Peck, White, & Peck. Price \$6.00].

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OF STRAUSS.

*Das Leben Jesu, kritisch bearbeitet, von Dr. David Friedrich Strauss.* 4 A. Tübingen: 1840.

*Streitschriften zur Vertheidigung, &c., von Dr. David Friedrich Strauss.* Tübingen: 1841.

THE peculiar form of unbelief which, in our time, has been brought forward to invalidate the testimony to the miracles of the Gospel, is the Mythical Theory; and the leading expounder and advocate of that theory is David Frederic Strauss. The Life of Christ, by Strauss, is an extensive and elaborate work. The author, if not a man of the profoundest learning, is, nevertheless, a trained and well read theologian. Adopting a theory which, at least in the breadth of its application,

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is a novel one, he yet skillfully avails himself of everything which has been urged in the way of objection to the truth of the Gospel history from the side of ancient or modern skepticism. He knows how to weave into his indictment charges drawn from the most opposite quarters. He is quite ready to borrow aid from Woolston, the Wolfenbüttel Fragmentist, and other deistical writers, whose philosophy in general he repudiates. Thus, in his work, there are brought together and braided together the difficulties in the New Testament history which all past study had brought to light, and the objections which the ingenuity of unbelievers, from Celsus to Paulus, had found it possible to suggest. It is the last and strongest word that skeptical criticism will be able to utter against the evangelical narratives. In the arrangement and presentation of his matter, the work of Strauss is distinguished by a rhetorical skill that is rarely surpassed. He knows what it will do to assert roundly, what is best conveyed by an insinuation, what is more effectively suggested in the form of an inquiry. He knows how to put in the foreground whatever seems to favor his position, and to pass lightly over considerations having a contrary tendency. The currency obtained by the work of Strauss, and its influence, are very much due, also, to the transparency of his style. In the exhibition of the most complex details, the remarkable clearness and fluency that belong to his ordinary composition, are fully preserved. It will not be denied that Strauss has presented the most plausible theory which can be presented from the unbelieving side, and has made it as captivating as the nature of the case will admit. This theory we now proceed to examine.\*

Although Strauss undertakes to construct a life of Christ, it is plain that the great question before his mind is the question of the truth or falsehood of the narratives in the New Testament which record miracles. Strange to say, he lays down at the beginning the critical canon that a miracle is never to be

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\* We have placed at the head of this Article, along with Strauss's principal work, the book of *Streitschriften*, or polemical tracts in reply to his reviewers, which he himself collected into a volume.

believed, and that the narrative in which it is found is, so far at least, unhistorical. That is to say, he begs the question which it is one prime object of his book to discuss. His entire work is thus a *petitio principii*. From a scientific point of view, therefore, it has, strictly speaking, no claim to consideration. When we call to mind the names on the roll of science which are counted among the believers in miracles, such as Pascal, Kepler, Sir Isaac Newton, not to speak of names proportionally eminent among scientific men at the present day; and when we think how much of the loftiest intellect the world has seen has likewise put faith in these New Testament narratives; when, moreover, we remember that mankind have generally believed, and do now believe, in miraculous events of some sort, we must pronounce the pretended axiom that miracles are impossible, to be, in every sense of the word, an assumption. We waive this point, however, and proceed to consider the positive theory of Strauss.

What is a myth? A myth is, in form, a narrative; resembling, in this respect, the fable, parable, and allegory. But unlike these, the idea or feeling from which the myth springs, and which, in a sense, it embodies, is not reflectively distinguished from the narrative, but rather is blended with it; the latter being, as it were, the native form which the idea or sentiment spontaneously assumes. Moreover, there is no consciousness on the part of those from whom the myth emanates, that this product of their fancy and feeling is fictitious. The fable is a fictitious story, contrived to inculcate a moral. So, the parable is a similitude framed for the express purpose of representing abstract truth to the imagination. Both fable and parable are the result of conscious invention. In both, the symbolical character of the narrative is distinctly recognized. From the myth, on the contrary, the element of deliberation is utterly absent. There is no questioning of its reality, no criticism or inquiry on the point, but the most simple, unreflecting faith. A like habit of feeling we find in children, who, delighting in narrative, improvise narrative. It is difficult for us to imagine that childlike condition of mind which belonged



to the early age of nations, when the creations of personifying sentiment and fancy were endued, in the faith of those from whom they sprung, with this unquestioned reality. It is almost as difficult as to reproduce those states of mind in which the fundamental peculiarities of language germinate; peculiarities in respect to which the philological explorer can only say that so mankind in their infancy looked upon things and actions. But there is no doubt as to the fact that the mythologies had this character. They are the spontaneous growth of childlike imagination, originated and cherished in the full, because unthinking, belief in their reality. So the Greek mythology sprung into being. The popular imagination, unhindered by any knowledge of laws and facts which science could not suggest, because science was not born, peopled the groves and mountains, the sea and air, with divinities, whose existence and whose deeds, forming the theme of song and story, were the object of universal faith. The ablest of the modern writers upon antiquity, such as Ottfried Müller and Mr. Grote, have made it clear that frequently there was no historical basis for these mythological stories, and that, in the absence of explicit evidence, we have no right to assume a nucleus of fact at their foundation. They may have been—frequently, at least, they were—the pure creation of the mythopœic faculty; the incarnated faith and feeling of a primitive age, when scientific reflection had not yet set bounds to fancy. Science brought reflection. The attempt of Euhemerus to clear the mythical tales of improbabilities and incongruities, and to find at the bottom a residuum of veritable history, and the attempts both of physical and moral philosophers, to elicit from them an allegorical sense, are, one and all, the fruit of that skepticism which culture brought with it, and proceed upon a totally false view of the manner in which the myths originate. When these theories came up, the spell of the old faith was already broken. They are the efforts of Rationalism to keep up some attachment to obsolete beliefs, or to save itself from conscious irreverence or popular displeasure. A state of mind had arisen, wholly different from that which prevailed in the credulous, unreflecting, child-

like period, when a common fear or faith embodied itself spontaneously in a fiction which was taken for fact.\*

As we have implied, back of the authentic history of most nations lies a mythical era. And whenever the requisite conditions are present, the mythopœic instinct is active. The middle ages furnish a striking example. The fountain of sentiment and fancy in the uncultured nations of Europe divaricated, so to speak, into two channels, the religious myth and the myth of chivalry. When we have eliminated from the immense mass of legendary history which forms the lives of the Saints, what is due to pious frauds, (though these presuppose a ready faith), and what is historical, being due to morbid or otherwise extraordinary psychological states, and, if the reader so pleases, to miracle, there still remains a multitude of narratives involving supernatural events, which last have no foundation whatever in fact, but were yet thoroughly believed by those from whose fancy, enlivened and swayed by religious sentiment, they emanated.

Strauss was not the first to suggest that portions of the Biblical history are myths; but Strauss it is who has applied the mythical theory in detail and at length to the Gospel narratives, and with the aid of this theory has attempted to divest the life of Christ of all supernatural elements,—all these being pronounced mythological. Strauss opposes, on the one hand, believers in the miracles, and, on the other, the advocates of the so-called “natural exposition,” of whom Paulus was the chief. Paulus was the German Euemerus, holding the New Testament narratives of miracles to be erroneous conceptions and amplifications of historical events which really fell within the sphere of natural law. Thus, the healing of the blind was accomplished by Christ through an efficacious powder applied to their eyes,—a circumstance which was unnoticed or omitted by the lovers of the marvelous whose

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\* Upon the nature of the myth, see Ottfried Müller's *Prolegomena zu einer Wissenschaftlichen Mythologie*. The reader may also be referred to the Introduction to Tuch's Commentary on Genesis; but especially to the sixteenth and seventeenth chapters of Grote's History of Greece.

reports we have: the fact at the bottom of the record of the transmuting of water into wine, was the gift of a large amount of wine, which Christ, since he was to be attended by several disciples, brought with him to the wedding: instead of being expected to find a coin in the mouth of the fish, Peter was to obtain it by selling a fish in the market, and the Gospel narrative sprung from a mistaken view of the transaction: Christ did not walk on the water, as was supposed, but walked along the shore: the so-called transfiguration was the effect on the disciples of seeing Christ on a higher mountain peak which was white with snow. Strange as it may seem, abundant learning and the utmost painstaking were expended in the support of this theory, which, however, had few adherents when Strauss gave it the final death-blow. Equal hostility is professed by Strauss to the form of infidelity which had charged the apostles and their Master with being willful deceivers. He joins with the Christian believer in denouncing the coarseness and shallowness of that species of unbelief which found reception among pretended philosophers of the last century. He will propound a theory which involves no such condemnation of the founders of Christianity. He will propound a theory, moreover, which leaves untouched that inner substance of Christianity, which is alone valuable to the philosopher. His construction will have the merit of sparing the sensibilities of the believer who is offended at hearing those whom he reveres, branded as impostors, and, at the same time, of relieving the men of the nineteenth century from giving credence to events which, it is quietly assumed, modern science pronounces to be impossible.

Omitting minor details, some of which we shall have occasion to bring forward in the progress of the discussion, the principal points in the doctrine of Strauss may be briefly stated. There existed in Palestine, at the time when Jesus grew up to manhood, a wide-spread expectation of the coming of the Messiah. There was also a defined conception, the result of the teaching of the Old Testament and of later speculation, of the character of his work. Among other things, he was to work miracles, such as the opening of the eyes of the

blind, the healing of the sick, the raising of the dead ; and he was, generally, to outdo the supernatural works ascribed to Moses and Elijah, and the other prophets of the former time. Jesus, who had been baptized by John, became at length persuaded that he was the promised Messiah. Endowed with lofty qualities of mind and character, he attached to himself disciples who shared in his belief concerning himself. He taught with power through the towns and villages of Palestine. But, encountering the bitter hatred of the ruling classes on account of his rebuke of their iniquities, he was seized upon and put to death under Pontius Pilate. Overwhelmed with grief and disappointment, his disciples, who had expected of him a political triumph, were finally comforted and inspirited by the mistaken belief that he had been raised from the dead. Hence the cause of Jesus was not crushed, but gradually gained strength. And out of the bosom of the young community, filled with enthusiastic attachment to their slain and (as they believed) risen Lord, there sprung the mythical tales which we find in the Gospels. Believing Jesus to be the Messiah, they attributed to him spontaneously the deeds which the prophecies had ascribed to that personage. In these mythical creations, the formative idea was the Old Testament description of the Messiah. This idea, coupled with the faith in Jesus, generated the Gospel history of Christ, so far as that is miraculous, and even exerted a very important influence in shaping and coloring circumstances in the narrative, which are not supernatural. The Christ of the New Testament is thus the ideal Messiah. He is Jesus of Nazareth, glorified in the feeling and fancy of disciples, by the ascription to him of supernatural power and supernatural deeds, such as lay in the traditional, cherished image of the Messiah.

It should be observed that Strauss does not reject the supposition of a conscious invention in the case of certain features in the New Testament reports of miracles, notwithstanding his general disavowal of an intent to impeach the moral character of their authors ; but he claims a very mild judgment for a certain kind of artless, though not wholly uncon-

scious, poetizing—the *arglose dichtung* of simple souls.\* But how far Strauss and his school are able to adhere to their canon, which excludes willful deception from a part in producing the miraculous narratives of the Gospel, will be considered on a subsequent page.

The denial of the genuineness of the four Gospels is an essential part of Strauss's theory. They cannot come, he maintains, from "eye-witnesses or well informed contemporaries." The apostles could not be deceived to such an extent as we should be compelled to assume, if we granted that the Gospels exhibit their testimony. On the subject of the origin of the Gospels, Strauss is neither full nor clear; but this is affirmed, that they are the production of later, non-apostolic writers. This position he strives to establish by a critical analysis and comparison of these documents. The attempt is made to prove upon them such inconsistencies with each other, as well as violations of probability, as render it impossible to suppose that they came from the hand, or bear the sanction of the immediate followers of Christ. The credibility of the Gospels is attacked, partly as a means of disproving their genuineness. And the method of the attack is to press the point of the improbability of the miracles, while, at the same time, the untrustworthy character of the narratives is elaborately argued on other grounds. The Gospels are dissected with the critical knife, their structure and contents are subjected to a minute examination, for the purpose of impressing the reader with the conviction that, independently of their record of miracles, these histories are too inaccurate and self-contradictory to be relied on. Their alleged imperfections are skillfully connected with the improbable nature of the events they record, so that the effect of both considerations may be to break down their historic value.

Having thus stated the main points in the theory of Strauss, we proceed to set forth the reasons why the mythical hypothesis is untenable.

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\* *Leben Jesu*, B. I. S. 45.

I. The belief of the apostles and of Jesus himself that he was the Messiah, cannot be accounted for on the theory of Strauss, and could not have existed, were the assumptions of that theory sound.

Strauss puts his doctrine into a kind of syllogism. There was a fixed idea that the Messiah would work these various miracles; there was a fixed persuasion in the minds of the disciples that Jesus was the Messiah; hence the necessity that the mythopœic faculty should attribute these miracles to him.\* These, we are told, were the conditions and forces by which the myths were generated. But if it was a fixed expectation that the Messiah would work these miracles, how could the disciples believe in Jesus *in the absence of these indispensable signs of Messiahship*? Recollect that this persuasion concerning the Messiah is represented to be so deep and universal as to move the imagination of the disciples of Jesus, after his death, to connect with him all these fictitious miracles. How, then, were they convinced of his claim to be the Messiah—so convinced that their faith survived the disappointment of some of their strongest and fondest anticipations relative to his kingdom, and survived even the shock of his judicial death? It must be manifest to every candid man that Strauss is thrown upon a dilemma. Either this previous ideal of the Messiah was not so firmly engraved upon the minds of the disciples, in which case the condition and motive for the creation of myths are wanting; or being thus firmly fixed, their faith in Jesus through his lifetime proves that miracles were really performed. A similar remark may be made of Jesus himself, since he is supposed to have shared, on this point at least, in the common expectation respecting the characteristic works of the Messiah. How could he maintain this unswerving faith in his messianic calling and office, in the absence of the one principal criterion, the exercise of supernatural power? To avoid one difficulty, the advocate of the mythical hypothesis creates another which no ingenuity can remove.

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\* *Leben Jesu*, B. I. S. 94.

It is not to be supposed that Strauss ignores this difficulty. He endeavors to answer the objection. The impressiveness of the character and teaching of Christ, in a measure, supplied the place of miracles so long as he was bodily present. But this consideration is evidently felt to be quite inadequate, and hence Strauss makes prominent what he seems to consider a concession. Jesus, we are informed, did calm and relieve certain persons afflicted with nervous disease, which was thought to be the fruit of demoniacal possession. This effect was wrought, however, only by psychological influence—the natural influence of a strong and calm nature. Hence, it was only in cases where the type of the disease was mild and chiefly mental in its origin, that such cures were effected. The cure of a case like that of the maniac of Gadara, or the child at the foot of the Mount of Transfiguration, would be a miracle, and is, of course, excluded.\* Moreover, Strauss finds it convenient to maintain that the cure of so called demoniacs was produced by others; that, in fact, it was not so uncommon. He appeals to the instance narrated by Josephus, of the cure effected in the presence of Vespasian,† and to the question of Christ: “by whom do your children cast them out?” So that, after all, this relief of less aggravated forms of nervousness is not a distinguishing act of Christ which could serve to attest his messiahship. There is obviously no reason beyond the necessities of a theory, why it should be allowed that Christ relieved this kind of infirmity, to the exclusion of all the other instances of healing, together with the raising of the dead to life, which are equally well attested. Nor are we assisted to understand how the disciples were so easily satisfied with the omission of all the other forms of miracle which they believed to be indissolubly connected with the Messiah’s appearance. When they saw Jesus pass by the blind, the lame, the dumb, the leprous, even the severe forms of demoniacal frenzy, and do nothing greater than to quiet the less afflicted subjects of nervous hallucination, which others were in the habit of doing as well, how could they consider him the Messiah? We cannot avoid

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\* *Leben Jesu*, B. I. S. 106. B. II. S. 43, 45.

† *Jos. Antiq.* VIII. 2, 5.

perceiving that the same cause which is thought to have led irresistibly to the forming of imaginary miracles, would have effectually precluded a faith not sustained by miracles which were real.

II. The mythical theory is fully disproved by the fact of the absence of any body of disciples to whom the origination and dissemination of the myths can be attributed.

The advocates of this theory prefer to use vague terms and phrases in speaking of the source whence the so-called Christian mythology came. It sprung, says Strauss, from the enthusiasm of the infant church. But when he is called upon to explain his meaning more precisely, he admits that neither the apostles nor the community which was under their immediate guidance, could have been the authors of these fictitious narratives. That the followers of Christ, who had attended him through his public life, could mistakenly suppose themselves to have been eye-witnesses of the series of miracles which the Gospels record, is too much for Strauss to believe. He claims that the apostles in their Epistles, or in such as he concedes to be genuine, do not bring forward the prior miracles, but dwell on the Resurrection of Christ. So far as they do not speak of the earlier miracles, the circumstance is readily explained, if we suppose them to have been familiar to those to whom they wrote, and remember that, in the view of the apostles, the grand fact of the Saviour's Resurrection stood in the foreground, eclipsing, as it were, the displays of supernatural power which had preceded it. In the discourses of the apostles, recorded in Acts, these prior miracles *are* appealed to. But Strauss, be it observed, contends, and is obliged to contend, that the apostles were ignorant of any such miraculous events as these which the evangelists record. The myths did not originate within the circle of their oversight and influence. This would be evidently true, whoever were disposed to deny it, but Strauss concedes and claims that such is the fact. Where, then, did these myths grow up? Who were their authors? To this fundamental question, the advocates of the mythical theory, vouchsafe only the briefest response. Yet



Strauss does say that they grew up among the dwellers in more secluded places in Galilee where Christ had tarried but a short time, and among those who had occasionally, or at seasons, companied with him.\* There was, then, if we are to give credit to the mythical hypothesis, a community of Jewish Christian disciples in Palestine, separate from the apostles and the Christian flocks over which they presided, and in that community, within thirty or forty years after the death of Christ, this extensive and coherent cycle of miraculous tales originated. We say a *community*, because a myth is not the conscious invention of an individual, or a conscious invention at all, but an offshoot of the collective faith and feeling of a body of people.† If, in certain cases, it proceeds from the fancy of an individual, it is presupposed that he stands in the midst of a sympathetic and responsive community who receive without scrutiny whatever falls in with the current of their feelings. We say "within thirty or forty years after the death of Christ," because in this period Strauss himself places the bulk of the so-called myths which are found in the New Testament.‡ Now, in reference to this extraordinary solution of the enigma as to the authorship of the myths, we offer several remarks.

In the first place, it must strike the reader as a singular fact that there is no evidence whatever of the existence of such a non-apostolic Christian community in the midst of Palestine. The assumption that a set of believers of this description existed in Galilee, removed from the knowledge and guidance of the apostles, is not supported by the slightest proof, and is in the highest degree improbable. The disciples of Christ, at the time of his death, were not very numerous. There was a sense of unity among them. They formed one body. Everything tended to draw them together. And the apostles were

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\* *Leben Jesu*, B. I. S. 72. *Streitschr.*, S. 46.

† So Strauss. It is most essential to understand, he says, that at the foundation of the myth lies—"kein individuelles Bewusstsein, sondern ein höheres allgemeines Volksbewusstsein, (Bewusstsein einer religiösen Gemeinde.)" *Leben Jesu*, B. I. S. 89.

‡ *Streitschr.*, S. 52.

their recognized heads. It is certain, and will hardly be questioned by any one, that the other disciples looked up to "the twelve" as their guides, and leaned on them for support and counsel.

But how could persons in the situation attributed to these obscure disciples, come to believe, or remain in the belief, that Jesus was the Messiah? We have shown the improbability that the apostles believed without miracles. But the difficulty of supposing these other hearers of Christ to have believed, in the absence of such evidence of his divine commission, is much greater. It is a part of the hypothesis, that they knew comparatively little of Jesus, for to allow them an intimate knowledge of him would put them in the same category, as to the possibility of framing myths, with the apostles themselves. They had seen little of Jesus; they had seen none of the supernatural signs expected of the Messiah; he had wholly disappointed their idea that the Messiah was to be an earthly prince; and, finally, he had perished by the death of a culprit, which he endured without resistance, God not appearing to deliver him. Is it not inexplicable that casual hearers of Christ, who were thus placed, having seen, be it remembered, no miracle for their faith to rest upon, should continue to believe—believe, too, without a misgiving, with the childish simplicity and enthusiasm which are requisite for the creation of mythological tales?

Such hearers must have originally cherished the ordinary expectation concerning the Messiah, that he would sit, in the character of a temporal Prince, upon the throne of David and bring into subjection the heathen nations. The myths they would frame, if they framed any, would be in keeping with this expectation. A radical change in their conception of the Messiah, would require us to suppose, at least, that they were well acquainted with the actual career of Jesus. But here, again, an acquaintance of this sort with the real facts of his history shuts out, by Strauss's own admission, the possibility of their connecting with his life a cycle of myths.\*

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\* This point is clearly put by Professor Norton in his "*Internal Evidences of the Genuineness of the Gospels.*"

But if we admit what is incredible, that a class of disciples of this character existed and existed in such circumstances that they actually produced through the mythopœic faculty, and set in circulation, the narratives of which we have a record in the New Testament, we are not then clear of half of the difficulty. How can we suppose all this to be done with no knowledge or interference on the part of the apostles and other well-informed contemporaries to whom the facts in the life of Christ were well known? It will not be claimed that this mass of mythological narrative was shut up in the nooks and corners where it came into being. This pretended seclusion of the ill-informed believers in Christ, could hardly have been kept up for the whole generation during which the apostles traversed Galilee and ministered to the church. The Jewish Christians continued to come up to Jerusalem to the great festivals; did these Galilean believers stay away from them? How happens it, we beg to know, that this type of belief, so foreign from that of the eye-witnesses and authorized apostles of Jesus, found no contradiction or exposure?

But an objection still more formidable remains to be stated. From whom did the Gentiles receive Christianity, and what type of Christianity did they receive? The new religion had been carried from Jerusalem to Rome before the death of Paul and Peter. Was it from the simple folk whose imagination is credited with the origin of the miracles—was it from them who knew so little of Christ as to indulge in these uncertified fancies, and too little of the apostles to have their self-delusion corrected—was it from these obscure disciples that Christianity went forth to the Gentile world? Did they assume the missionary work confided to the apostles, while these and all the well-informed followers of the Messiah rested in idleness? It would be preposterous, in the face of probability and against all the evidence we possess, to assert this. The Christianity of the Gentile churches was apostolic Christianity. Their conception of the history of Christ on earth was derived from the apostles and the Christian believers associated with them. Now, all of the four Gospels, except the first, are Gentile Gospels. The third was written by a Gentile,

and this, together with the second and fourth, were written for Gentiles. Gentile Christianity did not flow from that quarter—that terra incognita—where the myths are said to have sprung up and been received. How then shall we account for the character of the Gentile Gospels, and, in particular, for the representation of the life of Christ which they contain? The conclusion is inevitable that this representation, including the narratives of miracles, was a part of that Christianity which the apostles believed and taught. But when this admission is made, the mythical theory breaks down; since, as we have before mentioned, Strauss admits that, in case these narratives are false, apostles and others who were well acquainted with Christ could neither have originated them nor have been persuaded to lend them credence.

III. The genuineness of the canonical Gospels, the proof of which it is found impossible to invalidate, is a decisive argument against the mythical theory.

Considering the importance of the subject, the observations of Strauss upon the authorship and date of the Gospels are very meagre. He denies, indeed, that we can prove a general circulation of Gospel histories during the lifetime of the apostles, or that our present Gospels were known to them.\* At one time he was inclined to admit that John was the author of the Fourth Gospel, but seeing, probably, the fatal consequences resulting to his theory from this concession, he withdrew it in a subsequent edition. But the proposition that John wrote the Gospel which bears his name, is supported by such an array of external and internal evidence as must convince an unprejudiced mind of its truth. In respect to this Gospel, Strauss and his friends are obliged to abandon the mythical hypothesis, and to pronounce its contents the deliberate fabrications of a pretender who chose to subserve a doctrinal interest by assuming the character of John. The needless audacity which would lead a literary impostor in the second century to present a view of the course of Christ's life which, when com-

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\* *Leben Jesu*, B. 1. S. 72.

pared with the previous established conception, is, in many respects, so original and peculiar, and his complete success in winning the confidence of the churches in all quarters of the Roman world, are mysteries not to be explained.\* The patristic testimonies to the genuineness of the Gospels of Luke and of Mark, as well as to the relation in which they severally stood to Paul and Peter, cannot be successfully impugned. Luke's preface to his Gospel harmonizes with the tradition of the church concerning him. His informants, he there states, were immediate disciples of Christ. He had acquired from the original sources "a perfect understanding" of the matters on which he wrote. Of Mark and his Gospel, we have an early account in the fragment of Papias, whose birth fell within the apostolic age, and who drew his information from the contemporaries and associates of the apostles.† When Papias states that Mark, having been the interpreter of Peter, and derived his knowledge of Christ from him, wrote down "the things spoken or done by our Lord," though not observing, as to the discourses at least, the historical order, he describes, without doubt, our second Gospel.‡ If there are critical questions pertaining to the authorship of the First Gospel, about which even believing scholars are not yet agreed, it is even more evident concerning this than any of the others that it emanates from the bosom of the apostolic Church. Of this, the evidence, external and internal, leaves no room for doubt.§

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\* The author of this Article begs leave to refer his readers to an Article from his pen on the Genuineness of the Fourth Gospel, in the *Bibliotheca Sacra* for April, 1864.

† Whether Papias was, or was not, acquainted with the Apostle John himself, is a disputed point. Irenæus affirms it, but Eusebius is inclined to consider his statement an uncertain inference from the language of Papias. Euseb. iii., 39.

‡ Whether the want of historical order is attributed by Papias to the record of the "things said" alone, or of "the things done" as well, depends on the sense of *λόγια* in the passage, in regard to which there are two opinions.

§ The critical questions to which we allude, are clearly stated and ably argued by Meyer in the Einl. to his Com. on Matt., and Bleek in his Einl. in d. N. T. These questions do not affect the date of the Gospel, nor its origin in the apostolic Church. Meyer's view appears to depend on his restriction of the sense of *λόγια*—in the *τὰ λόγια συνειρμένως* of Papias—which is not made out. On the other hand, Bleek's hypothesis leaves the early tradition, concerning the authorship, unexplained.

Renan, in his recent *Life of Christ*, has the candor to acknowledge the early date of the evangelical histories, and, in general, though his views are here not free from error, their apostolical origin. He says that the composition of the Gospels was "one of the most important events to the future of Christianity which occurred *during the second half of the first century*."\* As to Luke, "doubt is hardly possible."† "The author of this Gospel is certainly the same as the author of the Acts of the Apostles. Now the author of the Acts is a companion of St. Paul, a title perfectly fitting to St. Luke." "One thing at least is beyond doubt, that the author of the third Gospel and of the Acts, is a man of the second apostolic generation." "Chapter xxi., inseparable from the rest of the work, was certainly written after the siege of Jerusalem, and *soon after*." "But if the Gospel of Luke is dated, those of Matthew and Mark are also; for it is certain that the third Gospel is posterior to the first, and presents the character of a compilation much more advanced."‡ Mark, we are

\* p. 17, (Am. Transl.)

† p. 18.

‡ p. 19. Whatever Papias meant by the *λόγια* of Matthew—whether the discourses alone, or the narratives also, Renan errs decidedly in saying that the Matthew, which was known to Papias, was simply the discourses (in Hebrew.) When Papias says that the *λόγια* were written in Hebrew and *ἡρμηνεύει δ' αὐτὰ ὡς ἰδόντες ἱεστρος*, he speaks of things in the past. It is certain that Papias had the First Gospel in its complete form, in the Greek. (See Meyer's *Einl. z. Matt.* S. 11. N.) It is certain that the First Gospel had its present form before the date of the destruction of Jerusalem. (Meyer *Einl. z. Matt.* S. 21.) But Renan concedes that the Second Gospel is "but a slightly modified reproduction" of "the collection of anecdotes and personal information which Mark wrote from Peter's reminiscences." p. 22. There is no proof whatever that Mark's work has undergone any "modification," if we except one or two passages which are thought by critics to be interpolated. The school of Baur have, to be sure, made Papias refer to an "Ur-Markus," a work supposed to be prior to, and the basis of, our Second Gospel. But our Mark corresponds to the description given by Papias—so that the sole argument of the Baur school for their view is unfounded. The writers of the second century know nothing of any other work ascribed to Mark except our Second Gospel. *It is an incontrovertible fact that this Gospel was composed by John Mark, an associate of the apostles.* The Baur school have made an attempt, which we are justified in terming *desperate*, to bring down the date of the writings of Luke to the early part of the second century. But apart from all the other evidence in the case, Baur's own method

told, though not absolutely free from later additions, is essentially as he wrote it." "He is full of minute observations coming without any doubt from an eye-witness. Nothing opposes the idea that this eye-witness, who evidently had followed Jesus, who had loved him and known him intimately, and who had a living remembrance of him, was the Apostle Peter himself, as Papias says."\* If the view presented by Renan concerning the origin of the Fourth Gospel is less satisfactory, it is yet sufficient for the refutation of the leading propositions of Strauss. He holds that "in substance this Gospel issued, towards the end of the first century, from the great school of Asia Minor which held to John, that it presents to us a version of the Master's life, worthy of high consideration and often of preference."† If the work was not by John, there is "a deception which the author confesses to himself"—a literary fact, says Renan, unexampled in the apostolic world. The Tübingen doctrine of its being "a theological thesis without historical value" is not borne out, but rather refuted, by an examination of the work.‡ In "a multitude of cases," it sheds needed light upon the synoptics. "The last months of the life of Jesus, in particular, are explained only by John." The school of John was "better acquainted with the external circumstances of the life of the founder than the group whose memories made up the synoptic gospels. It had, especially in regard to the sojourns of Jesus at Jerusalem, data which the others did not possess."§

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of argument requires him to suppose, and he does suppose, that the generation—*γενεα*—spoken of in Luke xxi., 32, still subsisted when the Gospel was written. But this term *will not bear* the loose sense which he gives it. We must reserve for another occasion the proof of the early date of the Acts. It is enough to state here, that the circumstance of the writer's making no use of the Epistles of Paul, in composing his work, is an insoluble fact on Baur's theory. *It is an incontrovertible fact that the Third Gospel and the Acts were written by Luke, an associate of Paul.* The conjecture of Renan that the first two Gospels *gradually* borrowed anecdotes from each other, would be inconsistent with the agreement in the copies of each, which were extant in the different parts of the world in the third century, and is, moreover, supported by no proof. But in holding that Luke was composed about the year 70, that Mark remains substantially as he wrote it, and that both Matthew and Mark are earlier than Luke, Renan admits all that we ask in the present discussion.

\* p. 35.

† p. 25.

‡ p. 27.

§ p. 33.

The conclusion appears to be that the narrative portions of the Fourth Gospel are from the pen of John ; and as to Renan's opinion of the origin of the discourses, we are left in doubt, for now he attributes them, and now denies them, to John. As to the last point, the record of the discourses is obviously from the same pen that wrote the rest of the Gospel, and, also, the first epistle which bears the name of John, the genuineness of which Renan will not deny. The statements of Renan in respect to the origin of the Gospels approximate to the truth. They are the admissions of a man of learning and a skeptic. They demolish the mythical theory as defined by Strauss. The evidence which proves the Gospels to be the productions of the apostles or their associates, at the same time subverts an essential part of that theory. In truth, every argument for the genuineness of the Gospels is just as strong an argument for their credibility.

IV. The mythical hypothesis falls to the ground from the lack of a sufficient interval between the death of Christ and the promulgation, in a written as well as oral form, of the narratives of miracles.

We were led, under the last head, in speaking of the genuineness of the Gospels, to allude to the subject of their date. There are grave difficulties connected with the twenty-fourth and twenty-fifth chapters of Matthew, but the apologist has, perhaps, a compensation in the demonstration afforded by them that the document of which they are a part was composed in its present form before the destruction of Jerusalem. The date of Luke, as before observed, is not far from that of Matthew. But we discover on inspection that a large portion of the matter contained in each of the first three Gospels appears, frequently in identical language, in the other two. Among the various hypotheses suggested to account for this peculiarity, it is held by some that Matthew was the earliest written of the three, and that a portion of Matthew was incorporated by Mark and Luke in their gospels ; while others maintain that Mark was the original gospel and furnished the other two with the matter that is common to all. It has been, however, con-



tended with much force of argument, that prior to the composition of either of the three, an original gospel, containing the matter to which we refer, must have existed, and existed in a written form. This earlier record of the teachings and miracles of Christ antedates, therefore, our present gospels, and is a written monument standing still nearer the events. But whether this be, or be not, the true solution of the peculiarity in question, we have from Luke decisive proof of the early composition of written histories of Christ, in which the miracles had a place. "*Many*" such histories of what was "surely believed" in the Apostolic Church, Luke states, had already been composed. The Hebraized diction of various parts of his Gospel, differing from his own style, is a sufficient proof that he wrought into it portions of prior records. This information, which comes from Luke, be it remembered, only a few years after the death of Paul, implies that there had been a desire among Christians for authentic lives of Christ, and that numerous narratives had been written to meet the want. It has been made probable, we may add, that the Apostle Paul made use of a written gospel, and although we cannot affirm that this document was more than a collection of the sayings and discourses of Christ,\* yet the existence of it is an indication of the necessity that must have been felt for authentic records of the life of the Lord, and, also, of the ease with which, owing to the spread of Greek culture, this demand could be satisfied. For, as Neander observes, this was not the age of the rhapsodist, but an age of written composition.

We are thus, through the testimony of Luke, in our search for written narratives of the miracles of Christ, brought back into the heart of the apostolic age and to a point of time not far from the events themselves. We are obliged to allow that the New Testament miracles were not only believed by the generation of Christians contemporary with the apostles and under their guidance, but were, also, within twenty or thirty years, at the longest, after the death of Jesus, recorded in written narratives. Now this interval is altogether too short for

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\* See Neander's *Leben Jesu*, S. 10. *Apostelgeschichte*, S. 173, sq.

the growth of a Christian mythology. Unlike something made by the will, this must be the fruit of a long brooding over the incidents in the career of Christ and the prophecies relating to him. We cannot conceive this cloud of myths to arise, when the real circumstances in the life of Christ had just occurred and were fresh in the recollection of those who had known him. The sharp outlines of fact must first be effaced from memory before the humble career of Jesus could be invested by the imagination with a misty, unreal splendor. The sudden ascription to him of these numerous acts of miraculous power would be a psychological wonder. Strauss is not insensible to the force of this objection. His answer is that these narratives were, in a sense, prepared in the messianic expectations of the people, and it was only needful that they should be connected with Jesus. But there is a wide gulf between the general anticipation that the Messiah, when he should come, would heal the different forms of disease and outdo the works of the old prophets, and the concrete, circumstantial narratives which we find in the Gospels. Strauss fails, therefore, to evade the force of the objection, and it stands, an insurmountable obstacle in the way of his theory.

V. The mythical theory is incompatible with the character of the times in which Christ appeared.

It was an historical age ; that is, an age in which history is studied, historical truth discriminated from error, evidence weighed ; an age in which skepticism is found, in which, also, written records exist. It was the age of Tacitus and Josephus ; the age when the influence of Greek culture and Roman law were felt to the remotest bounds of the empire. It was, moreover, an age when history had seemingly run its course, and the process of decay had set in. How unlike the periods when a people, given up to the sway of sentiment and imagination, builds up its mythologic creations, never raising the question as to their truth or falsehood ! Let us hear Mr. Grote upon the characteristics of a myth-producing age. "The myths," writes the historian, "were generally produced in an age which had no records, no philosophy, no criticism, no canon of belief,

and scarcely any tincture of astronomy or geography—but which, on the other hand, was full of religious faith, distinguished for quick and susceptible imagination, seeing personal agents where we only look for objects and laws;—an age, moreover, eager for new narrative, accepting with the unconscious impressibility of children, (the question of truth or falsehood being never formally raised), all which ran in harmony with its preëxisting feelings, and penetrable by inspired poets and prophets in the same proportion that it was indifferent to positive evidence.”\* It is true that the operation of the mythopœic faculty is not absolutely extinct in a more cultured time; yet its peculiar province is the childhood of a people. As Grote elsewhere says, “to understand properly the Grecian myths, we must try to identify ourselves with the state of mind of the original mythopœic age; a process not very easy, since it requires us to adopt a string of poetical fancies not simply as realities, but as the governing realities of the mental system; yet a process which would only reproduce something analogous to our own childhood.” Of the point of view from which the myths were looked upon by the Greek, he adds: “Nor need we wonder that the same plausibility which captivated his imagination and his feelings was sufficient to engender spontaneous belief; or rather that no question as to the truth or falsehood of the narrative suggested itself to his mind. His faith is ready, literal, and uninquiring, apart from all thought of discriminating fact from fiction.” If we turn to the age of Augustus, we find a condition of society at a world-wide remove from this primitive era of sentiment and fancy. Some are deceived by the supposed analogy of the middle ages, which, however, were wholly different, and more resembled the ancient nations in their period of immaturity. The Greek and Roman literature and science had passed away. Christianity, with its doctrines and miracles, had been received by the fresh, uncivilized peoples of Europe, and these, full of the new sentiments and beliefs which were awakened by Christianity, dwelling, so to speak, in an atmosphere of the super-

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\* Grote, Vol. I., p. 451.

natural, created the mass of mythical stories which fill up the voluminous lives of the saints. It was the work of unlettered, imaginative, uninquiring peoples, on the basis and under the stimulus of the miraculous history of the Gospels. "Such legends," says Mr. Grote, "were the natural growth of a religious faith, earnest, unexamining, and interwoven with the feelings at a time when the reason does not need to be cheated. The lives of the saints bring us even back to the simple and ever-operative theology of the Homeric age."\* Totally different was the state of things among the old nations at the advent of Christianity. We must not forget that, so far as intellectual development is concerned, along with the downfall of ancient civilization, the tides of history rolled back. New nations came upon the stage and a period of childhood ensued. Dr. Arnold, writing to Bunsen, points out the anachronism involved in Strauss's theory. "The idea," exclaims Arnold, "of men writing mythic histories between the time of Livy and Tacitus, and of St. Paul mistaking such for realities!"†

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\* Grote, Vol. I., p. 471. Renan compares the Gospels to the Lives of St. Francis. The disciples of St. Francis were full of the spirit of their master; and what was that spirit? Enthusiasm, that falls below absolute madness, can rise no higher than in the example of St. Francis. His asceticism stopped short of no austerities which the body could endure. His inward life, like his outward career, was a continual romance. His mystic fervor betrayed itself in his ordinary speech—in his apostrophes to birds and beasts, and even to inanimate things. "His life," says Milman, "might seem a religious trance." "Incessantly active as was his life, it was a kind of paroxysmal activity, constantly collapsing into what might seem a kind of suspended animation of the corporeal functions." As to the witnesses to the "wounds" of Christ on his person, one of them testifies to seeing the *soul* of St. Francis, after his death, on its flight through the air to heaven! In this atmosphere of fancy and credulous (though sincere) devotion, he and they lived. As to the loose habit of observation and great inaccuracy of mediæval writers in describing ordinary objects, which justly excite incredulity in regard to their stories of miracles, see Dr. Arnold's *Lectures on History*, p. 128. He gives an instance of this carelessness from Bede, who was reputed the most learned man of his age. "I cannot think," says Arnold, "that the unbelieving spirit of the Roman world was equally favorable to the origination and admission of stories of miracles with the credulous tendencies of the middle ages." (p. 129.) No doubt bodily austerities, vigils, fastings, and the like, together with the spirit of unbounded credulity, might produce extraordinary phenomena which could easily be mistaken for miracles.

† Life and Correspondence of Arnold, p. 293, N.

Strauss labors hard to create a different impression in respect to the character of the age of the apostles. He appeals to the occasional mention of prodigies by Tacitus and Josephus—as the supernatural sights and sounds attending the capture of Jerusalem. But if current reports of this sort of preternatural manifestation convict an age of an unhistorical spirit, there is no state of society that would not be liable to this charge. Even skeptics, like Hobbes, have not escaped the infection of superstitious fear. These passages in Josephus and Tacitus are chiefly remarkable as being exceptions to the ordinary style of their narratives. Strauss endeavors to make much of the two alleged miracles of Vespasian, at Alexandria, which are noticed by Tacitus and also by Suetonius. But whatever may have been the fact at the bottom, the circumstances in the narrative of Tacitus afford a striking exemplification of the historical spirit of the times, and, thus, of the falsehood of Strauss's general position. When the application was made to Vespasian by the individuals on whom the cures are said to have been wrought, he laughed at their request and "treated it with contempt."\* The applicants being importunate in their request, and pretending to make it by the direction of the god Serapis, Vespasian had a talk with the physicians, who stated the nature of the diseases, and were quite non-committal on the question whether the Emperor could effect a cure in the manner desired. The entire passage in Tacitus shows at least a full consciousness that the event is wholly anomalous and not to be accepted without satisfactory proof. The truth is that the creative period in the ancient nations when the mythological religions sprung up, had long ago passed by. Even the belief in them was fast crumbling away, and yielding to skepticism. This engendered, to be sure, a superstition to fill up the void occasioned by the destruction of the old belief.

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\* Vespasian behaved like William of Orange, who sneered at the old practice of touching for the king's evil. This behavior of William gave great scandal to not a few.—(Macaulay's *Hist. of England*, Vol. III., p. 432, seq.) Many invalids resorted to the king to be touched. Yet who will infer that the age of William was not an "historical" age, or suppose that a mythology could have arisen in England in the seventeenth century and established itself in the popular faith?

Hence magic and sorcery were rife. The professors of the black art, to use a more modern phrase, drove a lucrative business, and found credulous followers, as the apostles discovered in their missionary journeys. But this despairing superstition was a phenomenon lying at the opposite pole from that action of the mythopœic tendency which belongs, as we have explained, to the freshness of youth. Pilate spoke out the feelings of the cultivated Roman in the skeptical question, What is truth? Nor is Strauss more successful in the attempt to find among the Jews, in particular, a condition of society suitable for the origination of myths. Prophecy had long since died out. A stiff legalism, with its "traditions of the elders," had chilled the free movement of religious life. Nor is it true that among the Jews, in the time of Christ, a miracle had only to be stated to be believed. Miracles (unless exorcism be reckoned one) were not supposed to occur. They were considered to belong to an era of their history, long past. A miracle was an astounding fact. "Since the world began," it was said, (John ix. 32), "was it not heard that any man opened the eyes of one that was born blind." The Gospels are full of parables, allegories, showing a state of mind, in teacher and hearer, inconsistent with the production of myths. In the parable, the idea is held in an abstract form, and a fiction is *contrived* to represent it. Ottfried Müller, in answer to the question, how long the myth-building spirit continues, explains that the fusion or confounding of idea and fact, which constitutes the myth, could take place only so long as the habit did not exist of presenting the one apart from the other—either idea apart from narrative, or narrative apart from the mythopœic idea. But when ideas are apprehended as such, in an abstract form, or veracious history is written, the mythical era is gone.\* So far from there being a reign of credulity, there existed, in the Sadducees, an outspoken skeptical party who regarded with coldness and suspicion the supernatural elements in their own religion. How could myths arise among those who listened to debates like that which Matthew records between

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\* Prolegomena, S. 170.

Christ and the Sadducees, "who say that there is no resurrection?"\* So far from there being among the Jews in the time of Christ an irresistible tendency to glorify the object of reverence by attributing to him miraculous works, it is a fact, of which the advocates of the mythical theory can give no plausible explanation, that no miracles are ascribed to John the Baptist, though he was considered in the early church to be inferior to no prophet who had preceded him. If there was this unreflecting and credulous habit which is imputed to the Jewish Christians, why is no instance of miraculous healing interwoven in the description which the Gospels give us of the career of the forerunner of Jesus? He was supernaturally enabled to designate the Messiah, but he himself, though he is characterized in terms of exalted praise, is not represented as endowed with supernatural power. It is, also, significant that the life of Jesus up to the time of his entrance upon his public ministry, is left an almost unbroken blank. Had the disciples given the reins to their imagination, as the theory of Strauss supposes, they would almost infallibly have filled up the childhood of Christ with myths, after the manner of the spurious gospels of a later date.† But Mark and John pass over in silence the whole of the preparatory period of thirty years. Matthew passes immediately from his birth and infancy to his public ministry, while Luke interposes but a single anecdote of his childhood. Why this remarkable reticence, unless the reason be that the apostles chose to dwell upon that of which they had a direct, personal knowledge?

It may be objected to the foregoing remarks that the original authors of the mythical narratives are supposed to be persons aloof from the great world and beyond the influence of its culture—Galileans of humble rank. The existence of a class of disciples, cut off from the guidance of the apostles, has before been disproved. But apart from this, the supposed

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\* Matt. xxii. 23, seq. Julius Müller refers to this passage in his cogent review of Strauss, in the *Studien u. Kritiken*, 1836. III.

† The Apocryphal gospels were generally the offspring of pious fraud. They were composed, for the most part, to further the cause of some heretical doctrine or party.

authors of the myths were reflective enough to discriminate between the parable and the abstract relations represented under it. They were acquainted with the questions debated between the Sadducees and their opponents. Besides, it is undeniable that a spirit of opposition to Christ and his cause existed, and must have existed, wherever he had preached. The vindictive hostility of the Pharisees and rulers caused his death. In Galilee, as well as Jerusalem, he had to encounter unbelief and enmity. Aside from the fact that the Pharisæic influence ramified through the land, it appears that at Capernaum, Chorazin, Bethsaida, Nazareth, there were unbelievers and opposers.\* There was a strong disposition among these to disprove the messianic claim of Jesus and to invalidate, in some way, the proofs on which it rested. There could be no disciples of Jesus—to say the least, no considerable number of disciples—who would not be instantly called upon to make good their cause in the encounter with objections and cavils. This necessity, if nothing else, would force them to reflection, and would thus break up the attitude of unquestioning fancy and blind credulity. They must give a reason for the faith that is in them. They must do this to the very persons among whom the incidents, on which their faith was grounded, were alleged to have recently occurred. The mythopœic faculty cannot work, it is clear, under a cross-examination. Fancy cannot go on with its creations in the midst of an atmosphere of doubt and unfriendly scrutiny. The state of the church was the very opposite of that repose on which alone a mythology can have its birth. It holds true that the application of the mythical theory to the testimony of the early disciples, is a gross anachronism.

VI. The mythical theory is unable either to account for the faith of the apostles in the Resurrection of Christ, or to disprove the fact which was the object of this faith.

Strauss finds it impossible to deny that the apostles, one

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\* It is one theory of the Tübingen school that the Pharisees followed Jesus into Galilee, and that the hostility they felt to him was provoked there.



and all, *believed* that Jesus had risen from the dead and that they had held various interviews and conversations with him. This miracle, at least, it must be admitted that *they* received. Without this faith, their continued adherence to the cause of Jesus would hardly be explainable. And this fact was a main part of their preaching and testimony. It was immovably lodged in their convictions. Moreover, the Apostle Paul, in an epistle whose genuineness is not disputed, is a witness to the existence of this belief and testimony on the part of the other apostles. He knew them; he had spent a fortnight with Peter in his own house. He had declared to the Corinthians, he says, that Christ died "and was buried, and that he rose again the third day, according to the Scriptures; and that he was seen of Cephas, then of the twelve: after that he was seen of above five hundred brethren at once, of whom the greater part remain to this present, but some are fallen asleep; after that he was seen of James; then of all the apostles." The whole manner of Paul indicates that he is giving the result of a careful inquiry. That the apostles *believed*, with a faith which no opposition could shake, that they had thus beheld the risen Jesus, there is, therefore, no room for doubt. The main question is, how came they to this persuasion? The Gospel narratives furnish the explanation by describing his actual reappearance, and repeated conferences with them. Rejecting the miracle, Strauss is obliged to undertake the task, by no means a light one, of accounting for their unanimous belief in it; for the belief, also, of the assembly of more than five hundred disciples to whose testimony Paul refers.

The principal points in Strauss's attempted explanation, are the following:\* Christ had more and more impressed the disciples with the conviction that he was the Messiah. His death, so contrary to their previous conceptions of what the Messiah's career would be, for the time extinguished this conviction. But after the first shock was over, their previous impression concerning Christ revived. Hence the psychological necessity of incorporating into their notion of the Messiah the

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\* *Leben Jesu*, S. 636, seq.

idea that he was to suffer and die. But as comprehending a thing, among the Jews of that time, only signified the deriving of it from the Holy Scriptures, the apostles resorted to these to see whether there might not be in them intimations that the Messiah was to suffer and die. This idea, Strauss affirms, was foreign to the Old Testament; nevertheless, the apostles would find the intimations, which they wished to find, in all the poetic and prophetic passages of the Old Testament, as Isaiah liii., Psalm xxii., in which the men of God were represented as persecuted, even to death. This obstacle surmounted, and having now a suffering, dying Messiah, it followed next that Christ was not lost, but still remained to them: through death, he had only entered into his messianic glory, in which he was invisibly with them, always, even to the end of the world. Having advanced so far, they would be moved to ask themselves how it was possible that he should refrain from personally communicating with them? And how could they, in the warmth of feeling kindled by this unveiling to them of the Scriptural doctrine of a suffering and dying Messiah, avoid regarding this new discovery as the effect of an influence exerted upon them by the glorified Christ, "an opening of their understandings" by Him—"yea," adds Strauss, "*as a discoursing with them?*" These feelings, in the case of individuals, especially women, rose into an actual (apparent) vision. In the case of others, even of whole assemblies, something objective, visible, or audible, perchance the sight of an unknown person, made the impression of a revelation or manifestation of Jesus. But another step in the psychological process was yet to be taken. If the crucified Messiah had really ascended to the highest state of blessed existence, then his body could not have been left in the grave; and since there were Old Testament expressions, like Psalm xvi. 10—"thou shalt not leave my soul in Hades, neither suffer thy Holy One to see corruption," and Isaiah liii. 10, in which the slain servant of Jehovah was promised a long life afterwards, the disciples could keep their previous notion that "Christ abideth forever," (John xii. 34), by means of the thought of an actual reawakening of the crucified; and, inasmuch as it was a messianic function to raise at a future day the bodies of the dead,

the return of Jesus to life must be an actual anastasis—a resurrection of the body.

What shall be said of this chain of conjectures? We freely admit that all which Strauss asserts on this subject is *possible*. That the followers of Christ came to believe in his resurrection in the way above described, without the objective fact to excite this belief, is not absolutely beyond the bounds of possibility. It is not pretended that the fact of the miracle is susceptible of strict demonstration. Nay, we concede that if a man holds a miracle, under the circumstances, in connection with the establishment of Christianity in this world, to be more improbable than any method, which is not literally irrational, of explaining it away, he may accept the above solution of Strauss. But even he cannot shut his eyes to the tremendous difficulties which attend that solution. In order to set forth some of these difficulties, we must restate the hypothesis of Strauss, adding other particulars in his view, some of which have not been mentioned. A young man—such is the theory of Strauss—comes to the baptism of John with the same motive which led others to the prophet, and takes his place among his disciples. After John is thrown into prison, he begins himself to teach. He draws about him a band of disciples. Gradually, he comes to believe himself not merely a prophet, but even the expected Messiah. But at first, though inculcating spiritual truth, he shares in the political theory of the Messiah's kingdom until the unfavorable reception accorded to him and his doctrine, modified the view he took of the character and prospects of that kingdom. He may, not unlikely, have anticipated that the opposition excited against him would, at no very distant day, result in his death. But when seized by the Jewish rulers, he was not looking for an immediate death. This is a point which Strauss is obliged to maintain in order to avoid conceding to Christ supernatural knowledge. On a sudden, he is seized in the midst of his followers, and executed as a culprit. All their expectations had been disappointed. They had expected the Messiah to work miracles; but they had witnessed none. They had looked for a political Prince, and been encouraged in their view, for a time, by Jesus himself; but behold their imaginary Prince nailed to the cross!

He is solemnly adjudged to death by the rulers of the nation, by those who sat in Moses' seat! And the civil power of the Romans carries out the sentence! He dies, receiving no succor from God, apparently incapable of offering resistance! Add to this that they, as was natural, dispersed in terror. Can we, adopting Strauss's interpretation of the previous history of Jesus, think that the souls of the disciples were enthralled to that degree that they still clung to their faith in him? And then the idea of all of them, with none to dissent, reviving from their terror and despondency; changing essentially their notion of the Messiah to suit the circumstances; attributing their new interpretations of the Old Testament to an inspiration from Christ; conceiving themselves, on this account, to be holding personal intercourse with him, then proceeding to the further inference that his body had been awakened to life! Add to this that on the strength of this faith, the offspring of a series of the veriest delusions, they went forth proclaiming the resurrection of Jesus, and this with a courage they had never before manifested or felt—went forth—these illiterate visionaries—to the spiritual conquest of the world! Notwithstanding the inventions of Strauss to account for it, the revolution in the feelings of the apostles so soon after they had "mourned and wept," having thought that the kingdom would be restored to Israel, and hid themselves out of "fear of the Jews," remains, unless we suppose a great objective transaction to produce the change, an unexplained marvel. For in their deep dejection of mind, there was nothing that could awaken a vision such as Strauss imagines. Misery does not beget enthusiasm.

But if we admit for the moment that his conjectures on this point are well-founded, he is immediately confronted by another difficulty, to surmount which he is obliged to set at defiance the testimony in the case. The most of the interviews with the risen Christ, which Strauss calls visions, took place in Jerusalem. There they met him,—first, individuals and then the eleven together, on the day but one after he had been laid in the tomb. They had the means of testing whether his body was, or was not, still in the embrace of death. They would certainly have made inquiry. They would cer-

tainly have gone to the tomb. Sensible of this difficulty, Strauss takes it upon him to transfer the scene of these interviews to Galilee. In Matthew, where the account bears all the marks of being an abbreviated summary, Jesus appears to Mary on the first Sunday, and the disciples are directed to go into Galilee to meet him there. There Strauss places the scene of the supposed visions. But in taking this view he is obliged to contradict the more full narratives of the other evangelists, including John. They are confirmed, in this particular, by the unquestioned testimony of Paul. For he states that the reappearance of Christ was on the third day after his burial. There is no plausible explanation of the constant affirmation of the disciples that the resurrection occurred on the third day, unless we suppose that Jerusalem was the place of his reappearance to them. The next declaration of Paul, that "He was seen of Cephas," falls in with the statement incidentally made by Luke, (Luke xxiv. 34), of the appearance of Christ "to Simon" on the Sunday of the resurrection; and it is natural to identify the interview with the twelve, which Paul mentions immediately after, in the same verse, with the interview mentioned by Luke as taking place in the latter part of the same day, (v. 36). So that the denial by Strauss that these interviews, whether real or imaginary, took place in Jerusalem and soon after the burial of Christ, is in the teeth of unimpeachable testimony.\*

But to remove the theatre of the so-called visions to Galilee does not suffice. It will not do to allow that the apostles began *so soon* to believe and to preach their dream as a reality for which they were ready to lay down their lives. For this inward change, time was required. There must be, in their

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\* Baur, the Prince of the Tübingen critics, appears to give up the Straussian notion that the disciples forsook Jerusalem. "It proves," he says, "the great strength of their faith and a greatly strengthened confidence in the cause of Christ, that the disciples immediately after his death *neither scattered outside of Jerusalem, nor assembled in a remoter place*, but in Jerusalem itself had their permanent centre." See *Das Christenthum*, etc., S. 41. He gives up the attempt "to penetrate by psychological analysis into the inward spiritual forces," by which the unbelief of the apostles at the death of Christ was supplanted by the faith in his resurrection. S. 40. In this particular, then, Baur seems to repudiate the long-drawn hypothesis of Strauss.

Galilean seclusion, a silent preparation—a stille vorbereitung. To secure this advantage for his theory, Strauss does not hesitate to contradict the statement of Luke, in the Acts, that within a few weeks from the Master's death, on the day of Pentecost, they preached with great power and proclaimed his Resurrection.\* Observe that the author of the Acts is not credited with a myth, but is charged with conscious deception.

But all this violent criticism is really insufficient, because, apart from the testimony of the Evangelists, the testimony of Paul makes it evident that it was not visions, but interviews and conferences, which the apostles had with the risen Christ. Strauss, indeed, tries to show that Paul's own sight of Jesus was only a vision, or a seeming vision, and then leaps to the inference that the other interviews of the disciples with Christ after his death, were of a like nature. But Paul evidently regarded the appearance of Christ to him at his conversion, to which he here refers, as an objective, visible, actual manifestation. This late manifestation of the ascended Christ, he connects with the appearances of Christ to the other apostles *before* his ascension. There is no warrant, therefore, either for the assertion that Paul, in his own case, was referring to a vision, or, even if he were, that the manifestations of Christ to the other disciples, were of this kind. Moreover, this theory of visions is excluded by the fact of the appearance of Christ to an assembly of upwards of five hundred disciples at once. The simultaneous imaginary vision of Christ by so large a number is not credible. The nature of those meetings of the disciples with Christ, which Paul records, with so profound a sense of the vital importance of them, feeling that "if Christ be not risen, our faith is vain," is set forth in the more circumstantial narratives of the Evangelists. It was fact, not fancy, on which the preaching and the unconquerable faith of the apostles were founded.

VII. The mythical theory is inconsistent with the book of Acts.

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\* *Leben Jesu*, B. II. S. 689.

We have just alluded to one point in this testimony. The book of Acts is the continuation of the third Gospel by the same author. It was written for the benefit of the same Theophilus to whom the Gospel was addressed, (Acts i. 1). It is a work of a person who was the beloved companion of the Apostle Paul during a part of his missionary journeying.\* The testimony of the Acts is of the highest value and importance. We here see the apostles, a few weeks after the death of Christ, proclaiming in Jerusalem his resurrection. We find them referring in their discourses to "the miracles, and wonders, and signs," which Christ had performed "in the midst" of the people to whom they spoke, (Acts ii. 22). We find that the apostles themselves were endowed with power to work miracles.† The Acts prove, thus, that the earlier miracles of Christ were believed and preached by the apostles. They furnish the most decisive proof of the supernatural events connected with the founding of Christianity.

Strauss, in his *Life of Christ*, prudently abstained from considering, at any length, the testimony of the Acts. Other adherents of the Tübingen school, especially Baur and Zeller, have endeavored to supply this deficiency. But the mythical theory proves insufficient. It is found necessary to charge the author of the Acts with intentional fraud and falsehood. In defiance of the explicit, as well as incidental, evidence afforded by the Gospel, both works are remanded to the early part of the second century, while the passages in the Acts in which the "we" occurs, are declared to have been thus left for the purpose of deceiving readers into the belief that the date of its composition was earlier. So the old infidelity is brought back again. Candid men will sooner put faith in the direct statements, made by the author of the third Gospel and of the Acts respecting himself, fully corroborated as they are by internal evidence of an incidental nature which could not have been manufactured, and confirmed, too, by the authority of

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\* Col. iv. 14; Acts xvi. 10-17; xx. 5-15; xxi. 1-18; xxvii. 1 seq.

† Besides passages in the Acts, see on this point Rom. xv. 19; 2 Cor. xii. 12; Hebrews ii. 4.

the early church, than accept the theory that we owe these precious histories of Christ and the apostles to a cheat.

VIII. The mythical theory is proved untenable by the fact, that the supernatural elements in the life of Christ, are inseparably connected with circumstances and sayings which are plainly historical.

The advocates of the mythical theory undertake to dissect the Gospel histories, and to cast out everything supernatural. Out of the residuum, they will construct the veritable life of Christ. Now, if it be true that the natural and the supernatural, the historical, and the (so-called) fabulous, are incapable of this divorce, but that both are parts of each other, so that if one be destroyed, the other vanishes also, then the miracles must be allowed to stand. And such is the fact. These narratives will not suffer the decomposition that is attempted upon them. The two elements, the natural and the miraculous, will not admit of being thus torn apart. We have space for only a few proofs and illustrations of our proposition; but these, it is hoped, are sufficient to show its truth. The first illustration we have to offer is the message of John the Baptist from his prison, to inquire of Jesus, "Art thou he that should come,\* or do we look for another?" The two disciples of John witnessed the various miracles of healing performed by Christ. Jesus then said to them: "Go and shew John again these things which ye do hear and see: the blind receive their sight, and the lame walk, the lepers are cleansed, and the deaf hear, the dead are raised up, and the poor have the Gospel preached to them: and blessed is he whosoever shall not be offended in me." The messengers departed; and Jesus proceeds to speak, with earnest emotion, to the people who are present, of the sacred character and the position of John. Now it is obvious that if one part of this narrative is given up, the rest falls with it. There is no way of escaping the miraculous, as the procedure of Strauss evinces, except by denying the whole,—denying that John sent the message. But how irrational to

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\* Matt. xi. 2 seq.; Luke vii. 18 seq.



suppose that the disciples of Christ would have falsely attributed to John the doubt as to the messiahship of Jesus, which occasioned the message.\* Had Strauss no theory to maintain, he would be the last to assume a thing so improbable. We have, then, an example in which the miracles are an indissoluble part of a transaction undeniably historical.

We proceed to another illustration. The evangelists record four instances of the miraculous healing of aggravated diseases on the Sabbath, each of which led to a conversation, inseparable from the incident that provoked it, and yet manifestly historical.† Let us briefly notice one of these instances—that of the man healed of the dropsy. On this occasion, in reference to the lawfulness of healing on the Sabbath day, Christ put to the lawyers and Pharisees the question: “Which of you shall have an ass or an ox fallen into a pit, and will not straightway pull him out on the Sabbath day?” Strauss cannot bring himself to deny that Jesus proposed this question. The expression, both in doctrine and in form, is too characteristic of his method of teaching. Nor can he avoid admitting that it was spoken in connection with some act of Jesus in ministering to the diseased. He even concedes that the inquiry would be inappropriate unless the case were that of a person rescued from a great peril. After making various suggestions which fail to satisfy himself, Strauss is at length inclined to fall back upon the (so-called) natural exposition, which he is wont to handle, in general, so unmercifully.‡ If Jesus ministered among his disciples to bodily as well as spiritual infirmities, and had been giving remedies on the Sabbath, the question may have been put by way of self-defense. After following Strauss in the

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\* That such was the motive of the message seems clear. See Meyer on Matthew, S. 244. The momentary uncertainty of John may have been owing to the circumstance that Jesus remained in retracy and gave no signs of inaugurating any political change, from the expectation of which John was, perhaps, not wholly free.

† 1. The case of the man with a withered hand, Matt. xii. 9 seq., (Luke vi. 6 seq., Mark iii. 1 seq.) 2. The man afflicted with dropsy, Luke xiv. 5 seq. 3. The woman bowed down with a chronic infirmity, Luke xiii. 10 seq. 4. The lame man at the pool of Bethesda, John v. 2 seq.

‡ *Leben Jesu*, B. II. S. 118, 119.

perpetual attack he makes, with logic and satire, upon the interpretations of Paulus, which, to be sure, are equally destitute of reason and taste, one cannot help being struck with surprise to find him resorting, in order to avoid the miracle, to one of that critic's favorite notions. Nothing could more clearly indicate the stress of the difficulty which is created by the evident verity of the New Testament report.

The evangelists state that on numerous occasions, after working a miracle, Jesus directed that the fact should not be noised abroad. Not only would he be concerned to avoid a premature conflict with the Jewish rulers, which might cut him off before his work was finished, but the prohibition was with reference to the eagerness of the people for a political Messiah, and in order that the number of his disciples might not be swelled by a multitude on whom no deep spiritual impression had been made; who would, therefore, abandon their faith as soon as their carnal expectation should be balked. In some instances, the evangelists inform us, the injunction of Christ on this point was not complied with. That Christ should utter these prohibitions, was in itself a remarkable circumstance. It must fix itself, and *did* fix itself, in the recollection of his disciples. But if the miracles are dropped, what becomes of the prohibition to report them? Strauss's talent for conjecture is here put to a severe test. He concludes that Christ, after he began his public ministry, at first regarding himself as only a forerunner, like John, and only by degress indulging the idea that he is himself the Messiah, was, so to speak, struck with fear at hearing that distinctly suggested from without, which he hardly, in his own bosom, dared to conjecture, or had only shortly before come to believe! That is, in homelier phrase, Christ wished nothing to be said on the subject till he had made up his own mind! We need offer no comment on this theory, save to remind the reader that it does not touch the proof that this injunction most frequently had reference to miracles.

Still another example of the truth that the natural and the supernatural are bound up together in the Gospel history, is afforded by the narrative of the Saviour's agony in Gethse-

ane. This disclosure of the sinking of his heart in the near prospect of death, and of the struggle through which he passed, is *felt* by the reader to be historical. Least of all, would Strauss be expected to impeach the verity of it. His axiom is that the disciples were swayed by a desire to glorify their master. He strangely attributes the circumstance that the disciples are said to have fallen asleep, even here in the garden, and on the Mount of Transfiguration, while Christ was awake, to a secret desire to ascribe to him a certain superiority. How, then, could they have been prompted to falsely represent him in a state of feeling, which, in the judgment of the world, however superficial that judgment may be, is less noble and worthy than the placid manner of a Socrates? And yet Strauss, after long criticisms of the several Gospel narratives, pronounces the whole story of the agony of Jesus in the garden unhistorical!\* He has, moreover, a reason for this judgment. This agitation, whatever causes produced it, was conditioned by his knowledge that death was at hand. Now, as the plot was a secret one, to admit that Jesus was possessed of this knowledge would be tantamount to the acknowledgment of his supernatural foresight. Strauss makes a laborious endeavor to show that none of the words of Jesus in the record of the institution of the Supper, imply an expectation of an immediate death. Thus, to avoid the supernatural, he strikes out of the history of Christ a passage which bears the most unmistakable stamp of being historical, and which his own fundamental postulate forbids him to reject!

Other proofs of a more than human knowledge, on the part of Christ, are left upon the gospel page. Christ predicted the destruction of Jerusalem, the overthrow of the Jewish state, and the forfeiture of its rank and privilege, as the seat of the worship of Jehovah. When the city stood in all its strength and splendor, he set the date of its downfall within the lifetime of the generation then on the stage. He foretold, what is even more impressive to a thoughtful mind, the progress of

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\* —“ jener ganze Seelenkampf, weil auf unerweislichen Voraussetzungen ruhend, aufgegeben werden muss.” *Leben Jesu*, B. II. S. 454.

the Christian cause to a universal triumph. In the parables of the mustard-seed and the leaven, he depicted the small beginnings and the future extent and power of the Christian religion. What a gaze was that which thus looked far down the stream of time! The unaided faculties of no man, in the situation of Jesus, could have thus forecast the drama of history.

IX. The arbitrary and sophistical character of the criticism applied to the contents of the Gospels, in order to prove them untrustworthy, is conclusive against the mythical theory.

The method of Strauss, as we have indicated before, is to overthrow the credibility of the Gospels, to the end that he may disprove their genuineness. He wishes, by an analysis of the testimony, to show that it cannot emanate from eye-witnesses or qualified contemporaries. Hence, the greater part of his book is taken up with the detailed examination of the Gospels, his aim being to show them to be destitute of historical authority. We characterize his criticism as generally unfair and sophistical. His manner is precisely that of a sharp advocate who sets himself to pick to pieces the testimony of a company of artless, but honest and competent witnesses. Variations are magnified and harped upon; whatever is stated by one and omitted by another is laid to some occult motive either in the one or the other, or in both; meanings are read into the record which never occurred to those who gave it, and by other arts familiar to the advocate, the impression is sought to be produced that the testimony is entitled to no credit. To fan suspicion is the prime object. The method of Strauss would destroy the credibility of all history. A parody, where the subject is an established, notorious, historical fact, is the most effective method of refuting this criticism which rests on suspicion. If Whately's *Life of Napoleon* is not a valid refutation of Hume, inasmuch as no natural fact, however unexampled, can be put in the same category with a supernatural fact, this little work, nevertheless, well illustrates with what facility doubt may be cast upon sound and credible testimony. A clever parody upon Strauss was written in Germany, in the

form of a Life of Luther.\* The fact of "two birth-places," for example, Bethlehem and Nazareth, which, at the outset, calls out the skepticism of Strauss, is put by the side of circumstances equally surprising in the case of Luther, whose parents, before he was born, had come from Möhra to Eisleben, and shortly after that event moved to Mansfeld. An able writer† has finely parodied the reasoning of Strauss through which he aims to impeach the credit of the evangelists, by trying the same method upon the ancient testimonies describing the assassination of Julius Cæsar. And he proves that Cæsar was never killed, by the same species of argument which Strauss employs to disprove the healing of the Centurion's son, or the transfiguration. The one effort is just as successful as the other. The advocates of the mythical theory are very zealous in their repugnance to forced harmonizing, but forced *disharmonizing* is surely not less unworthy. What is the issue raised by Strauss? It is not the question whether the Gospels are free from discrepancies; nor is it the question whether these narratives are inspired, or what kind and degree of inspiration belongs to them; nor is it, in general, the question how far they may, or may not, partake of imperfections, from which competent and credible witnesses are not expected to be wholly exempt. But the essential truth of these narratives is the proposition which he impugns, and which, as we affirm, he utterly fails to overthrow.

A great many causes besides error, either innocent or willful, may introduce modifications into the form of a narrative. Of this all are aware who have pursued historical investigations, or are conversant with courts of law, or even observant of ordinary conversation. Where brevity is aimed at, not only an omission, but some modification, of features of a narrative, is often required. A peculiar interest in one element of a

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\* The title is as follows:—"The Life of Luther, critically treated by Dr. Caspar Mexico, 2836." (Tübingen: 1839. The work was written by Wurm). A learned doctor, a hundred years hence, takes up the documents pertaining to the life of the Reformer, and, following strictly the method of Strauss, proves their untrustworthiness.

† Professor Norton, in his *Internal Evidences of the Gospels*.

transaction may have the same effect, or may lead a reporter to change the order of circumstances. For the sake of making a transaction intelligible to a particular person or class, some addition or subtraction may be necessary. At one time, an event may be stated in the dryest form; at another, the same event may be pictured to the imagination. Two reports of the same transaction will often seem irreconcilable, but a new fact, coming to light, removes the contradiction. These are universally acknowledged principles. To hold living witnesses, or documents, to a mathematical accuracy of statement, or to an absolute completeness, on the penalty of being cast out of court, is disreputable sophistry.

These are grave charges against the critical method of Strauss, and we proceed to substantiate them by examples. On account of the demand made by the Pharisees that Jesus should give them "a sign," or "a sign from heaven,"\* (Mark viii. 11, 12, Matt. xii. 38 seq., xvi. 1 seq., Luke xi. 29 seq.), and the refusal of Jesus, Strauss affirms that Christ is here said to disclaim the working of miracles! That is, the evangelist, in each case, so stultifies himself as to put on the same page with the record of miracles, such a disavowal by Christ! The simple truth is, that the "sign" was a peculiar manifestation in the sky, expected to attend the advent of the Messiah, and which the Pharisees demanded *in addition* to all the other miracles.† Strauss says that Jesus, in forgiving the sins of the paralytic, (Matt. ix. 2), recognized the Jewish doctrine of the allotment of evil in this life, in exact proportion to the sin of the individual.‡ Yet this doctrine is plainly inconsistent with what Christ said on hearing of the Galileans "whose blood Pilate had mingled with their sacrifices;" with the declarations in the Sermon on the Mount; with the parable of the Rich Man and Lazarus, and with the statement in respect to the man born blind, (John ix. 3). That an opposite doctrine is expressly taught in several of these passages, Strauss allows.

\* *Leben Jesu*, B. II. S. 4.

† See Neander on John vi. 30, (*Leben Jesu*). Meyer on Matt. xvi. 1.

‡ *Leben Jesu*, B. II. S. 75 seq.

It is only needful to suppose that in the particular case of the paralytic, his disease was directly occasioned by some sin,\* or that Jesus saw that his conscience was troubled.† On how slender a foundation is a gross inconsistency charged upon the Great Teacher, or upon the historians who report him !

A specimen of numerous minor perversions of the sense of Scripture, is the remark of Strauss upon Matt. xxi. 7, where it is said that the disciples "brought the ass and the colt, and put on them their clothes, and they set him thereon." The last word, the translation of ἐπάνω αὐτῶν, Strauss refers to the animals, and strives to make the evangelist utter nonsense;‡ whereas the pronoun refers to the clothes,§ and even if the construction of Strauss were correct, he could only in fairness convict the evangelist of using a loose, colloquial expression. A similar instance of quibbling is the effort to foist upon John the error of supposing that the High Priesthood was an annual office, because he alludes to an individual as "High Priest that year."|| In the narrative of John, Peter is made to go first into the sepulchre, according to Strauss, out of respect to the vulgar notion concerning Peter; and John must be made out to be the first to believe in the Resurrection.¶ But why not rather give to Peter the last distinction, or to John the first? Is it possible for criticism to be more arbitrary and groundless? The relation, we are told, in which John is placed to Peter in the Fourth Gospel, is "suspicious"\*\*\*—*verdächtig* is a favorite word with Strauss—but the position of John among the disciples is attested not only in the Acts but also by Paul, who styles him, with Peter and James, the pillars of the church at Jerusalem.†† Peter's confession of faith (Matt. xvi. 16) is construed into a proof that even the disciples had not before taken Jesus for the Messiah. But the fervor and depth of Peter's faith, the peculiar source of it, and, perhaps, the glimpse of the higher nature of Jesus in-

\* So Meyer, ad loc.

† *Leben Jesu*, B. II. S. 274.

‡ *Leben Jesu*, B. II. S. 361.

\*\*\* *Leben Jesu*, B. I. S. 582.

† So Bleek, *Synopt. Erkl.* S. 75.

§ So Neander and Meyer.

¶ *Leben Jesu*, B. II. S. 582.

†† *Leben Jesu*, B. I. S. 497.

volved in it, together with the fact that it was uttered at the moment when others were deserting him, constitute its peculiarity and explain the marked commendation by Christ. To what reader of the passage did the notion of Strauss ever occur? Who ever felt any difficulty of the sort? Noteworthy is the timidly asserted imputation of an admixture of political elements in the plan of Jesus.\* The abstaining from every effort to organize a political party, the explicit abjuring of a design to found a kingdom of this world, the acknowledgment of earthly magistrates, the essentially spiritual character of all the doctrines and precepts of Christ, are not denied. One would think that this were enough to acquit him of the slightest participation in the current Jewish notion of a political Messiah. All that Strauss brings to support his charge from the words of Jesus, is the promise that the disciples should sit on twelve thrones, judging the twelve tribes of Israel. But this was to be at the *καταγγεσία*—in the future spiritual kingdom of the new heavens and the new earth. If this proves a temporal idea of the messianic kingdom, then the declaration of Paul that the saints shall judge the world, would prove that he held the same. The promise of Christ presents, in a tropical form, the reward of an ultimate participation in his own heavenly glory. The insinuation of Strauss that the entrance of Christ into Jerusalem, riding on an ass, was a claim for political recognition, does not merit a reply.

Under this head may be mentioned the neglect of Strauss to adhere to his own theory, in the frequent implication of a willful deception on the part of the evangelists. This peculiarity of his criticism is worthy of marked attention. He is perpetually crossing the line that separates the mythical from the mendacious. He thus proceeds frequently upon a theory which he professes to reject. A consciousness on the part of an historian that his statements are not conformed to the truth, makes him guilty of intentional falsehood. Then we have not myth, but lie. When Strauss says that the cases of the healing of the blind are much more numerous than the instances

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\* *Leben Jesu*, B. I. S. 518 seq.



of the healing of lepers, because the former admit of a greater variety of circumstances;\* when he states that the healing of the impotent man (John v. 1 seq.) was framed on the basis of narratives in the other Gospels, and made to take place on the Sabbath, because the words "take up thy bed and walk," would furnish the most suitable text for the dispute, that follows, about the observance of the Sabbath;† when he says that the prediction by Christ of the mode of his death was attributed to him from a desire to relieve the feeling which was excited by the shameful character of the cross; when he affirms that the foreknowledge of the treason of Judas was falsely ascribed to Jesus from a like motive;‡ when he says that the reference in John (John xviii. 26) to a kinsman of Malchus, is artificial and unhistorical, being put in simply to fix Malchus immovably in the narrative;§ when he charges that the account of Pilate's washing of his hands, sprung from a desire of Christians to make the innocence of Christ seem clear and certain;|| and in numerous other places, some of which have been touched upon under former topics, Strauss virtually accuses the sacred writers and early disciples of conscious falsehood. He thus falls back upon a scheme of infidelity which the advocates of the mythical theory are fond of decrying as obsolete, and as supplanted by their own more refined and charitable view.

Of the unwarrantable attempt to fix a contradiction which shall impair their credit, upon the Gospel writers, where no contradiction really exists, there is a multitude of examples in Strauss. Thus, in comparing the healing of the paralytic in the record of Matthew, (Matt. ix. 1 seq.), with the narrative of the same event in Mark and Luke, (Mark ii. 3 seq., Luke v. 18 seq.), he intimates that the two latter, in saying that a multitude came to Christ, start with an exaggeration of the simpler story in Matthew; although Matthew closes the account of the miracle with the words, "*and when the*

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\* Leben Jesu, B. II. S. 64.

† Leben Jesu, B. II. S. 371.

‡ Leben Jesu, B. II. S. 37.

† Leben Jesu, B. II. S. 122.

§ Leben Jesu, B. II. S. 475.

*multitude saw it, they marveled.*"\* It would seem no great inaccuracy in Luke and Mark to mention at the beginning what Matthew mentions at the end of the narrative. If one evangelist is more circumstantial than another, the additional matter is at once pronounced a later, fictitious addition. In the healing of the centurion's son, because Matthew abbreviates the incident, omitting to mention the messages sent by the centurion, these are at once set down as exaggerations of the original story.† As if a writer were bound, in all cases, to give details! The main points,—the faith of the centurion and the healing from a distance, are clearly presented in Matthew; and these are the essential points in the incident. On similar grounds the charge of exaggeration is brought against Mark and Luke, (Mark v. 22 seq., Luke viii. 41 seq.), on account of the narrative of the cure of the daughter of Jairus, which Matthew (Matt. ix. 18 seq.) also gives in an abbreviated form. Such criticism upon secular history would be scouted. Strauss labors hard to make out a contradiction between certain statements in John concerning Judas, (John xiii. 27–30), and the statement of the synoptical writers, that he had previously bargained with the priests; but John says nothing inconsistent with this. So Strauss would set the other evangelists in opposition to John, in reference to the statement of the latter, that Judas went out from the Supper, although the fact is that they say nothing about it, one way or the other. A baseless charge of contradiction is founded on the statement of John, that Christ bore his cross, and the statement of the other evangelists, that on the way to the place of crucifixion, it was laid upon a man named Simon.‡ It is a poor cause which requires such perverse interpretation to prop it up.§

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\* *Leben Jesu*, B. II. S. 503.

† *Leben Jesu*, B. II. S. 94 seq.

‡ *Leben Jesu*, B. II. S. 509.

§ It is important to notice a *petitio principii* which runs through Strauss's work. He is continually ascribing features in the Gospel narratives to the desire or tendency of the disciples "to glorify their Master." This tendency or desire is *assumed* without proof. Being thus arbitrarily assumed, it is freely used to throw discredit upon the narratives, while it is only upon the basis of the

X. The connecting of the various portions of the Gospel history with predictions and incidents which, it is alleged, served as a spur and model for the mythopœic faculty, is generally far-fetched and forced.

If Strauss fails in his negative work of proving the falsity of the New Testament history, his failure to account for the poetic construction of it, is not less signal. If Christ was to heal the sick, some degree of resemblance between his miracles and those wrought by the Old Testament prophets, was to be expected. Yet Strauss seldom finds a resemblance near enough to render the assertion plausible that one event could have stimulated the fancy to the production of the other. In various cases, where there is a palpable difficulty in applying his theory, he takes refuge in the arbitrary, unsupported affirmation that features originally belonging to the Gospel narrative have been effaced and other features substituted for them. In regard to other miraculous occurrences described in the Gospels, he is unable to fasten definitely upon anything which could have put the imagination of the disciples upon framing them. But, of course, one test of his theory must be its applicability to the details of the New Testament history.

The justice of the preceding remarks may be evinced by illustrations. Strauss makes the healing of the centurion's son a myth, founded on the healing of Naaman by the prophet Elisha, (2 Kings v. 8 seq.)\* But only in the one circumstance, that the prophet did not go out personally to meet Naaman, do the two miracles resemble each other; and even here there is the marked difference, that in the case of Naaman a message promising a cure was sent to the diseased person himself. Moreover, the centurion's son was a paralytic, while Naaman was cured of the more terrible disease of leprosy; but a leading canon of Strauss is that the messianic miracle will be an exaggerated copy of the Old Testament

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assumed falsehood of the narratives, that the existence of such a desire or tendency is supposed. That is to say, *x* is used to prove *y*, and *y* to prove *x*, before either *x* or *y* is shown to be true.

\* *Leben Jesu*, B. II. S. 8.

original. The healing of the withered hand (Matt. xii. 10 paral.) is said to be a fancy-copy of the healing of Jeroboam's hand, (1 Kings xiii. 6). But the prominent point, which would not have been forgotten, in the latter narrative, is the character of the king thus healed. He stretched out his hand unrighteously, and could not draw it back. For the miracle of calming the sea, Strauss vainly searches for some Old Testament parallel. He is obliged to fall back on passages, (Ps. cvi. 9, Nahum i. 4, Ex. xiv. 16, 21), all of which relate to the *drying up of the sea*.\* Whence the extraordinary deviation in the Gospel narrative? Strauss can think of no other solution than the fact that, being in a ship, Christ could not be well conceived of as making bare the bed of the sea! But if there was this difficulty, could not the myth-makers have taken care to place him in a more convenient position? The account of the miraculous draught of fishes in John, (c. xxi), is pronounced a mythical combination of Luke v. 4 seq., and Matt. xiv. 22 seq. But Strauss is embarrassed by falling into conflict with two of his own axioms, one of which is that the later account has most of miracle, and that in John, especially, the miraculous is carried to the highest point: whereas, in the case before us, John represents Peter as *swimming* to the shore, while, in the earlier narratives, he walked on the sea. The miracle of the transfiguration occasions Strauss great trouble. There is, indeed, the account of the shining of the face of Moses, although this was after his descent from the mountain, and the voice out of a cloud; but it happens that the chronology of this miracle of the transfiguration is so definitely fixed, the event is so connected with things before and after, that the historical character of the narrative cannot well be doubted.† For the miracle of the stater in the mouth of the fish, no antecedent prophecy or incident can be found. The same is true of the miracle of the healing of the ten lepers; and Strauss resorts to the supposition that a parable has here been mistaken for a fact. It is only by searching the

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\* Leben Jesu, B. II. S. 166.

† See Bleek's Synopt. Erkl. B. II. S. 56-57.

Old Testament and combining one scrap here with another there, as the necessities of each case demand, that Strauss is able to make any practical application of his theory.

We leave here the special criticism contained in Strauss's work. But there remain to be presented several considerations of a more general character.

XI. The mythical theory is inconsistent with a fair view of the temper and character of those immediately concerned in the founding of Christianity.

Christ chose twelve disciples to be constantly with him, in order that an authentic impression of his own character, and an authentic representation of his deeds and teaching might go forth to the world. We find them, even in Paul, designated as "the Twelve," and a marked distinction is accorded to them in the early written Apocalypse.\* The nature of their office, even if, contrary to all reason, the testimony of the Gospels were rejected, is made abundantly clear by those writings of Paul, which are acknowledged by the skeptical school to be genuine. Their function was *to testify* of Christ. Understanding their office, it was natural that, as Luke relates, they should feel called upon, after the defection of Judas, to fill up their original number by selecting a person who had "companied" with them through the public life of Christ, to be, as they said, "a witness with us of his resurrection."† A doubt of this last fact, in Paul's estimation, was equivalent to charging the apostles with being *false witnesses*.‡ The disciples were not enthusiasts, but sober-minded witnesses, distinctly aware that they held this position.

But the principal remark we have to make under this head

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\* 1 Cor. xv. 5, Rev. xxi. 14. The Revelation, it is allowed by the Tübingen School, was written about A. D. 70.

† Acts i. 21, 22. Passages adverting to this office of the apostles are, as we should expect, numerous in the history, given in the Acts, of their preaching. Among passages elsewhere to the same effect, are Luke i. 2, xxiv. 43, John xv. 27, 1 Peter v. 1, 1 Cor. xv. 15.

‡ 1 Cor. xv. 15.

strikes deeper. There is one quality which pervades the teaching and the religion of Christ, and that is holiness. This attribute is, also, a marked element of the Old Testament religion, in distinction from the religions of the Gentile world. The Sermon on the Mount touches the deepest chords of moral feeling. It speaks to the conscience. They who were drawn to Christ strongly enough to persist in following him, were brought face to face with moral obligations and with the infinite consequences depending on moral tempers. But holiness must affect the intellectual operations. It introduces the principle of truthfulness into the soul. It puts an end to the vagaries of fancy. It opens the eye to realities. Holiness becomes, in this way, the safeguard against self-delusion. Now, in the case of the master himself, it is irrational to think that he whose holiness was free from the alloy of sin, could cherish a miserable, self-exalting illusion concerning himself. Could that holiness which rebuked the least admixture of sin in the motives and spirit of his dearest followers, be so mixed with the wildest enthusiasm? His disciples, not the twelve alone, but all who were willing to incur the peril and the odium of permanently attaching themselves to his cause, must have partaken of his spirit. The distinction of good and evil, of truth and falsehood, was everything in their eyes. The comparison of the beauty-loving Greek, with the truth-loving Hebrew, even when we are treating of an earlier age, involves an evident fallacy. Much more is the comparison of the Hebrew, on whose ear not only the decalogue but the holy doctrines and precepts of Christ had fallen, with the Greek of a primitive age, fitted only to mislead. In the New Testament writings, we breathe an atmosphere of truth and holiness. We are in contact with men who feel the solemnity of existence. We are continually impressed with the tremendous issues depending on the right use of the powers and faculties of the mind. We are among those who are solicitous, above all things, to be found faithful. Is it an error to expect from the holy a clearer discernment of truth? Is it an error to suppose that holiness clarifies the vision? That holiness will save men from confounding the dreams of fancy with fact?

If this be an error, then the nature of man was made to be an instrument of deception and delusion. Then we must deny that "if the eye be single, the whole body shall be full of light."

Whoever looks into the Gospels will see that the pardon of sin is the great blessing promised and sought. It was they who craved this blessing, who came to Christ, and remained believers, when those who had followed from a lower motive forsook him. But the sense of unworthiness, and enthusiasm, do not coexist. The feeling of guilt may engender unfounded fears, and run into superstition; but nothing is more foreign from that play of the imagination which is implied in the theory we are opposing. That conviction of personal unworthiness, growing out of self-judgment and moral thoughtfulness, which led men to Christ, is wholly averse from enthusiasm. The desire to see miracles was not the deepest feeling in those who adhered to Christ. Rather was it the desire of forgiveness and salvation. The miracles were a welcome proof that Christ had "power on earth to forgive sins;" but the moral and spiritual benefit was uppermost in their esteem. They stood on a plane altogether above that occupied by a people in their intellectual childhood when the higher faculties are in abeyance, and the understanding is under the absolute sway of fancy and the craving for the marvelous.

XII. Christ and Christianity receive no adequate explanation from the skeptical theory.

This theory makes the character of Christ, as depicted in the New Testament, to be largely the product of the imagination of his disciples. The conception of that character, so excelling everything known before or since, combining all perfections in an original and unique, yet self-consistent, whole, the unapproached model of excellence for the ages that were to follow, must be accounted for. The features which the skeptical theory must tear from the portraiture are essential. Take them away, and there is left only a blurred, mutilated image of one in whom good and evil, truth and pitiful error, were strangely mixed. If the Christ of the Gospels, says

Julius Müller, be the creation of the disciples, if from their souls emanated this glorious and perfect conception, we must, then, revere *them* as the redeemers of the world!

But Christianity—this mighty and enduring movement in the world's history—how is that explained by the Straussian theory? The New Testament writings bear witness on every page to the depth and power of the movement. It was a moral and spiritual revolution, reaching down to the principles of thought and action, and leading, thus, of necessity to a transformation of the entire life of men. It was literally *a new creation in Christ Jesus*. In the case of the Apostle Paul, for example, we see that there was not merely a belief in the messianic office of Jesus. But Paul has become a new man, in the sentiments, purposes, motives, hopes, which constitute his inward being. A community sprung up, in whom old things had passed away and all things had become new. And how shall we explain the effect of this movement upon history for so many centuries? It will not do to say that the Amazon, rolling its broad stream for thousands of miles, and spreading fertility along its banks, is all owing to a shower of rain one spring morning. The mind demands a cause bearing some just proportion to the effect. There are movements which affect only the surface of society. There are movements which produce a wide commotion at the outset, but are soon heard of no more. But Christianity is no superficial, no temporary, no short-lived movement. On the contrary, its beginning is humble and noiseless. Even the most impressive natural phenomena, which are yet transitory, are no adequate symbol of the deep and permanent operation of Christianity. It is not like the tempest which, after a day or a week, is found to have spent its power. It is rather to be likened to the great, silent force of gravitation, exerting, age after age, its unexhausted energy. Now this movement, beyond what is true of almost every other in history, emanates from a single person. Whatever the previous preparation, whatever the attendant circumstances were, Christianity proceeds from Christ. The force that must lie back of this prodigious movement, inheres in him. He introduced and set in motion the energies that



have wrought the whole effect. Let the reader try to form an estimate of this effect, in its length and breadth, as far as history has yet revealed it, and then turn to the solution of it offered by the skeptical theory. It was all produced, we are told, by a weak young man—an untaught, Galilean Rabbi, who brought under his influence for one, or two, or three years, a few unlearned Jewish laborers! We say “a weak young man,” for only great weakness or great depravity can explain the monstrous delusion that is imputed to him. Now, is this an adequate solution? In view of the power which has been exerted by Christianity to subvert rival and long established systems of belief, to command the homage of the highest intellect, to reform and mould society, in view also of the adaptations of Christianity to the human mind and heart, of its harmony with natural religion while providing for great wants which reason discovers but cannot supply, an eloquent writer has justly said: “it seems no more possible that the system of Christianity should have been originated or sustained by man, than it does that the ocean should have been made by him.”\*

XIII. The Straussian theory is connected with a false and demoralizing scheme of philosophy.

At the conclusion of his work, Strauss describes the apparently ruthless and destructive character of his own criticism. He confesses that in appearance he is robbing humanity of its chief treasure. But all this he pretends to be able to restore in another form. Christianity is the popular expression of philosophical truth. This last he has no intention of sacrificing, but he will return to the believer all that he has wrested from him, though he will return it in a different form. Proceeding to inquire wherein lies the substance and power of Christianity, Strauss examines the various definitions given by the older Rationalism, and discards them. It is not as a collection of ethical precepts, it is not as a legal system, he holds, that Christianity has its characteristic quality and power over mankind. This distinguishing quality and power inhere in Christianity as

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\* Evidences of Christianity, by President Hopkins, Section VII.

a religious system, and proceed from the great central doctrine of a union of God and man in Jesus Christ. This branch of his discussion is carried forward with a penetrating analysis. How, then, does he propose to modify Christianity? What is the philosophical truth underlying this popular conception of the unity of divinity and humanity in Jesus Christ? The real truth, answers Strauss, is, not that God and man are one, or God becomes man, in a single individual, but rather in mankind collectively taken. That is to say, God is in each individual, in each the infinite becomes the finite, yet not fully or exclusively in any one,—but for the indwelling and full expression of the infinite, all the members of the race are required. In plainer language, there is no Divine Person, with a self-consciousness separate from the consciousness of men. There is no being higher than man who can hear prayer. If a man prays, he prays to himself. God is man, and man is God. Jesus Christ is divine, so far and in the same sense as every other individual of the race is God. Men are the transitory products of the evolution of impersonal being. Freedom, sin, accountability, personal immortality are merged and lost in an all-engulfing necessity. Such is the apotheosis of man and denial of God which constitutes the philosophy of Pantheism, and which we are invited to accept as an equivalent for the living, personal God, and the incarnate Redeemer! The demoralizing tendency of this necessitarian and atheistic philosophy is obvious to every serious mind. Strauss gives a specimen of the fruits of his philosophy by no means fitted to recommend it, when he elaborately justifies the continued preaching of the facts of Christianity, including the resurrection of Christ, by those who have espoused his interpretation of them and, therefore, disbelieve in their historical truth. We can scarcely suppose that Strauss is in earnest in pronouncing his speculative dogmas the sum and substance of Christian doctrine. He is rather paying a decorous outward respect to history, in which Christianity has performed so mighty a part, and to the church whose faith he has assailed. But let it be observed that his work is an attack upon the truths of Natural as well as of Revealed Religion. That God is a Person, that man is

free and accountable, that sin is the voluntary and guilty perversion of human nature, are denied not less than the miracles attending the establishment of Christianity. The postulates, on which the need of revelation is founded, being thus put aside, it is natural that Christianity itself and the miracles which attest it, should receive no credence. A clear perception of the primary truths which God has written upon the heart, might have induced in Strauss an appreciation of the Christian system and its founder, such as led Thomas Arnold to feel that miracles are but the natural accompaniments of Christian revelation; accompaniments, the absence of which would have been far more wonderful than their presence.\*

NOTE UPON THE CRITICAL OPINIONS OF THEODORE PARKER.

Theodore Parker's theory, as to the New Testament narratives of miracles, did not differ materially from that of Strauss. Mr. Weiss, in his recently published life of Parker, has attempted to strike a distinction between the two theories;† but his remarks are founded on a partial misapprehension of the position of Strauss. He, as well as Parker, pronounces Christ a man of preëminent excellence. Parker agreed with Strauss on the essential point that the New Testament narratives do not spring from dishonesty, as the former infidelity supposed, but are "mythical stories."‡ Parker, also, seems to have adopted the critical theories of the Tübingen school, respecting the origin and date of the Gospels, and generally in respect to the canon of the New Testament. His changes of opinion were remarkable. In the review of Strauss's second edition, which he published in April, 1840,§ he takes a tone of opposition to the author, implies his own belief in the resurrection of Christ and in other miracles, and welcomes the partial admission, which Strauss then made, (but afterwards recalled), of

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\* Arnold's Lectures on History, Lecture II.

† Weiss's Life of Theodore Parker, Vol. I. p. 122, seq.

‡ Parker's Discourses of Religion, p. 234.

§ Christian Examiner, Volume xxviii.

the genuineness of John's Gospel. In May, of the next following year, Parker delivered the noted sermon in which he expressed his disbelief in the miracles. Afterwards, in his Discourses of Religion, and elsewhere, he adopts the Tübingen notions concerning the Gospels and the Canon. "The Gospel of John," he says, "is of small historical value, if of any at all."\* Nothing can be more loose and unsatisfactory than Parker's mode of handling the historical questions connected with the origin of the Christian Church and of the evangelical histories. He dilates upon the prevalence of credulity and superstition in the world, upon the medieval legends, and kindred topics, and then refers his readers to a crowd of authors whose merits are as diverse as their opinions. To talk after this manner is simply to shroud in mist the most momentous of historical questions. Without any wish to disparage Mr. Parker, (for he was not without strong qualities of intellect as well as lovable qualities of character), we must say that we have been surprised in looking through his works to find his historical criticism so destitute of scientific value. We observe that various positions of the Tübingen school are reproduced, but they are not sustained by any careful, well digested learning. The Gospel miracles are summarily and dogmatically discarded as being incredible, which seems the more singular since Parker, unlike Strauss, professed to hold that miracles are possible.

We are moved to subjoin a word upon Mr. Parker's theological principles. He finds "the absolute religion" in the principle of love to God and man. Now, it was no secret, before Mr. Parker's time, that goodness consists essentially in loving God and man. This announcement is no discovery to any one who has attentively read the New Testament. But why should Mr. Parker take an attitude of hostility to Christianity as generally understood? In answering this question we shall state what we conceive to be the fundamental errors in his system.

In the first place, Mr. Parker did not firmly and consistent-

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\* Discourses of Religion, p. 258.

ly adhere to his theism. He not unfrequently slides into a sentimental Pantheism. Especially, in treating of the origin of sin in the race and of the nature of sin, he meets the Pantheist half-way. The degradation and superstition of mankind are held to be not so much *moral*—voluntary—in their origin, as they are necessary and physical; and the sin of the individual is an inevitable step and vanishing element in his progress. To one entertaining such ideas, the holiness of God could be an object of only the feeblest, most unpractical faith. The earnest conception of the moral government of God, must, of course, be wanting. Of one side of the Scriptures, and of one side of the all-sided excellence of Christ, there could be no just appreciation. Hence the abundant declamation about “a revengeful God,” and the criticism of the Saviour’s character, which is so repugnant to all reverential feeling, and serves only to betray the narrowness and defectiveness of the critic’s own standard of moral perfection.

In the second place, there was obviously little room in Mr. Parker’s scheme for the feeling of personal unworthiness and sinfulness. It is amazing that a man who was more or less conversant with deep-thinking writers, like Pascal and Luther, should have taken the shallow views of the character and needs of man, which Mr. Parker cherished. He speaks of the Christian doctrine of sin in terms of derision. As a matter of course, he saw no need of redemption coming from a supernatural source. In a word, he received “the law,” but not so practically and consistently as to discern with Paul that “the law worketh wrath.” Hence, he supposed himself to have soared above Christianity, when, in reality, he had only learned, and imperfectly learned, its alphabet. Mr. Parker’s idea of absolute religion is of no more avail to save men from their sins, than a definition of health to cure an obstinate disease. St. Paul’s reply to him would be, “*we know that the law is spiritual, but I am carnal, sold under sin;*” “*for what I would, that do I not, but what I hate, that I do.*”\* Who can avoid discerning that the Christianity of the New Testament

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\* Romans vii. 14, 15.

is an immeasurably deeper and loftier system than Mr. Parker's substitute for it?

NOTE UPON RENAN'S LIFE OF CHRIST.

Renan has followed Strauss in an attempt to eliminate the miracles from the life of Christ. On another page, we have briefly pointed out the weakness of the structure which his fancy has raised out of materials furnished in the Gospels. It may be well to connect with the review of Strauss a few additional remarks upon this more recent work. Renan, as far as he has any philosophy, agrees in this particular with Strauss. For Renan lays down with equal assurance,—we had almost said, effrontery, the atheistic maxim of the impossibility of miracles. Like his German predecessor, he is a Pantheist, knowing no Divine Person, no sovereign Will from which nature sprung, and to which nature is subject.

But Renan, unlike Strauss, admits the substantial genuineness of the Canonical Gospels. This concession, however creditable to his candor, is fatal to his argument. Notwithstanding his inability to appreciate the discourses in John, and the other difficulties which he brings forward by way of criticism upon this Gospel, he, nevertheless, acknowledges the historic value that belongs to it. The latter part of the Gospel, a special object of assault by the Tübingen critics, Renan considers to be the one consecutive, and, in the main, satisfactory description of the closing events in the career of Jesus. In various other passages in this Gospel, for example the fourth chapter, giving the interview of Christ with the Samaritan woman, Renan discerns the convincing marks of historical truth. Unfounded as are many of his remarks upon the fourth Gospel, and upon the others also, his treatment of this topic is, to us, the most acceptable portion of his work. His views contradict, and successfully contradict, the positions of the Tübingen school; and to none will they be more distasteful than to Strauss.

But the concessions of Renan cut him off from the use of the mythical theory in accounting for the narratives of mira-

cles. This theory, at least, admits of only a partial application. Hence he is obliged to fall back upon the old, forsaken assumption of cheating on the part of the founder of Christianity and his chosen disciples. This member of the French Institute can find no more reasonable explanation of the origin of the Christian religion than the theory that the disciples got up miracles, like common jugglers, and that their Master became, rather reluctantly, to be sure, a party to the fraud! We could hardly believe our eyes when we read the suggestion that the raising of Lazarus was a pious fraud, in which the two sisters, and all the parties concerned, took part, the motive being the desire to produce an impression upon the unbelieving Jews! It was not the offensive character of such a suggestion that struck us with surprise; for the ascription of dishonesty to the Saviour and the apostles is no new thing; but that a supposition so thoroughly exploded, so long denounced alike by infidel and believer, should be again dragged from its grave and held up as the last conclusion of *science*!

Renan's work, therefore, regarded from a scientific point of view, has the effect of an argument for the Christian faith and for the verity of the Christian miracles. For the alternative to which we are brought by his discussion is that of believing the reporters or charging them with fraud. We have either truth or gross cheating. Such is the real alternative, and Renan has unintentionally done a service to the Christian church by impaling unbelief upon this dilemma.

The impossibility of forming a consistent conception of Christ, when the supernatural is rejected, is strikingly shown by the abortive essay of Renan. The most incongruous assertions are made concerning Christ. Now he is credited with sublime attributes of intellect and heart, declared to be the greatest of the sons of men, a character of colossal proportions, and now he is charged with a vanity that is flattered with the adulation of the simple people who followed him; is accused of weakly yielding to the enthusiasm of his disciples who were anxious that he should be reputed a miracle-worker and is said to have given way to a gloomy resentment and to a morbid, half-insane relish for persecution and martyrdom.

He is thought—this highest exemplar of mental and moral excellence, of wisdom and goodness, that has ever appeared or ever will appear on earth—to have not only cherished the wildest delusion concerning himself, his rank in the universe, and his power to revolutionize the Jewish nation, but he is also said to have declared against civil government and the family ties, and thus to have attempted a movement, most impracticable and mischievous, for the virtual disorganization and overthrow of society! Renan describes under the name of Jesus an impossible being. Although incompatible actions and traits are imputed to him without necessity, even upon the naturalistic theory, yet the prime, the insurmountable obstacle in the way of the task which Renan has undertaken, lies in the impossibility, so long as the supernatural elements of the narrative are rejected, of attributing to Jesus the excellence which undeniably belongs to him.

The special criticism in Renan's work, if not sophistical like much of the criticism of Strauss, may be justly termed lawless. Starting with his unproved assumption that the canonical Gospels are legendary narratives, he seems to be governed in his beliefs and disbeliefs, in his acceptance and his rejection of their statements, by no fixed rules. This part of the narrative is accepted, and that thrown out, when frequently there is no assignable reason beyond the critic's arbitrary will. But in styling Renan's critical procedure lawless, we had chiefly in mind his exegesis of the New Testament, and in particular his interpretations of the teaching of Christ. It is often true that while these interpretations are in some degree plausible, they are unsound and false. The effect of them, not unfrequently, is to foist upon Christianity and its author doctrines which he never taught. The reader must permit us to vindicate this judgment by some illustrations. Witness the mode in which Renan seeks to support the false assertion that the Saviour enjoined poverty and celibacy. We may first observe, however, that the most which the Roman Catholic interpreters have pretended to find in the Gospels, is a *recommendation* of these monastic virtues. They are placed by the Roman Catholic theology among the *Evangelica consilia*,—as



not being commanded, not essential to salvation, but as qualities of the higher type of Christian excellence. The charge that the renunciation of property is required, as a condition of salvation, finds no support in the invitations of Christ addressed to the poor, in common with all who were in suffering, nor in the implication, which was the actual fact, that a spiritual susceptibility, not usually found in the more favored classes, belonged to them. Confronted by a fact like the discipleship of the wealthy Zaccheus, of whom no surrender of his property was required, Renan says that Christ made an exception in favor of rich men who were odious to the ruling classes! As if Jesus could think that the sin of possessing wealth was washed out when the rich man happened to be unpopular! Renan's perverse interpretation of the Saviour's rebukes of covetousness and an ungenerous temper towards the poor, he supports by appealing to the parable of the Rich Man and Lazarus. "Afterwards," he says, "this was called the parable of the 'wicked rich man.' But it is purely and simply the parable of the 'rich man.'" As if the rich man were sent to a place of torment for being rich! His desire, we must infer, to return to the earth "to testify" to his five brethren, was a wish to warn them not to possess property! But what of the response of Abraham: "if they hear not Moses and the Prophets, neither will they be persuaded, though one rose from the dead!" Even Renan will not contend that the *Old Testament* considers the possession of property a sin. He would be much more apt to dilate on the earthly character of the rewards pronounced there to the pious. Renan derives from Matt. xix. 10-13, a law of celibacy, instead of the lawfulness of celibacy when spontaneously practised, as in the case of Paul, for the sake of greater freedom in promoting the progress of the kingdom of God,—which is the real sense of the text. He is even disposed to follow Origen in the revolting absurdity of literally construing the phraseology (Matt. xix. 12) by which the Saviour describes the condition of celibacy. In the context of this very passage, the Saviour implicitly puts honor upon marriage. It was at a wedding that he first manifested forth his glory. The married state and the family are held

sacred in the Gospel. Yet Renan does not hesitate to found upon the injunction to forsake father and mother, in obedience to the higher law of Christ, the charge that he required, as an indispensable condition of discipleship, the rupture of all the ties of kindred! These preposterous interpretations are refuted by numerous places in the Gospels themselves and by the whole history of the primitive church. But these inconvenient passages it is easy for Renan to ignore or summarily cast out. Other examples of arbitrary and unfounded assertion in Renan's work are the statement that the Eucharist originated long before the last supper; that Judas was led to betray Christ out of jealousy of the other disciples; that John exhibits in his Gospel a feeling of rivalry toward Peter,—though Renan must have observed that Peter and John are frequently brought into conjunction in the Acts as well as in John's Gospel; that Christ had not the least idea of a soul as separate from the body,—as if he did not speak of "*both soul and body*," and imply the same distinction in a hundred passages besides; that Jesus, for the moment, thought of using force to prevent his arrest,—an interpretation, which, if it came from anybody but a professed orientalist, would be held to indicate a singular incapacity to understand the tropical method of instruction, which was habitual with Christ, and, in this case, was employed to impress on the disciples the change in their situation, involving dangers to which they had not before been exposed. These examples of baseless criticism might be indefinitely multiplied.

Both Strauss and Renan represent that Christ and the disciples, ascribing everything to the agency of God, were conscious of no distinction between the natural and the supernatural, the normal and the miraculous. But the statement is wholly contrary to the truth. Christ says that God makes the sun to shine and the rain to fall: does he mean, or did he imagine, that the shining of the sun, or a shower of rain, is a miracle? There is no need of argument to show that he did not,—that he made the same distinction which we make.\*

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\* See, on this point, the Essay of Julius Müller, *de mirac. Jesu Christi natura*, etc., p. 33, N.

There is nothing formidable in Renan's attack upon Christianity. It is too unscientific in its whole method to make a lasting impression. In comparison with the work of Strauss, it is of little account. And we doubt not that the ultimate effect of the commotion it has excited, and of the examination it must undergo, will be to exhibit more impressively than ever the difficulty of overthrowing the proofs of Revelation.

## ARTICLE II.—THE ATONEMENT AS A REVELATION.

WE propose to present our views on this subject briefly in a series of independent propositions; merely premising that by Atonement we mean that work of Christ which is the basis of Divine forgiveness.

## PROPOSITION I.

*The Atonement is not confined to the Death of Christ, but extends throughout his Entire Humiliation.*

If the atonement be confined to the moment of death, not only will the sorrows of Gethsemane be excluded, but all the sufferings of the cross. This would be absurd. Where, then, shall we set the limit? Christ's earthly history was a unit from the manger to the tomb. His life, commencing in infinite humiliation, ever pointed to his death. Taking the cross as the centre, we must include the whole circle of sorrow and humiliation which ended in death.

Again: Since all earthly sufferings are, in the case of men, included in "the curse of the law," and since Christ endured these sufferings, they must be included in that curse which he bore to make atonement. Otherwise he endured one part of the curse, viz. death, to make atonement, and, another part, viz. suffering, for no such reason.

Again: The Scriptures do not confine the atonement to Christ's death, nor to the sufferings immediately connected with death. That they do not confine it to the moment of death, is apparent from the various forms of expressions used. Christ's atoning work is referred to not only as *dying*, but as *crucifixion*, *shedding blood*, *being sacrificed*, *bearing our sins in his own body on the tree*. All these expressions imply a scene of more or less prolonged suffering. But the Scriptures do not confine the atonement absolutely to the death scene. I Peter ii. 21: "Christ also *suffered for us*, leaving us an example that ye should follow his steps." Heb. ii. 17:

"Wherefore in *all things* it behooved him to be made like unto his brethren . . . . to make *reconciliation* [*εἰς τὴν ἱλίσσασθαι*] *for the sins* of the people." "By the obedience of one shall many be made righteous." Rom. v. 19. Great prominence is indeed given to Christ's death, but this prominence does not exclude all previous suffering; it rather includes it, as the greater the less. Christ's death was the lowest point in his humiliation, the most astonishing fact of his earthly career, the consummation of his atoning work, and the most glorious exhibition of his character and love. To say "Christ died," was to give, in a word, the whole history of infinite condescension.

The Scriptures never hint at any contrast between Christ's death and his previous life. In interest, his death absorbs his life. It is the focus in which all the rays of his glory unite. But there is no intimation that his life accomplished one thing and his death another. His Death is sharply distinguished from his Resurrection and Intercession, but never from his earthly life, for, in truth, his life was but a part of the process of sacrifice; it was the approach to the altar, the journey of Isaac to Moriah. This our Lord intimates not only in the agony of the garden, (who dare separate *this* from the atonement?) but even in the early part of his ministry, when he quoted from the great Atonement-prophecy, "Himself took our infirmities and bare our sicknesses," and applied the words to himself at that time.

#### PROPOSITION II.

*That which is especially revealed in the Atonement, is the Character of God.*

Rom. iii. 25: "Whom God hath set forth to be a propitiation through faith in his blood to *declare his righteousness*." Rom. i. 17: "For therein [in the gospel] is the righteousness of God *revealed*." Rom. v. 8: "God *commendeth his love* toward us in that . . . . Christ died for us." Jno. i. 18: (written after Christ's death), "The only begotten Son which is in the bosom of the Father, he hath *declared* him."

## PROPOSITION III.

*The Divinity of Christ is fundamental to the revelation of God by the Atonement.*

There are revelations which do not require the Divinity of the person employed to reveal, but in this respect the Atonement revelation differs from all others. "God who at sundry times and in divers manners spake in time past unto the fathers by the prophets, hath in these last days spoken unto us by his Son . . . . the brightness of his glory and the express image of his person." Heb. i. 1-3.

The Divinity of Christ is essential,

1. Passively: That Christ might be an infinite gift for God to bestow. He "spared not his own Son." No other gift could reveal the *heart* of God.

2. Actively: That in all his actions and sufferings he might directly express the character of God. Other persons may exhibit qualities of God's character to a certain extent; Jesus Christ exhibits God himself. "He that hath seen me hath seen the Father." John xiv. 9.

## PROPOSITION IV.

*The Humanity of Christ is the organ by which God is revealed in the Atonement.*

Just as a revelation by words must be clothed in human language, so this living Revelation must be clothed in humanity.

This was necessary,

1. Passively: That Christ might be open to all those influences which *test character*, and are the means of *expression* before men; such as pain, temptation, persecution, death.

2. Actively: That Christ might communicate with men, and impress himself upon them in every way in which one man can impress another. "The Word was *made flesh and dwelt among us, and we beheld his glory*, the glory as of the only begotten of the Father." John i. 14.

## PROPOSITION V.

*Christ's death was providential, not miraculous.*

This needs no special proof, for the plain record of Jesus' life forbids every other supposition. God might have erected, without hands, an altar on Calvary and have laid his Son thereon, to be consumed with fire from heaven; but he chose instead that Jesus should die by the hands of wicked men in a way that could not be prevented, at the last moment, without a miracle. If Christ's death had been miraculous, *i. e.* by a direct and open interposition of Heaven, it would have been, in its significance, dissociated from his life; but as it is, we see the same unbroken chain of Providence connecting his whole earthly history, and the same life-language throughout for us to interpret.

## PROPOSITION VI.

*The Atonement is a revelation of Justice.*

God set forth Christ as a propitiation "to declare his righteousness." Rom. iii. 25. "God's righteousness" must mean the righteousness or justice which belongs to himself and his moral government; that which he possesses and requires. This righteousness may be declared either by a system of law exclusively, [*ἐκ, διὰ νόμου*], by enforcing the law upon all; or by a system of faith [*ἐκ, διὰ πίστεως*] in which Jesus, "the express image of his person," takes the place of law, and faith in him takes the place of sinless obedience.

Christ in the Atonement reveals God's justice or righteousness,

1. By his perfect character, tested as it was by his humiliation and death. Does God by forgiving sin exhibit less love of right or of his law? This question is answered by the life of Christ. Behold the law of God carried out in its minutest demand, and widest comprehensiveness, and sublimest spirit, under the assaults of Satan, the persecution of men, and the pains of death; and all this by one who exchanged the glory

of heaven for the degradation of earth on purpose to do it. This gives God's own estimate of his law. The prompt and perfect obedience of every human being could not honor the law so much as this one perfect life. The freest pardon cannot now cast reproach on God's love of right. He has not only made a perfect law, but has, at infinite expense, exemplified it.

2. By his consent to the penalty of God's law. All through life and in death he suffered. As the death threatened to Adam included all the processes of pain by which it was reached, so was Christ's death the consummation of his earthly suffering. And how came he into that suffering? It belonged to that humanity which he had assumed. He was "in the likeness of sinful flesh." Rom. viii. 3. And how came it upon humanity? It was the penalty of sin. Jesus then gave the highest conceivable endorsement of the justice of that penalty which was not lightened to smooth the pathway of the Eternal Son. This world was a Sodom under the storm of fire from heaven. Christ could have dispelled the storm and saved the sufferers by his power, if the punishment were not deserved. Instead of this he bared his own head to its flames, and died *with* us as well as *for* us. No higher testimony could be given both by the Father and the Son to the justice of the penalty. The prompt and full punishment of every human being would not be so striking an affirmation that what the law denounces is just. God not only ordained a severe penalty, but by infinite self-sacrifice re-affirmed it.

3. By his revelation of man's guilt. God condemns the race as deserving of his wrath. He never will withdraw the charge, but man refuses to admit its justice. Christ comes as the touchstone of human character. Men, as if to prove that no crime is too great for them, crucify the Son of God. "If I had not done among them the works which none other man did, they had not had sin; but now have they both seen and hated both me and my Father." Jno. xv. 24. Human nature is exposed in all the depth and blackness of its guilt, and God is vindicated in his just denunciations of man. See Ps. li. 4.



## PROPOSITION VII.

*The Atonement is a revelation of Love.*

This revelation is made,

1. By Christ's fellowship with us. "The Word was made flesh and dwelt among us." Only the greatest love could have assumed such an alliance with sinful and suffering humanity; an alliance extending to society, sympathy, and very nature.

2. By his active benevolence. In Christ God speaks to us not in human language merely, but in a human life. "God hath spoken unto us by . . . . . the express image of his person." Every act of beneficence, and every kindly word of the Saviour, were God's exhibition of his love to us sinners.

3. Chiefly by his sufferings and death, and this in two ways:

(a). By his remaining on earth in full view of the pains of death, when he might at any time have ascended to glory. He was "the good shepherd" who stayed by the flock when the wolf came, and rather than flee from them, he gave his life for the sheep. "Having loved his own which were in the world, he loved them unto the end." Jno. xiii. 1.

(b). By freely enduring an ignominious death, in order that the *justice* of God might be fully revealed, and the sinner saved. He was to be a propitiation. His work in the interest of justice was not finished till he had taken the lowest possible step in humiliation, and had tasted the peculiar curse of him "that hangeth on a tree." Death was the last and greatest test of love. "Greater love hath no man than this." Infinite love could do no more. "God commendeth his love towards us in that while we were yet sinners Christ died for us." Rom. v. 8.

## PROPOSITION VIII.

*The Scriptures give no other philosophy of the Atonement than this, that it reveals the character of God.*

We find three classes of passages in the word of God on the subject of the Atonement.

1. Passages which state the bare fact of Christ's coming and death in behalf of sinners. E. g. "The Son of man is come to save that which was lost." Matt. xviii. 11. "Christ died for our sins." 1 Cor. xv. 3.

2. Passages which represent Christ as our *substitute, ransom,* and *propitiation*. E. g. "Who his own self bare our sins in his own body on the tree." 1 Pet. ii. 24. "Christ hath redeemed us from the curse of the law being made a curse for us." Gal. iii. 13. "Who gave himself a ransom for us." 1 Tim. ii. 6. "He is the propitiation for our sins." 1 Jno. ii. 2.

3. Passages which give the purpose of the Atonement, and its relation to God's character. E. g. "Christ died for all, that they which live should not henceforth live unto themselves." 2 Cor. v. 15. "To declare his righteousness that he might be just, and the justifier of him which believeth in Jesus." Rom. iii. 26.

Now, which of these classes contains the philosophy of the Atonement? Not the first; its texts simply state a great and glorious *fact*, fixing our minds on the *Person* and the chief *act* of the Atonement.

The passages of the second class state a deeper and more mysterious fact, but they contain no explanation of it. They declare that Christ's death is effectual in releasing us from the curse of the law, the curse passing from us to him. But the question on the Atonement is, *On what principle* does the curse pass from the guilty to the innocent? *How* does Christ's death avert our eternal death? This vicariousness, so far from being an explanation of the atonement, is itself the chief thing to be explained. It is a special case, not a general principle, and must be referred to general principles, or there can be no philosophy on the subject.

Equally plain is it that the expressions "ransom" and "propitiation" do not show *why* God accepts such a ransom, nor *how* he is propitiated.

Turning to the third class, we find some passages which speak of the purpose of the atonement as terminating in the *character of man*. These are irrelevant to our present inquiry, for we seek an explanation of the basis on which *God*

offers pardon, and commences the work of redemption in man. We are brought, then, to this great and glorious text, Rom. iii. 25, 26: "Whom God hath set forth to be a propitiation through faith in his blood, to declare the righteousness of God for [on account of] the remission of sins that are past, through the forbearance of God; to declare, I say, at this time his righteousness that he might be just and the justifier of him which believeth in Jesus."

This brings us below substitution and discloses the principle on which the mere fact of substitution is based. Whatever obscurity may rest on portions of this passage, it states the following clearly, and repeats it, that *the thing to be accomplished by the Atonement was some special manifestation of God's righteousness or justice*. This being done, all that was necessary for the Divine forgiveness was done.

But *how* is God's righteousness manifested by the work of Christ? In the absence of a direct inspired answer to this question, common sense requires that we ascertain *Who Christ is*, and what facts in his earthly history *actually manifest* God's righteousness, these facts being interpreted in accordance with Christ's real nature and with the laws of human expression. See Propositions III, IV, and VI. We need go no farther than this: *The Incarnate Deity subjecting Himself to a complete Earthly experience*, to find the highest possible manifestation of God's character in the Atonement. With this manifestation God is satisfied, and justice is satisfied because gloriously revealed. This is the Atonement as it terminates in God. Without such a manifestation God would not be propitiated, i. e. would not be willing to pardon, because pardon, unaccompanied by a special manifestation of his righteousness, would imply an abandonment of righteousness. If this manifestation were made by the punishment of *some*, or of a *majority*, as in human governments, then, besides the dishonor cast on justice, a free offer of pardon would be impossible, i. e. the gospel would be impossible. How, then, can it be made? By the Atonement, which is a manifestation of God's justice or righteousness as full as could be made by the punishment of all men, and infinitely more glorious.

Punishment shows that perfect Justice is on the throne of the Universe; the atonement shows the same. Punishment shows this by an act of power; atonement by an act of self-sacrifice. Punishment shows it by inflicting suffering; atonement by receiving suffering. Punishment shows it by inference from the past; atonement by a direct vision of God. Punishment can do no more than affirm the eternal alliance between justice and the supreme Power; the atonement does more, it embodies this justice in a Personal revelation, and a living Example, and thus makes it a restoring power in humanity.

This brings us to the Atonement as it operates in man. A new righteousness is attained, and "the end of the law" secured "through faith." They that are drawn by the atonement are drawn to a revelation of perfect righteousness, and will become righteous. They that are not drawn by the atonement abandon themselves to God's revelation by punishment. And how are men drawn to Christ? By the revelation of Love. "The love of Christ constraineth us."

Here, then, is the atonement in its power with God and with man. It is God's great Revelation. God humbles himself in infinite self-sacrifice, that he may reveal himself; and Christ is the revealing Word.

#### REMARKS.

1. The foregoing theory gives adequate scope for the Divinity of Christ. He was not divine merely to add dignity to his sufferings and death, but he suffered and died that he might reveal his Godhead. This seems to be an end worthy of Christ's humiliation. Without the Divinity of Christ the Atonement amounts to nothing, because it reveals nothing.

2. It regards the Incarnation as involving in itself all the facts of the Atonement, instead of being merely preparatory to the Atonement.

3. It makes the *gospel history* the basis of explaining the Atonement, instead of relying mainly on figurative representations of that history.

4. According to this theory, Substitution is not legal, (O. S.), nor executive, (N. S.), but historical only, or providential; it being a complex fact, to be analyzed into its particular facts. Christ was both our Partner and Substitute; Partner in the temporal curse of the law, but Substitute in respect to the eternal curse, because, as a matter of fact, his bearing of the temporal curse releases us from the eternal curse. But this explains nothing; it is the thing *to be explained*. Some try to turn this *fact* into a *legal principle*; others resolve it into a display of the executive's *disposition to punish*, while others deny it to be a fact, by eliminating the whole idea of curse and penalty from Christ's life.

5. Christ's sufferings were not exhaustively penal, (O. S.), nor demonstratively penal, (N. S.), nor incidental and non-essential, but *involved in the incarnation*, and absolutely *essential* as means of revelation. They *endorse* the penalty, but neither exhaust nor exhibit it.

6. In respect to the propitiatory efficacy of the Atonement, pardon is dependent not on penal satisfaction, (O. S.), nor on mere sustained authority, (N. S.), but on the satisfaction of self-revelation, or such a *complete exhibition of God's righteous character*, as forever settles the question of his essential and eternal justice, and thus *counterbalances*, in regard to every aspect of Divine justice, the suspension of punishment.

7. God's righteousness is manifested in the Atonement, not by real punishment, (O. S.), nor by inflicting a special substitute for punishment, (N. S.), but by the *Deity of Christ* shining out through a humanity lying under "the curse of the law."

8. This theory does not include in the Atonement the fore-known *results of Divine grace*. These glorious results are doubtless the reason why Divine Wisdom contrived the Atonement, but they are entirely *dependent on the Atonement*, and therefore form no part of it. The Atonement itself must be explained before we can see how such results would follow. Propitiation is not the *result* of the whole mediatorial work of Christ, but the starting point of that work.

9. Christ's "merit" is not, strictly speaking, a part of the Atonement. It is rather his title to reward for having made

Atonement. His reward is, Exaltation, (Phil. ii. 9), and a redeemed people. (Isa. liii. 11). Therefore the redeemed owe their pardon, sanctification, and final reward, first to Christ's Atonement, then to his merit.

10. We need not seek in the Atonement a special basis for *justification*, in distinction from pardon, any more than for sanctification or the resurrection of the body. What we need is, a basis for *any and every* exhibition of Divine favor to sinners. As pardon seems to be the first want of a sinner, we first find the Atonement there, and call it the basis of pardon, but it is also the basis of every blessing that follows pardon. Without an Atonement sinners can have no favor; with it, we can have all the fullness of God's grace.

## ARTICLE III.—POLAND.

A HUNDRED years ago, there existed in Europe a large kingdom called Poland. It occupied the geographical centre of Europe, and in its condition of advancement stood about midway between the refinement of France and the semi-barbarism of Russia. Its population was mostly of the Sclavic stock, and was originally made up of about a dozen tribes who came from the East during the time of the great emigration of nations into Europe. Originally they were known as Polans, Masovians, Lenczykans, Kurjavians, Kassubs, Pomeranians, Obotrits, Wends, Sorabians, Lusatians, Croäts, Lithuanians, &c., &c. A thousand years ago, these had become so far mingled into one people, that they appeared in history under the name of the leading tribe, as Polans or Poles, and their place of abode became known as Poland. For a period of five hundred years, they remained under kings of the first royal family, the only native princes they ever had. It is a history of wars, conquests, losses, and convulsions, in which the tribes and provinces were gradually consolidated into a certain degree of national unity, but with boundaries continually changing by the fortunes of war and other contingencies. Then followed two hundred years under the Lithuanian dynasty, the period of greatest power and prosperity, but marked by ineffectual efforts to constitute its unassimilated provinces, with their incompatible institutions, into one people, possessing anything like a nationality of spirit. During the interregnum which followed the death of the last of the Lithuanian princes, in 1572, the great nobles and bishops succeeded in organizing anarchy and discord into a constitutional rule, under the pretext of protecting their individual prerogatives, and curtailing the power of the elective monarch. At first, toleration prevailed towards the Protestants, now become quite numerous; but the extent of religious freedom actually enjoyed depended upon the temper of the reigning

king, who was always a Romanist. Then followed two hundred years of persecution and oppression, of internal convulsions and foreign wars, and general decay and demoralization presenting a history too dismal to be recounted. In the end, Poland had become the make-bate of Europe, and the neighboring nations at length relieved themselves of the nuisance by dividing among themselves a territory which its inhabitants were unable either to defend or to govern.

We know that this view of the case is very different from those that have been generally presented by French and English writers. But we have examined the history until we are fully satisfied that this representation is substantially correct, and that the extinction of Poland was as truly a gain to the cause of civilization as the extinction of Algiers, over which no one ever thinks of uttering a lamentation. It is impossible to present in a single Article the detailed evidence in support of this conclusion. But we beg our readers to consider how large a share of their ideas on the subject rest on a purely poetical basis, and, in fact, may be summed up in a single well-known line :

“ And Freedom shrieked as Kosciusko fell !”\*

An able writer says :

“To us the name of Poland has been a romance, full of stirring and pathetic elements, ever since we have been a people. The chivalrous adoption of our cause, in the war of Independence, by Kosciusko, Pulaski, and other noble sons of that unhappy land, had mingled a fraternal enthusiasm for its liberation with our earliest and holiest national memories. When their attempted revolution of 1794, the offspring of our own successful struggle for liberty, was crushed out, and its leaders slain in battle, buried in dungeons, or driven as exiles from their native soil, our young country mourned as if a sister had been smitten. That

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\* We give the quotation in full :

“O bloodiest picture in the book of Time,  
Sarmatia fell, unwept, without a crime ;  
Found not one pitying friend, one generous foe,  
Help in her need, nor mercy in her woe.  
Dropped from her nerveless grasp the uplifted spear,  
Closed her bright eye, and curbed her high career ;  
Hope for a season bade the world farewell,  
And Freedom shrieked as Kosciusko fell !”—*Campbell*.



failure was lamented as a misfortune to humanity, a fatal check to the progress of free ideas and institutions in the Old World. The partition of Poland which followed, her complete and final extinction as a national existence, and the cruel and unnatural measures associated with it for destroying, in the rising generation, even the sentiment of nationality, aroused a feeling of pity and indignation deeper and stronger than has been excited by any other event of modern times."—*New York Examiner*.

If we appeal from sympathy to reason, from the judgment of Poetry to that of History, we shall find that the extinction of Poland is only a Providential retribution for a *great crime*—a natural consequence as well as a just penalty for the most unrighteous and unrelenting persecution. The people of Poland were as much divided in matters of religion, as they always were in regard to race and language. The Reformation, from the days of John Huss, had extensive success in Poland. The eastern provinces were mostly in allegiance to the Greek Church, as the western were to the Church of Rome. In the year 1563, three hundred years ago, the Diet of Wilna guaranteed to the nobility and gentry—the common people being of little account, and mostly serfs—their equal rights irrespective of religious profession. This toleration, with external peace for many years, made Poland a centre of attraction for the persecuted of all creeds from all the surrounding countries. Commerce flourished, literature flourished, and arts and manufactures flourished. The population was nearly doubled, and a middle class was created, between the nobles and the serfs, possessing intelligence and wealth, with much of the spirit of liberty, civil and religious. But the introduction of the Jesuits in 1572, planted the seeds of death. Their intrigues procured the election of Sigismund Vasa to the throne, a disciple of the Jesuits, whose zeal for Rome had caused him the loss of his hereditary crown of Sweden. He gradually excluded Protestants from public offices, so that soon all the influence and all the power of the government were wielded in the interest of Rome. The Protestant Powers remonstrated, and, in 1660, Sweden exacted from the unlucky king, John Casimir, a treaty guaranteeing the rights of the Lutherans and Calvinists. But what are treaties to the Jesuits? In 1717, the toleration laws them-

selves were broken down at the instigation of the Catholic bishops, and for fifty years, the evils of civil strife and commotion were aggravated by religious persecution.

"Gradually were the rights of the Protestant Dissenters trampled in the dust. Upwards of sixty of their churches were wrested from them or leveled to the ground. The free exercise of their religion was reduced almost to nothing; no person was exempt from persecution, or could calculate on security for life or property; their clergy were dragged before Romish tribunals; their members were excluded from the magistracy, and declared incapable of bearing witness in courts of justice; their nobles were excluded from the senate, and subjected to all sorts of indignities; their sacraments and sepulchres forbidden; their marriages were pronounced invalid, if not celebrated by the Romish priests, and their children declared illegitimate."—*British and Foreign Review*.

They were, in fact, deprived of every civil right and every legal security. Many were hunted to death, and large numbers were driven out of a country in which life had become intolerable. This proceeding of a government wholly controlled by the Romish priesthood, had the effect to deprive the country of its intelligent and enterprising middle classes, among whom Protestantism mainly prevailed. This left the military aristocracy, proud, unproductive, selfish, and tyrannical, without any check, to domineer over ignorant serfs, degraded and hopeless, and with no motive or opportunity for improvement.

The members of the Greek Church were included in those sweeping edicts, and thus the old conflicts of the Middle Ages between the Greek and Latin professions of Christianity were reproduced on a small scale in the eighteenth century, and in the centre of Europe. Who can wonder that these people, persecuted beyond endurance in open violation of the laws and constitution of their country, appealed to Russia for protection? Or that Russia, as the head and protector of the Greek worship should listen to the appeal from its co-religionists on its very borders? Or, that having so good an occasion for interfering, Russia should have yielded to the temptation of seeking further advantages?

In 1763, when all Western Europe was in a state of comparative exhaustion from the Seven Years War, as it is called, the Czarina placed Stanislaus Poniatowski on the throne of

Poland, under the pledge of a liberal government. The Popish bishops resorted to all sorts of conspiracies, revolts, and foreign intrigues against the government, to restore the ascendancy of the Church of Rome. France soon mingled in the strife, and instigated Turkey to declare war against Russia. The king, Poniatowski, himself at length yielded to the seductions or the violence of the Priest's party. The anarchy of the country became intolerable, and there was no hope of reforming the abuses of the most absurd constitution of government that ever was framed. The nation was dissolved, through the threefold influence of the unbridled aristocracy, the machinations of the priests who know no country but Rome, and the intrigues of France. The agreement of the three Powers to appropriate the fragments, and distribute them according to convenience, was as fully warranted by the necessities of civilization, as any appropriation by any nation, or of any territory occupied by another people, that history has recorded, from the conquest of Canaan to that of Ireland, or even the expulsion of the Sioux Indians from Minnesota.

It was equally natural that the Protestants, who were mostly in the Western provinces, should look for relief under these oppressions to the Protestant governments, especially as several of them had been parties to the treaty of 1660, whereby the rights of the Protestants had been expressly guaranteed. But no remonstrances of England and the others could move the hearts of the unrelenting priesthood, or allay the madness of the fanatical chiefs, and, at length, Prussia resolved to compel by military force the observance of the treaties of toleration. It soon became apparent that treaties could not be made to bind a people so utterly demoralized and wholly irresponsible to the laws of nations or the force of national obligations. Russia and Prussia resolved to curtail the exorbitance of a Power that no persuasion could tame, and no covenants could bind. Austria was appealed to on other grounds, and became a party to the partition of 1772. The rest of Europe tacitly acquiesced in the conclusion, because there was no reasonable objection. It was impossible then to get up a sympathy in behalf of the nation as such, because it had not, in

fact, maintained an independent existence for a century past, having been little more than a shuttlecock in the hands of other Powers. And as for the people who were taken under the dominion of the other governments, everybody knew that they were better ruled and better protected in their personal rights and religious liberties than they were before. The partitioning Powers had obviously followed that great law of self-preservation, which all nations in their turn have been compelled to obey. So the first partition became an accomplished fact, and has stood undisturbed now for ninety-two years. For nearly a century those dismembered provinces have been integral portions of Russia, and Austria, and Prussia, and have been governed by other laws than those of Poland. The people have for so long a time been habituated to other institutions, other populations have intermingled with them, and the very lines of demarcation have been obliterated around them. To go back over all this lapse of time, to sit in judgment upon transactions thus passed, would carry us back to the days when we ourselves were loyal provinces of the British Empire, and re-open the buried claims of George III. to our allegiance.

There were not wanting, even then, patriotic Polish statesmen who were willing to make one more effort to introduce those reforms in the constitution and policy of the country, which alone could preserve order and restore peace and prosperity. After a great effort, a national diet was convened in 1788, which introduced a more rational constitution, conferred political rights upon the cities and towns, and afforded some degree of religious toleration, and this was solemnly sworn to by king and people in May, 1791. But the malcontent chiefs got up an insurrection, Russia and Prussia again interfered, and a second partition was made in 1793. The rest of Europe was too much absorbed by the distractions growing out of the French revolution to attend to what was going on in that remote corner. A series of desperate struggles to recover what was irrecoverable, issuing in fierce battles and overwhelming defeats, continued for about five years, and ended by blotting Poland from the map of Europe in 1798. The mass of the people soon forgot that they had ever paid allegi-

ance to a government which had left no memories of its benefits. The fighting soldiers and irrepressible nobles scattered themselves abroad to fight in other armies, and to clamor and plot for the recovery of the dominion which the world had extinguished because it was intolerable.

Had things been left to their own course, these dissevered provinces would doubtless have assimilated themselves with the several nations to which they belonged, and would have shared for weal or woe in their advance and retrogression. Unfortunately, they fell within the scope of *Napoleonic Ideas*. Napoleon adopted the old French policies of past centuries, in very many respects. After the treaty of Tilsit, in 1807, which placed the map of Europe as it were under his hand, he commenced the reconstruction of Poland, for the ancient French object of securing a lodgment in the centre of the continent, and a barrier against the growing power of Russia. One object of the grand campaign of 1812, was to wrest from Russia her share of the partition, which, added to the portions already taken from Prussia and Austria, was to restore to Poland its old boundaries, and make it again a kingdom among the nations. The burning of Moscow put an end to all these schemes, but not till after they had planted among the Polish aristocracy the seeds of a perennial fanaticism, which Rome and Paris have taken care to cultivate and preserve to this day. For fifty years, the origin of all Polish excitements, the mainspring of all movements for the restoration of Polish nationality, has been at Paris.

It is not easy to find a satisfactory explanation of the reasons which influenced the Congress of Vienna to retain a nominal kingdom of Poland in regulating the map of Europe, which they then had wholly in their hands. It is alleged by English writers that it was done by the Emperor Alexander, solely on his own motion, for the purpose of trying some new experiments in government. His own rule being despotic, he wished to carry on a constitutional government in his Polish provinces, while he maintained absolutism in the rest of his empire, and that Lord Castlereagh and all his own wisest commissioners dissuaded him from the project. It is certain that after the

overthrow of Napoleon, the Russian share of the final partition reverted to Russia by the same right on which it was held before, and by the same title on which Prussia and Austria held their shares. In neither case is the title derived from that Congress. At any rate, it is true that Alexander agreed to assume the title of king of Poland, and to constitute his Polish territories into a kingdom, with a separate representation and national institutions. The other parties to the partition, Austria and Prussia, made similar stipulations for the Poles under their dominion. And it was further stipulated, that

"The Poles, subjects respectively of the high contracting parties, shall obtain institutions which shall insure the preservation of their nationality, in such form as each of the governments to which they belong may think it useful and proper to grant them."

It would be curious to inquire what was the reason that Earl Russell, in so strenuously demanding of Russia the observance of this clause in the Treaty of Vienna, did not see an equal necessity for making the same demand upon Austria and Prussia. Russia, at least, is entitled to the credit of having tried to fulfill the treaty. The kingdom of Poland was established, with a representative legislature, and other constitutional provisions, a responsible ministry, a separate judiciary, and a national army, and the Emperor's brother, Grand Duke Constantine, for Viceroy. But whatever may have been the Emperor's motives or expectations in attempting this anomaly in government, they all failed. To suppose that the passion for nationality in those lawless nobles, cherished by a century of anarchy, would die out gradually under the vigorous rule of the Emperor, by allowing it the little indulgence of a nominal independence, is as wise as it is to think of curing a drunkard of his appetite by giving him only two or three drinks a day. Before the death of Alexander, there were frequent conspiracies to overthrow the government; and after the accession of Nicholas, in 1825, it took but a few years to bring about the revolt of 1830. The Polish nobles and upper classes, who controlled the insurrection, showed by their management that misfortune had taught them neither the wisdom and self-con-

trol necessary for the conduct of a government, nor the justice and humanity of freeing and elevating their serfs. Although split into factions, only less violent in hostility to each other than in enmity against the Russians, they introduced no measures of reform, no enterprise of industry, no plans of general education or religious freedom. For sixteen years they persisted in a series of the most ill-concocted conspiracies, the most aimless outbreaks, the most desperate and fruitless struggles, all resulting only in disaster and ruin even more terrible than that of 1792. The Emperor Nicholas was not a man to deal gently with such a band of freebooters, who gave ample proof that their clamors for independence sprung not from an earnest longing for the function of self-government, but merely from an uneasy desire to be freed from the checks and restraints which all real governments are obliged to enforce upon their subjects. The titular nationality of Poland was abolished, and that was done too late which ought to have been done at first, in the adoption of a vigorous policy of assimilation to bring these provinces into unity of laws and privileges with the rest of the empire. That this was done with a strong hand, and often with a terrible vindictiveness, is most true. That the madness of those demi-savages could have been repressed by any gentle processes, it is impossible to believe. That these successive insurrections were justified by any of the principles of action recognized by the laws of nations, or the principles of Christian morality, has never been shown or attempted to be proved. There was neither the deprivation of essential rights, the endurance of intolerable oppression, nor the reasonable prospect of good to be accomplished, which all good writers admit to be necessary to justify revolt against a regularly established government.

In this terribly appropriate way, the kingdom of Poland has come to its end, in the midst of bloody strife and wide-spread desolation, the natural fruits of its own frenzy. Thus winds up a millennium of turbulence and violence unmatched by any thousand years of any other people. Poland is extinct, and it has departed without being desired. There is no remembrance of the past, and no hope for the future, that should make the

world wish for its restoration. Faith, humanity, and civilization, would love to have it buried in oblivion, like Pontus, or like more ancient Assyria. But a present exigency renders the duty imperative of reviving these terrible memories, to warn statesmen and nations against involving the world in general war in a hopeless attempt to reconstruct a civilized and responsible State out of these impracticable materials. Poland, as a country, had neither a natural unity, a definite locality, nor a settled boundary. It had neither centre nor circumference. As a nation, it had neither internal cohesion, nor object of existence. Its people were serfs, too ignorant to judge, and too depressed to have a will in regard to public affairs. Its chiefs were as destitute of true patriotism as they were reckless of moral obligation. They clung to their country, because it afforded them wealth by the labor of slaves, and still more because it furnished a theatre for the indulgence of their fractious wills and their unbridled violence—not because it had been in the past, or could be in the future, a light, and a glory, and a blessing among the nations of the earth. As a kingdom it has now passed into history, along with so many other kingdoms that have risen and disappeared—with Castile and Leon, with Burgundy and Navarre, and more than it is worth our while to enumerate, showing beyond all controversy, that a kingdom, like a man, is born to live, and then to die. We weep for the death of the great and good, although we cannot wish them back among us. For the extinction of Poland, there need not be even the passing cloud of national sorrow.

These things being so, it may well be wondered, how the civilized world has come to look with so peculiar a sympathy upon “Bleeding Poland,” and to feel so intense an interest in these reckless, hopeless, insane, and criminal enterprises for its resuscitation from the death to which it has been consigned by its crimes. It is not a sufficient answer to say that it was because the whole world knew no better. All these fearful facts of history are on record, accessible to all, and yet the judgment formed has ignored their existence. One reason, in this country, has been the public gratitude for the gallantry of Pulaski and his compatriots in our own revolution. A still



more influential cause is in the fact that we have been so much accustomed to take our impressions in regard to affairs on the continent of Europe entirely from English representations. Then it should be remembered that the Poles of history, and poetry, and romance, were exclusively an aristocracy, and all literature is suffused with a special interest in the sufferings of fallen aristocracies. Only Christianity is absorbed with the labors of fishermen and cordwainers, and the martyrdom of peasants and women. England has held on to Poland, because it furnished excitement without calling for action, and moved pity without the obligation of interference, and because it kept alive a national prejudice against Russia, which often serves a very convenient purpose in politics and diplomacy. France has retained her "Polish Committee" from generation to generation, for the facility it afforded of producing a sensation, and threatening an explosion in the heart of Europe, and because Poland was looked upon with special interest by the Church of Rome. And the Church of Rome has seen the advantage of having thus a point of living contact and antagonism with the Greek Church. Consider all this influence as combined and managed by the skill of the Jesuits, and we have elements which go far towards the solution of the problem, why so great interest has been felt in Poland.

So far as we have observed, the champions of Polish resuscitation have alleged only one consideration which bears even the semblance of a general principle, applicable to the affairs of nations, and fitted to commend the cause of the insurgents to public respect and approbation. It is what, in modern phraseology, goes by the name of *nationality*. It is said that Poland is a nationality, that a nationality has the right to perpetuate its existence, that the right of a nationality to vindicate to itself the prerogative of self-government is inalienable, that neither conquest, nor submission, nor the lapse of time deprives a nationality of the right of reasserting its existence, at whatever perils or sacrifices to itself or others, and with or without a reasonable prospect of success. If we now inquire what constitutes this "nationality," we shall find a great want of clearness and consistency in the definitions presented. If

nationality means, as the insurgent Poles claim, the resuscitation of the ancient kingdom with the ancient boundaries, then the question opens before us, at what period shall we stereotype the boundaries of a kingdom whose limits were changed in every century of its existence. At one time it reached within one hundred and fifty miles of Moscow, and at another included that capital. At one time it included Moldavia. They claim Lithuania as an integral part of Poland, but it only became so in 1569. A hundred years later, Prussia was finally ceded from Poland to Brandenburg. Another century still brings us to the first formal partition. Where shall we draw the line? For what good end is the civilized world bound to turn back the shadow on the dial plate of time? The provinces, which fell to Prussia in the first division, are now German and Protestant, rather than Polish and Papal, and would be ruined by coming again under the anarchy and turbulence of the ancient Polish rule. Those which fell to Russia are largely Russian in their population, with a considerable mixture of German Protestants and Catholics. It is essential to the claim of a people for independence that they should have a country, defined or definable by metes and bounds, which Poland has not, and never had for any considerable time.

If, again, it is claimed that Poland should of right be a kingdom again, because it has once been a kingdom, the question arises, whether there is any statute of limitations running against that right, or is it indefeasible and perennial? If the latter, we see flitting before us the ghosts of an army of dead kingdoms, whose claims, if allowed, would make strange work with the map of Europe. In Spain we should restore the kingdom of Leon, Castile, Aragon, Murcia, and several more. In Austria we should have Bohemia and Hungary; and in Italy, Naples, Sicily, and Sardinia. In France we should restore Burgundy, Lorraine, Navarre, and others; and Great Britain would restore nationality to Scotland, Ireland, and the Isle of Man,—the latter having been purchased from its last sovereign so late as 1765. Several of these could present much fairer claims on the merits than can ever be urged on behalf of Poland.

But we find a novel significance attached to the term nationality—a modern meaning to an old word—which is now used to denote something like ethnological identity. This usage has crept into our language since the time that Dr. Goodrich revised Webster's Dictionary; for there the word is defined—"National character; also, the quality of being national, or strongly attached to one's nation." This ethnological application is altogether a forced meaning, and if allowed will introduce a strange confusion of language, and a still more deplorable confusion of political rights and interests. The usage comes to us from Germany, where it has been employed as an obscure expression of a shadowy idea. The Germans find their country divided into a large number of separate sovereignties, while the people, thanks to Luther's translation of the Bible, all read the same language. And it humiliates them that they have no German government for the German nation. And they are seeking to propagate a popular determination in favor of national unity on the ground of their being one in nationality. And they give color to their idea by attempting to extend its application to other countries. The very suggestion that Europe can be governed in this age by this principle of ethnological affinity, is too absurd for refutation. Shall we go by the nationalities that existed before the Roman conquests, or by those that prevailed after the fall of Rome? Or, shall we take the age of Charlemagne, or that of Charles the Fifth, or that of Napoleon, or the Congress of Vienna, or the treaty of Villa Franca? At any rate, it will not help Poland, for Lithuania is not Polish, and if we go back to the Slavonic origin, it brings us to Panslavism at once, which we shall have to the full as soon as Russia gets hold of Croatia. If the progress of civilization is promoted by having people of a common race united under a common government, the consolidation of Poland with Russia was a great step in the right direction.

It would be very desirable, on very many accounts, to see a growing national unity taking place in Germany. And there are not wanting indications of such a tendency. But we believe that this theory of ethnological unity is one of the

feeblest of all the forces that are leading to such a result. Nationality is created, and nations are consolidated and molded into unity, by more tangible influences than this. What a comment is the history of Germany on this ethnological delusion! So is the history of France, of Spain, of Great Britain. So are the wars between this country and the latter. And what a terrible refutation we find in our own civil war now raging? This whole theory is an idea of the closet, pleasing enough to the dreams of a student, but inapplicable to the necessities of human life. To launch a nation into existence upon such a theory, is to go to sea in an egg-shell, or to build a bridge upon cobwebs. But if the principle itself were a reality in its application to Germany, it could not help Poland, for the question would then arise, whether it is according to this sort of nationality, that five millions of Poles shall be governed by Russia, or that ten millions of Russians shall be governed by Poland. There are no lines to be drawn that will obviate this difficulty, because in the changes of two hundred years the people of the several races have become intermingled inseparably. To divide them by races would be like separating the Norman race in England, or those of Yankee origin in the Southern States. The evils arising from the mingling of races must be borne with, and alleviated as they may, but the destinies of nations will be governed by other considerations.

In all ages, and in this age, differences and agreements in religion have been much more influential upon national arrangements, than the enmities or attachments of race. But this furnishes no plea in favor of Polish reconstruction. Even the terrible persecutions, banishments, and massacres of the last century utterly failed of producing a real religious unity in that country. And even the formal agreement caused by that reign of terror has long since disappeared under the more liberal rule that has existed since the partition. It would cost more blood now, than it did one hundred and fifty years ago, to bring Poland back to even the semblance of religious unity which it gained after the battle of Pultowa and the overthrow of Charles XII.

If it should still be doubted whether we have presented adequate causes in explanation of the facts of history here treated of, it would be instructive to trace the whole series of events, with their long catalogues of crimes and calamities, to one common source, the disastrous influence of the Church of Rome over the politics of Europe. But to discuss this in an adequate manner would lead us over too wide a field for the present occasion. The charge is boldly made, and its truth will grow more palpable and overwhelming, the more fully the history of Poland is examined, that its long catalogue of disasters, and its final ruin, have been caused by its subserviency to the Pope, and by the machinations of the Jesuits as his emissaries for mischief. And there is ample reason for the confident belief that the present outbreak was planned, and caused, and has been continued and exasperated by the direct influence of Rome and its agents. Bear in mind that the power of Rome in Poland chiefly extended over the aristocracy and the more degraded portions of the serfs. Also, that the influence of Rome is naturally given in favor of absolutism and popular ignorance, and against liberty and social progress. Also, that the Popes have never ceased their machinations and endeavors to extend their sway over the Greek Church. The determination of Alexander II. to emancipate the serfs, and to circulate the scriptures, and to diffuse the blessings of popular education, and to make the laborers owners of the land they cultivate, in a word, to Americanize the empire, if carried into effect, would shatter at a blow the whole fabric of priestcraft in Eastern Europe. It was now or never with the Pope. Hence the conspiracy at Paris, diffused also through Poland, to take advantage of every confusion, and prejudice, and the other embarrassing excitements that could not but attend the final act of emancipation in March last. It was the early discovery of this plot that led the Russian government to adopt the peculiar method of conscription a year ago. Instead of drawing by lot, as is usual, the authorities made a list of all who were known to be disaffected, and on a certain night seized them and carried them by force to the army. French and English writers have been fond of alleging this unusual

conscription as the cause of the insurrection, but they are finally obliged to admit that the conspiracy was the cause of the conscription. And even Blackwood is forced to admit its necessity.

"What was the Russian government to do? What else would another government have done in the same circumstances? It would be unjust to the Russian government to compare its conduct in this matter with that of the present Emperor of the French, in 1852. The *coup d'état* was an act of individual ambition in the person of Louis Napoleon, and was accomplished by bloodshed and deportations unparalleled during the severities at Warsaw which led to the present revolt."—*Blackwood*, Jan. 1864. p. 324.

Say, rather, which were the first steps for the repression of "the present revolt?" Even in the lifetime of the Emperor Nicholas, the Pope attempted to extort from him the concession, that priests and nuns, as the subjects of Rome, should not be held answerable to Russian laws and justice. But Nicholas was found too tough a customer to be dealt with in that way. Hence the necessity for Polish independence. In the early days of the outbreak, the most ardent manifestations of interest in behalf of "unhappy Poland" came from Bishop Hughes and the Roman Catholic press. This was a suspicious circumstance, and was soon followed by the announcement that the Pope was deeply exercised in his mind in behalf of the insurrection. This confirmed the previous suspicion; for, when was the Pope interested in favor of an insurrection that was not designed to extend and strengthen his dominion? Then followed the movement of France for intervention, into which he also inveigled the governments of Austria and Great Britain, but which was repressed with such calm and dignified self-reliance by Russia that there is little probability of the impertinence being repeated in that form. Prince Gortchakoff's final dispatch on the subject, dated September 7th, 1863, is a model of diplomatic serenity and self-respect. He says—

"It is not the principles of the general act of Vienna that are in question—as, on the one hand, the three Powers who have offered representations concerning Poland have taken the stipulations of 1815 as a basis—and as, on the other hand, the Russian Cabinet has declared its intention to respect those stipulations. The only question relates to their application; but this involves confidential questions

which the three boundary states have ever considered as a sovereign prerogative, and within their exclusive competence. The Russian Government is of opinion that, after the experience that it has had, those measures [those recommended by the three Powers] cannot be applied whilst the insurrection is up in arms; that they must be preceded by the reestablishment of order; and that, in order to be efficacious, they must proceed directly from the sovereign power, in the fulness of its strength and its liberty, and without any foreign diplomatic pressure."

This determination of Russia, to settle her domestic difficulties "without any foreign diplomatic pressure," is to the continent of Europe what the Monroe Doctrine is to America, a Declaration of National Freedom from Foreign Interference, in which England and Austria have virtually acquiesced by declining the insidious proposal for a General Congress of Nations. We shall not be surprised to see Russia vindicate it on the plains of Holstein, should the present iniquitous attempt of the Frankfort Diet to dismember the kingdom of Denmark be madly persisted in. But all other expedients proving abortive, we find the grand conspiracy falling back upon the *dernier* resort of the Middle Ages, by inflaming popular superstition preparatory to a general crusade in behalf of the oppressed faithful in Poland. A leading Romanist paper in this country informs us, with great solemnity, that "the Pope, *as head of Christendom*, has offered up prayers to Heaven for the freedom of Poland." And it argues inevitable success, by the consideration that "If God is the Protector of nations, who should represent them to him, but his vicar on earth?" And it reasons on in this style—

"Excepting the tyranny of England over Ireland, that of Russia over the Poles is the most cruel in the world. Why may not the supreme visible head of Christendom make public prayers for such a nation? His own position, the catholicity of the Poles, their past services against the desolating Turk, and their sufferings, ratify this act. And it will be found that Pius IX. has not made public prayers in vain. The voice of the Church always reaches the Divine heart. It would be out of nature if the Protector of Nations did not hear His vicegerent on earth praying for a religious down trodden nation which has done illustrious service to the world. Let us not fear. The Poles were once the only bulwark of the Church against the Paynim. The catholic valor of JOHN SOBIESKI is the brightest in the annals of Europe. Heaven is not ungrateful. The Poles have merit above; the crimes of Russia are sufficient to commote a tempest of exterminating vengeance; the true interceder has holily led the way, the whole Church has followed him; and Polish freedom is at hand. The darkest hour is

that before the dawn, and the faith and devotion of the Church always lead to the brightest morning.

"But does not Ireland merit the consideration Poland has received? The Poles were never more important to the Church than the Irish, and they have not been half so despotically treated. Confiscation, sacrilege, massacre, extermination, perfect religious and political despotism have been going on in Ireland for seven hundred years, and Ireland is the most Catholic of nations. God is the Protector of Nations: why has he not protected Ireland? The Sovereign Pontiffs are the chief intercessors for nations to Heaven: why have they never offered up public prayers for Ireland? Let us impugn neither God nor his Church; but let us hope that as by the Divine assistance Irish nationality has been preserved through every vicissitude, the day of complete Irish independence is not far distant. The wrongs of Ireland will yet bring down the dreadful wrath of Heaven on the British head. Amen!"—*Herald and Visitor*, Philadelphia, Dec. 23d, 1863.

"The wrongs of Ireland will yet bring down the dreadful wrath of Heaven on the British head. Amen!" So be it! is the voice of Polish sympathizers, with whom British public opinion is so anxious to be in confederacy! Will anything open the eyes of the British people to see the drift into which the absolutist tendencies of their aristocracy are leading them? With all the national horror of Popery, the nation contrives to make itself a most serviceable auxiliary of Popery, in nearly all its foreign relations. Perhaps the recent lessons from Poland and Mexico may not be wholly lost upon the British mind.

The Article in Blackwood, which is written with much ability, and with a curious mixture of common sense as to matters of fact, and long prejudices as to matters of theory and profession, discloses the earnest anxiety of the British mind to be doing something for the relief of Poland, together with an overwhelming conviction of the impossibility of doing anything with effect. We beg to commend to them the advice of that great master of the healing art, who made all his pupils write at the beginning of their note books this maxim:

"WHEN YOU KNOW NOT WHAT TO DO—DO NOTHING."

A careful comparison of the two cases will show that the Polish insurrection and the American insurrection run together on all-fours in almost every essential particular. Both alike are unwarranted by the occasion, reckless and cruel in the



conduct, and hopeless as to the result. And both alike have depended for their inception, their means, and their continuance, upon sympathy and help from abroad, and especially from the same sources, France and England. Both will continue, at all hazards and against all disasters, as long as there appears to be the smallest possible ground of hope that the expected help from England and France will yet come. And when that hope is utterly and finally abandoned, each will subside and expire as rapidly as it is possible for such a deep madness to die out of a deluded people, after having been cultivated and cherished so long by those to whom they looked for guidance. Seeing all this so distinctly, the writer before us still fosters their error by telling them that "aid may yet come." Aid cannot come. And those have much to answer for, who have failed to tell them from the beginning that there can no help come to them from abroad. Had that been said at the beginning, all the terrible losses and sufferings of these twin insurrections would have been saved.

And if our voice could reach the people of Poland, or even the Polish Committees, here or elsewhere, we would earnestly beseech them, in the name of our common humanity, and of that common Christianity which is acknowledged alike in Europe and America, by Greek, and Catholic, and Protestant, to cease contending against the inevitable. You cannot restore your country to its nationality, because your fathers could not govern it or protect it when it existed. They sinned against faith and against liberty when they persecuted and drove off their fellow Christians, and it is impossible to reverse the providential decree of retribution. You cannot resist the Russian power, and there is no human aid that can reach you. A while ago it was possible that your struggles might bring on a general war, and deluge Europe in blood, but it would not have restored Poland. France is too far off, with Germany between, to help you; and Louis Napoleon has too much on his hands already to attempt anything in your behalf except intrigues, which have all failed. The poor old Pope cannot help you, for he can only stay in Rome by the help of French bayonets, and he is unable to constitute a

bishop in all Italy. These can only get you into difficulty, and there leave you. The only alternative before you is to submit to the Russian rule on the best terms you can get, or to be utterly exterminated like the once proud "nationalities" of Tecumseh and of Black Hawk. You have nothing to lose by submission but the fond illusion of an impossible dream. Under the new policy of the Emperor, you will be secure of protection against foreign enemies and domestic turbulence; you will have religious liberty yourselves, and all your neighbors will have the same; the wise and statesmanlike methods by which Alexander II. is developing the resources of his whole empire, will of course include you and your posterity. Your serfs will be free, your laborers will have land, your peasants will have justice, your children will have schools, your families will have Bibles, your towns will have newspapers, your trade will have roads and telegraphs, and your land will have Peace, and prosperity will roll in upon you with a tide and a permanence, such as Sarmatia never knew through all its turbulent history.

## ARTICLE IV.—THE ATONEMENT.

It occurs naturally in the course of theological inquiry, that opinions and modes of thought precipitate themselves, or become crystallized,—theories are determined, and stereotyped; each has its advocates and its opponents; and every man falls inevitably into his appropriate rank, and henceforth treads the path of thought only to keep step with the music of the school to which he belongs.

There may be advantages resulting from this tendency; but there is certainly the disadvantage of a hindrance to the free exercise of that subtle affinity for truth, by which an honest and wakeful mind, as if by a certain magnetic attraction, gathers to itself whatever is really valuable in various and even conflicting systems.

One object of the present essay is to approach the subject of the Atonement as if *de novo*, from a fresh point of departure, and, regardless of theories, allow the elements of the question to precipitate themselves anew, obedient to the law of their nature rather than that of previous classification.

We shall confine ourselves to the central question as to the nature of the satisfaction rendered by Christ to Divine law and justice, by which God could be “just, and the justifier of him which believeth in Jesus.”

Among evangelical Christians, and especially among earnest ministers who spend and are spent in preaching regeneration, in the New Testament sense of the word, it should be understood that practically, and to the apprehension of the heart, there is neither question nor difference as to the position and office of Christ in the gospel plan of salvation. But back of this heart-apprehension lie questions of philosophy,—the how, and the why,—questions not answered, save by inference, in the Scriptures; and in answering which the best of Christians, as they have done, will probably long continue to differ. It is

in this, properly modest and charitable, because debatable region, lies the field of our present inquiries.

Our approach to the subject will be on the side of an inquiry as to the *situation* in which man finds himself on the morning after the fall,—the essential elements of the consequences which hang over him,—the principles or laws which must be met, and satisfied ere the dawn of hope. Obviously, the nature of the satisfaction will be best determined in the light of the principles which are to be satisfied.

First, and lowest, though not least obvious, there broods over the sinner the natural law of the *consequences* flowing from sin, like the fatal taint of some poisonous disease infecting the inmost springs and streams of life, a law inherent in the very constitution of nature, physical, intellectual, and moral, and whose sentence is, "Sin, when it is finished, bringeth forth death." And what power can turn aside, or satisfy nature's inexorable law? And until that hungry maw is filled, what hand can redeem the sin-stricken soul?

Secondly, there is the *governmental necessity* for the punishment of sin.

Sin is rebellion, and the majesty of sovereignty requires that it should be suppressed; sin is crime, and a just government must punish it; sin is the violation of the peace, and a ruler, considerate of the welfare of society, must frown upon it. The necessity for strenuously vindicating the sovereignty of the universe is infinitely greater than the like need in the case of any human authority.

. . . . "et quisquam numen Junonis adoret,  
Aut supplex aris imponat honorem."

All this mighty necessity bears, with mountain weight, upon the sinful soul, and the very skies and the stars are written over with the judgment,—“till heaven and earth shall pass, no jot of the law must perish.”

The third element in the situation, is the principle of *justice*, which, with the voice of nature, as of revelation, declares that “the wages of sin is death.” Justice, if it be more than an empty name,—a dream without reality,—is a principle or law,

vital and fundamental to all morals, to all government and society therefore; and perhaps even to all rational being and action, like the principle of truth or love. Principles like these are, in the constitution of the universe, like personality, identity, and the like, in the body and soul of man. With the refrain of its awful sentence, it fills the trump of time and destiny,—“The soul that sinneth, it shall die.”

In its relation to the subject in hand, we soon distinguish two spheres, phases, or directions of justice, becoming virtually distinct principles, and requiring separate consideration.

The first is the law of *direct moral judgment*, sitting upon actual desert, or the *present quality* of sin. Sin must be condemned and stamped upon wherever the eye of God or moral being beholds it,—wherever in the universe it draws its slimy trail, or breathes its fetid breath. The sinner, then, as soon as seen, must be set upon, punished, crushed, annihilated, or cursed with the darkest, uttermost curse, because he *is* vile and deserves it,—the quality is there, and must be stamped for what it *is*, and what it deserves. This is justice in the first, and perhaps the strictest sense. In the present Article it will be distinguished from another form of the principle by the epithet simple.

It will scarcely be necessary to prove the existence or the sacredness of a principle of this kind. It is only a proximate form of the general idea of the holy and the right. It is holiness testifying against sin,—the right stamping on the wrong.

Sin could not be approved or winked at by any right-minded moral being,—much less by an infinitely holy and far-seeing God. Aside from all consideration of its effects, the thing itself is bad, is vile, is hateful, is to be condemned, and made to bear the wrath and curse of all the holy universe, just as surely as the sun is enjoyed when it mounts up the sky, or death and pain are loathed at sight. If there is one thing in the broad field of morals, and of social relation, that is sure, it is the validity and propriety of the eternal decree, “The wages of sin is death.” And from the moment when broke the lurid morn first on a fallen world, the dark necessity has

lowered inexorable as fate over the destiny of men,—that the frown of justice must be met and turned to light, or sinful man must die.

The other phase or aspect of Justice alluded to is the law of *Retribution*.

This does not arise, like the former, from the necessity of holiness to frown on sin, but rather from that of Justice to repay to a man his deeds.

It is not a question of stamping out sin, or branding it as it deserves, for the sin no longer exists. It is a question of recompense: "An eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth." It is righteous vengeance, or vengeance without malignity,—the vengeance of Justice and not of hate. The propriety of distinguishing between this principle and that which we have denominated simple Justice, appears in this further distinction; simple Justice takes no measure of the amount of guilt, nor attempts to apportion to it the degree of punishment. It simply stamps upon sin, wherever and whenever seen, and until it disappears. The object is not to settle an account, but to destroy a foe. Retribution, on the other hand, is a thing of measure and apportionment. To every sin so much punishment is due, and when that has been received the account is balanced; but until received, the lapse of time, or the non-continuance of the sin, have no relation to the debt, so long as the personal identity of the debtor remains.

Justice has been figured with balance in one hand, and drawn sword in the other. It is simple Justice that bears the sword, and Retribution the balance; while the bandaged eyes may be taken as representing the utter disregard of both these principles for all consequences whatever, near or remote. And yet another and more insuperable distinction, between the two, lies in the fact that under certain conditions they may absolutely contradict each other. Justice strikes sin so long as it continues to exist, and then the account is closed. Retribution demands a fixed payment, even after ten thousand years, but when the debt is paid, the balance stands even,—Retribution has no more to say. Thus Justice may strike whom Retribution spares, and *vice versa*. Yet to spare is really to

defend, and hence the strenuous and inevitable nature of the conflict. Evidently, then, as elements of the situation of fallen man, the two are distinct principles, and will require, perhaps, a different satisfaction.

There may be a question as to the existence of any such principle as Retribution. It has been doubted whether, on strictly natural principles, in the event of penitence, and the cessation of sin, the pardon of the past, apart from all governmental necessity, would not be the duty of the sovereign, and the right of the subject. The sin is past, gone forever. It no longer exists,—the man is holy. 'Must not his goodness be acknowledged, and smiled upon? Dare we shed innocent blood for sin that does not exist? Would not that be frowning upon innocence, and therefore, in reality, smiling upon sin?

So far as simple Justice is concerned, the answer is plain. Justice frowns on *sin*, not on a historical reminiscence of it; on real sin, not on a supposititious one. Indeed, by whatever energy of wrath Justice frowns upon real sin, by the same force it must smile upon and defend real innocence,—the innocence that now is, whatever it may have once been. Such is Justice in the sense of the word first defined.

Is there, then, no such principle as Retribution? Is there no reality in the idea of a permanent, moral responsibility, by which the man to-day is accountable for the deed of yesterday! Is personal identity, in its relation to morals and to time, nothing? Is it to be allowed that a moral being shall spend nine years in sin, and repenting on the tenth, claim the smile and the blessing of everlasting right, as if he had never transgressed! It is probable that to the question stated in this form, there will be little hesitation as to the answer. We shall all feel that the man who has spent his years in guilt, and repented at the eleventh hour, does *not* stand on the ground of true desert, *as* he would, had he never sinned. If we hesitate to say he must be punished for the repented past, we shall not hesitate to place him somewhat lower on the scale of honor, reward, and love. But this admission concedes the question, since we are inquiring not at all concerning the degree of penalty, but concerning the principle of responsibility

for the past. To withhold a single jewel from the crown of the righteous, in remembrance of former faults, is to hold him responsible for the past. The question between withholding one, or many, or all, or flashing flames of wrath upon his head, is merely a question of degree. And in the light of this distinction it seems difficult to escape the conviction that the principle of Retribution, which is the continued responsibility of a moral being of continuous personal identity, is valid. The fact of continuous personal identity lies at the root of the matter, and carries with it the whole theory. It will be found impossible to chop up the idea of responsibility into disconnected moments, while that of identity endures. It is the person, in his identity, who is responsible, and the responsibility endures coexistent with the personality.

Underlying the doctrine of the reward of merit, the principle will be found, and will be, perhaps, more readily apprehended than in its relation to penalty. Where is the merit rewarded, in the present, or in the past? Doubtless present merit is generally, though not always, supposed, but only as evidenced by the past, which is thus really both the ground of reward, and the proof of that in the present, which is its necessary condition. But if the principle of responsibility, as thus recognized in its relation to reward, is valid, it must be equally so in relation to its penalty. And as one man, by faithfulness, may earn an approving smile, (and what instinct in morals is more intuitive and universal than this), so it cannot be allowed to another to sin at his pleasure to-day, and escape, scot-free, by saying, "I repent," to-morrow.

Probably those who might hesitate to recognize the principle of Retribution, if asked to state their own idea of the desert of past sin, would be more likely than otherwise to adopt language similar to this—"that the penitent sinner is entitled to *pardon*;" and the use of the word pardon, in this connection, would not be objected to, it is presumed, in any quarter. But what does the word pardon imply? What but continued responsibility? If penitence cuts off the latter, there can be no further exercise of the former. Disguise it if we will by providing that the pardon is justly due,—that it would be



wrong to withhold it; still, if it be pardon, (and the consistency of the conditions with the word is not the care of our argument), no dialectic skill can evade the consequences,—the recipient is responsible for the sins pardoned. And yet, probably the word could not be thrust out of use in this connection, without violating the instinctive feeling as to the just use of language of all mankind. It is a feeling based upon the still deeper and more instinctive one of the permanence of moral responsibility.

Indeed, we believe that in one form or another the unschooled, unconscious sense of mankind universally, can be shown to be committed to the doctrine in question. It may, perhaps, be supposed that an idea of governmental necessity lies at the bottom of the universal judgment, that the murderer ought to die, notwithstanding his repentance; but that would be but a superficial theory of the subject. There is a sense of desert in the case which lies deeper. We feel that the only adequate expiation of blood-guiltiness is not repentance, but blood. How hoarsely has the conscience-stricken soul of the culprit sometimes called for the penalty itself! What is remorse—what but the clear and awful sense of responsibility for past sin, which, however sincerely mourned, cannot be now recalled! May we quote again what has been quoted elsewhere, from a pen inspired by the intuitive insight of genius, and therefore speaking of “the awful fixedness of all past deeds and words,—the unkind words once said which no tears could unsay,—the kind ones suppressed to which no agony of wishfulness could give a past reality.” Coleridge, as a truly royal poet, knew something of the deeper soundings of the human soul. In his tragedy of “Remorse,” he describes the torments of Ordonio in view of past crimes, by putting in his mouth words like these:

“Let the eternal justice  
Prepare my sentence in the obscure world,  
I will not bear to live—to live—O agony!  
And be myself alone my own sore torment!”

And when, at last, he feels the mortal steel of vengeance at his heart, he dies, almost with a gleam of satisfaction, with

the simple word "*Atonement*" on his lips. The genius of poet and novelist has not been, in these descriptions, at fault. It is no very uncommon event, when a murderer, torn by the agony of remorse, surrenders himself to justice, *asking* to die, in the bitter hope that one drop of expiation may fall with cooling influence upon his tongue. But what is all this remorse? Is it the sense of guilt without repentance, that is, of present sin? No, it is the sin of the past, bitterly sorrowed over, but which no tears, unless of blood, can ever wash away. Responsibility to-day for the sin of yesterday, is the principle from which these terrible chapters of human experience spring. Nay, if we look more closely, what is repentance itself in every form, but the acknowledgment of present responsibility for the past? For the very mention of repentance supposes that the disposition to sin no longer exists. The sin wept over is, then, not at all in the present, but wholly in the past; and every tear, or, at least, every self-reproach, is a recognition of continued responsibility; since without that principle all penitence must die for want of food the moment it is conceived. But penitence does not die in any right-feeling mind, the moment it is conceived. It is a thing of time, having some appreciable duration, and even under the healing beams of the cross, much more otherwise, casts its shadow far along the Christian course. What could ever soothe its pangs were not that Cross standing! Yet the undying worm owes its sting to the principle of permanent responsibility. The Nemesis of Retribution stretches its dark wings along the track of time, with one covering the past, with the other, the present.

It may be urged as an objection to the reality of the principle of Retribution, that as stated in the definition, it conflicts with the law of Justice in its simple sense. The penitent is not now a sinner, it is unjust to treat him as such. But the objection very nearly begs the question. The penitent is now a sinner in the eye of just judgment, because, from the nature of personal identity, he is still responsible for the sin of the past. Indeed, on any other principle, all punishment would be impossible; since punishment cannot begin until crime is

ance ; (and it is far beyond our ken to measure the element which would remain, after repentance, in the form of purely spiritual infirmity, from old but never to be forgotten sin), they may be met and counteracted, probably, by certain incoming elements of spiritual life and health, arising from the cross, and the relation of the ransomed soul to Christ—elements long recognized in the higher realms of Christian thought, and trembling on the harp-strings of our own unpre-tending poet when he wrote,

“ But I, amid your choirs, shall shine ;  
And all your knowledge will be mine ;  
Ye, on your harps must lean to hear  
A secret chord that mine will bear.”

That “secret chord” symbolizes those high and inner mysteries of redeemed experience, which none but ransomed souls could ever know, and which may even more than repay the ultimate loss from the natural consequences of sin. And thus the satisfaction rendered by Christ to the law of natural consequences, in behalf of the saved, may be virtually complete.

Secondly, the relation of the Atonement to the governmental necessity for the punishment of sin, offers one of the grandest themes connected with Christian theology ; and one which has received in various quarters the ablest and most satisfactory treatment. In this clear region, with little of doubt, obscurity, or disagreement to cloud the view, there is scarcely reason for extended remark. It is not doubted that the satisfaction, wrought by Christ in this relation, is full and complete, and that the cross, with its accompaniments and all its wondrous consequences, is far more effectual in checking the progress of sin, than would be the loss of every sinful soul. A single remark may be, however, in place, in reference to the idea that so far as government is concerned, the satisfaction of Christ might be a ground for the salvation of all, irrespective of personal repentance. The end of government is the prevention of sin, and this alone. So far as this is not secured, the interests of government are not secured, but sacrificed. To satisfy government, in the continuance of sin, is impossible and absurd.

Thirdly, the relation of the Atonement to the principle of Justice. In the first or simplest sense of the word justice, there is no relation whatever between the two. No propitiation could make right the pardon of the sinner in his sin, as just shown. Penitent and reformed, no atonement is necessary,—Justice is content already. The frown of Justice, in the sense of holy disapprobation of actual sin, lowers while the sin lasts, and dies with it. The relation of the Atonement to Justice in this sense, is simply that of preparing the way for the repentance of the sinner, and thus turning the frown of Justice to approval.

We come, then, to the fourth element in the situation—the principle of Retribution, and to the “*vexata questio*” of the whole subject, as to the relation between it and the Cross of Christ.

And here let us understand ourselves. Is it necessary that there should be a complete satisfaction in every quarter, and to every law which frowns upon the transgressor? Should not, naturally, something be left to be forgiven? Otherwise might not the reformed transgressor step proudly up to the judgment bar and *demand* acquittal? This is a difficulty that has been felt under what is known as the “satisfaction theory” of the Atonement, some advocates of which seek to evade the alternative as best they may; while others march squarely up to it in language like this of the elder Edwards: “The justice of God that required man’s damnation, and seemed inconsistent with his salvation, now as much requires the salvation of those that believe in Christ, as once before it required their damnation. Salvation is an absolute debt to the believer, from God, so that he may in justice demand it on account of what his surety has done.” But though words like these, which we are persuaded must send a chill to every Christian heart, are found in the writings of Edwards, that great man was far from resting consistently and contentedly in a theory like this. It was the iron logic of his mind, and not the still light of intuition, that forced him to such a conclusion. And when, as often, he uses language wholly inconsistent with this, it is then, we shall doubtless conclude, that the

true soul of Edwards speaks, and that the general sense of Christians will be found in accord with him. Yet language like the above, (and expressions yet more bold might be quoted from theologians of the highest rank), has been by no means uncommon among the advocates of real and full satisfaction. Conclusions more objectionable, indeed, have been sometimes reached under the influence of the same leading thought. So absolutely, it has been said, has Christ taken the place of the sinner, in order to bear in very deed the penalty of his guilt, that he even partook of his character and *became himself a sinner*;—as in these words of Luther, “And this no doubt all the prophets did foresee in spirit, that Christ should become the greatest transgressor, murderer, adulterer, thief, rebel, blasphemer, that ever was or could be in the world. If thou wilt deny him to be a sinner, and accursed, deny, also, that he was crucified;”—and the like from other writers. See, also, the kindred expressions of Flavel,—“To the wrath of an infinite God, without mixture, to the very torments of hell was Christ delivered, and that by the hands of his own Father.” We are not to suppose that views like these were willingly accepted by men of ripe and rich Christian sensibility. They were the painful, logical consequents of the premise (see John Norton) that “Christ was tormented without any forgiveness; God spared him nothing of the due debt.” And if the shocking language of the great reformer can hardly, by undoubted sequence, be charged upon the theory of complete satisfaction as a *necessary* inference, it shows, at least, a *natural* result of that tendency of thought; while the conclusion of Edwards seems scarcely to be avoided, if we accept the premise from which it flows.

The question is evidently one of the nodes of the whole subject. On the one hand, to any powers of apprehension which we can exercise in those elevated realms of thought, it seems beyond the reach of doubt that satisfaction must mean *satisfaction*, and when once offered, in full, on behalf of the sinner, precludes any further demand. To talk of *pardon* after that, would be as absurd as to give that name to the simple Justice that sheathes her sword in the face of him who

has never sinned. If the sacrifice of Christ is a complete expiation, the sinner, under it, may be *justified*, but not *forgiven*. Indeed, the objection has been made by advocates of the satisfaction theory, to those holding different views, that the distinction between pardon and justification is thereby obliterated, and the latter doctrine lost; which involves a recognition of the fixed relation between satisfaction and justification, and the essential distinction between the latter and forgiveness. Certainly it is difficult to see the propriety of confounding the two, or conceiving of both as based upon the same sacrifice, demanded by the same exigency, or received by the same object. What, then, on the supposition of full satisfaction, and consequent justification, is the significancy of the word pardon; and why is it retained as an incongruous appendage to another principle which alone is really operative?

It may, perhaps, be supposed that the satisfaction is complete, but the *application* of it to the case of the individual sinner remains to be sealed by forgiveness. But is any such distinction between the satisfaction and its application conceivable? The satisfaction starts on the side of the transgressor, or some one in his behalf, and acts *toward* the law. When that is reached, or its claim met, the application is complete. The case does not call for a satisfaction working in the opposite direction, starting on the side of the law, and looking toward the sinner, the actual contact with whom, so to speak, might form a completion of the process which might be conceived of as lingering in abeyance while forgiveness tarried. The wound to be healed is in the law. Until that feels the sovereign balm there is no satisfaction to apply. Afterward no further application remains to be made.

On the whole, it seems impossible to escape the alternative,—either the satisfaction of the Cross is incomplete, or the sinner is justified and not forgiven, and the repulsive logic of Edwards was right,—the sinner may *demand* acquittal as a debt justly due. We believe the instinctive sense of the Christian heart will never, generally, accept such a conclusion. We feel ourselves forgiven, and ascribe our hopes to the pardoning mercy

of God in Christ, not only in devising and executing the Atonement, but in setting our individual feet on the Rock. While justification, in a modified sense of the word, comes afterward, and as a consequence of the other.

On the other hand, it is not easy to admit the idea or the language, that the sacrifice of Christ falls in the least short of a full and complete satisfaction to all the laws or principles which frown upon the sinner. The language is certainly at variance with that which has been familiar to Christian lips in every age. It shocks our sensibilities, legitimate or otherwise, perhaps scarcely less than that of Edwards quoted above. Moreover, it is difficult to conceive of an incomplete satisfaction effecting the object of rendering the pardon of the sinner right or safe. If a residuary half, more or less, of the weight of the law, may be set aside in the provision of satisfaction, and met only by the simple substitute of forgiveness, why may not the whole of it? Is sacred Justice of such a nature that her claims can thus be halved, and a part satisfied, and she compelled to forego the rest! Would it not involve a mechanical theory, of the lowest order, of the principles concerned, thus to suppose a compromise, as between creditor and debtor—a settlement for so many cents on the dollar! If the law of Retribution be not fully satisfied, will not the sword of vengeance still gleam over the sinner's head, whatever may be true of other elements of dread? And how many eternal laws of the Universe and of its God, will it take, if let loose on the hapless soul, to "grind it to powder?" These are questions among which the deepest power of insight may

"Go sounding on its dim and perilous way,"

and still find its line too short. For ourselves, we confess we are not able to remove the difficulties on either side. And we suggest whether here is not one of those "depths" in the survey of the subject, which are, and will perhaps long remain, unfathomable.

Leaving, then, the question whether a complete satisfaction to all principles which threaten the sinner is *necessary*, we proceed to inquire whether any such satisfaction to the law of

Retribution is possible; and, if so, whether it can be found in the Cross.

First, in general, whether any such satisfaction is possible.

What is Retribution? It is the law which strikes back upon the sinner for his misdeeds. Does it admit of any satisfaction, save the very blow which it demands to deal? The question has often been conceived of under the analogy of debt and payment, and thus the conclusion has been reached that something else than the blow demanded might be substituted in its place and accepted. But the analogy fails in several essential respects. In the first place, the value of money is not intrinsic. I owe my neighbor a hundred dollars: it is not certain specific dollars which he claims, but so much value of property; which value he receives when the debt is paid, in whatever kind the payment may be made. He receives, therefore, the very thing which he claims, without any substitution whatever; which would not be the case under the law of Retribution, should the culprit by any means escape the avenging blow. It will be found, if we pursue the inquiry, that in all cases of commercial substitution, the satisfaction rendered consists in something that can be transmuted into the object of the original claim. But there is nothing else that can, on that condition, be accepted as a substitute for the stroke of vengeance due the sinner by the law of Retribution. Retribution is an ultimate value, incapable of exchange with anything. Or, in still another light, the matter in hand is one of moral desert, and not of commercial value. The man has sinned. He must receive his desert. Now, by any mode of escape, that the "wit of man" can conceive, the result is the same. He fails to get his desert, and the law is dishonored.

Of what avail, in answer to this, to talk about substituting some other value in paying a debt? Or, in another aspect yet more obvious, though perhaps not more real. Under the law of Retribution the whole affair is a *personal* one, in a sense different from any commercial transaction. In the one case the whole end and aim of the action terminates in the person; in the other, in the payment. The commercial law cares



not for persons, so it gets its payments; the whole object of Retribution is to strike the person. One man may pay another's debt; but no man can bear for another the stroke of Retribution.

If we pass from the general to the specific form of the question, and consider the analogy in hand as illustrated in the work of Christ, the discrepancy assumes a yet closer and more inseparable form. The sinner, at the bar of Retributive Justice, cannot come with a fine in his hand, even though it be the blood of Christ, and demand acquittal. For the penalty demanded is not a representative of a class, one of which will do as well as another,—corn, instead of wheat, if the value be right. Its sole nature and value is intrinsic, and neither represents, nor can be represented by any other expression. It has no equivalents, one of which might appear in its place. There is nothing else that can be transmuted into it, or that will command it in the market when required. It is a definite, absolute thing, that must be paid, or not paid, without substitution, compromise, or abatement. It may do at an earthly tribunal, where the object is merely to establish the prudential expediency of certain outward acts, to attempt to stop the mouth of Cerberus with a loaf; though even here the universal sense of justice is outraged if the commutation be extended to the highest crimes. But what has the payment of any possible fine to do with the blow which Retribution demands to strike back upon the sinner for his sin? Still less can the claim be met by a blow inflicted upon another, as a debt may be paid, though not by the debtor's hands. The sin is purely personal in its nature. It has no existence save in the soul of the person who committed it. The blow that does not strike home there, does not follow the sin at all, nor bear the slightest relation to it. They who indulge such a notion of substitution forget the end toward which the whole force of the law of Retribution tends—not to obtain something, but to do something; not to get so much blood, but to *strike* the guilty; not the infliction, but who suffers it, is the leading consideration. "The soul that sinneth, *it* shall die," not "somebody shall die;" as if a certain amount of blood, irrespective of where it came

from, were the object. What conceivable relation is there, in the eye of Retributive Justice, between the sin of one person and vengeance inflicted upon another ! In all minds, the very lowest conception of savage bloodthirstiness is that of a monster, who, when offended, raves for blood, he cares not whose. Among the remarkable phenomena of the human mind, to which a subject like this in its discussion gives rise, not the least is, that very generally, so far as we have observed, the men who contend most earnestly for the sacredness of Retributive Justice, and for the absolute necessity that that law should be met by the Atonement, and talk of Christ suffering the penalty of sin, and of the far richer and deeper satisfaction found in the Cross, according to that view, than if the ends of government only be considered as satisfied—do all this in utter apparent unconsciousness that there is any such difficulty in their theory as that, the very law of justice which they regard so high, by how much its inflexibility and sacredness are exalted, by so much the more must demand the blood of the guilty, not of the innocent !

An argument in favor of the idea that the sacrifice of Christ may somehow meet the demand of Retributive Justice has been drawn from the history of religious sacrifices among all nations, on the supposition that these have been strictly expiatory in their idea, and have had their origin in a kind of universal instinct of humanity that the suffering of the innocent might be accepted in lieu of that of the guilty.

The argument is ingenious. "Men felt," thus it runs, "that as sinners their lives were forfeited to God. But as members of the same race, one man, being innocent, might offer his life a substitute for another who was guilty. And, since the life principle may be regarded as in some sense the same in man and in animals, the life of the latter may replace that of the former in the sacrifice. Originally the substitution was expected to be voluntary, but this feature was not long regarded as essential. Perhaps the absence of moral guilt in the irrational victim, favored the transition from the human to him.

But if this is the origin and import of all sacrifices, then the

setting forth of Christ as a sacrifice for sin, as was done by type in the Mosaic economy, and further in the language of prophets and apostles, must be regarded as in designed harmony with the idea, and in completion of the great expiation thus prefigured." We are not disposed to treat this argument with disrespect. We have great regard for those universal ideas, or common instincts of humanity, of the class to which appeal is here taken. Nevertheless, the argument, at best, will scarcely be regarded as decisive. It may be questioned, too, whether the theory, if true, necessarily penetrates beneath the practical and purely religious view of the subject, into the philosophy which forms its back ground. The idea of a moral substitution of the kind described, may have arisen in an unreflecting age; and God, seeing that it harmonized well with the practical effect which he desired from the cross, adopted the sacrificial system, (finding the uses of worship also subserved therein), and the language applied to Christ in the scriptures thence derived, and all this with no more intention to indorse any philosophy of the Atonement, than he had to indorse a principle of Astronomy in the words, "Sun, stand thou still upon Gibeon." But the facts upon which the theory in hand is built, do not pass unchallenged. Aristotle supposes that the first sacrifices offered were of the fruits of the earth, without bloodshed, and, of course, without expiation. The offering of Cain was of this sort; and although it was not accepted, we have no reason to suppose the rejection to have been on account of its bloodless nature. Offerings of this kind were combined with those of blood in the Jewish economy, and have been everywhere. It is evident, then, at least, that vicarious expiation was not the sole idea of sacrifice, either as instituted by men, or as prescribed by Jehovah. Why may not the idea of sacrifice have arisen, under nature, in a different way, springing from the desire to find not only the strongest, but a symbolical expression of confession,—as when a culprit, or a surrendering rebel, goes before his sovereign with a rope about his neck,—the strongest and most lively symbol by which to express the confession of his guilt; and that self-condemnation which, in some degree,

might perhaps forestall the sword of judgment. Perhaps this theory may be found to explain the facts of history quite as well as the other. The scape-goat, for example, *could* not have been supposed by the Jews to really bear their sins. From him, therefore, no idea of true expiation could well have been transferred to Christ. But as a sacrifice, in the sense just explained, its leading idea would readily pass over to the Lamb of Calvary. Meanwhile, the idea of real substitution may have been an extraneous one, coming in from whatever source, not essential to the true meaning of the offering, either in ancient temple or on the Mount of Calvary.

Notwithstanding, however, the strength of the objections to the theory that Christ has met the law of retribution, and satisfied its claim, we do not regard the question as yet closed.

The language held in some portions of the Scriptures, though taken in a practical and not a philosophical sense, cannot well be excluded from a certain bearing on the philosophy of the subject. To those familiar with the Scriptures, such passages as "We did esteem him stricken, smitten of God;" "The chastisement of our peace was upon him;" "The Lord hath laid on him the iniquity of us all;" "When thou shalt make his soul an offering for sin;" "Because he was numbered with the transgressors, and he bore the sin of many;" "Christ being made a curse for us;" "Who his own self bare our sins in his own body on the tree;" "Hath made him to be sin for us who knew no sin;" "My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?" will suffice to bring to mind the large class of which we speak. The question is not whether those expressions were used philosophically, or dogmatically; that is not pretended; but whether a philosophy, which stops short of the full idea of expiation, can fill up and inspire these passages, as the soul of a strong man inspires his body, and as the thought and spirit must be supposed to do the Scriptures. It is a question of tendency, and animus, rather than of logic and definition. Not what the word states, categorically, so much as whitherward it flashes, is the true point of interest. When the tide of inspiration evidently rises highest, we expect the deepest, most wondrous meaning. But nowhere feels the

prophetic soul the spirit more strong upon it, than when the dim distant Cross, and the Lamb of Calvary, form the theme. We look for no ordinary wealth of meaning, then. We are reluctant, in such an instance, to accept that philosophy of a doctrine which fills the language of the Scriptures only to its narrowest measure, and leaves it on its lowest level. We would much sooner commit ourselves to the current—to the swelling gales of prophetic afflatus, and let them bear us at their will. It is the flashes of the northern Aurora, more than its measured beams, that show whence it springs, and the true nature of its wondrous light. Conceived of in this spirit, there seems little room for hesitation as to the teaching of words like those which have been quoted, bearing on the question before us. They point, with scarcely doubtful finger, to something deeper, higher, more mysterious and significant in the sacrifice of Christ, and his substitution for us, than can be provided for on any other theory than that he actually bore the avenging stroke which Retribution lays on the sinful soul.

But not upon the ground of the mere *language* of the Scriptures alone, does the reasoning here suggested rest. The general tone and spirit of the Epistles especially, the master-thoughts through which, like the vital forces of the body through jugular vein and spinal cord, and central heart-beat, the soul and life of the Gospel, as there preached, throb and beat, afford the elements of a calculus which leads us back to the sacrifice on Calvary, as a veritable sin offering, strangely, mysteriously efficacious to cleanse the soul from guilt. The constant reference to the *blood* of Christ, for example, in a tone and manner as if there lay the "hiding of the power" of the propitiation, reminds us of the words of Moses: "For the life of the flesh is in the blood; it is the blood that maketh atonement for the soul;" and of those of the apostle, "without shedding of blood there is no remission." The argument is not that here is a logical expression of the relation of the Cross to Retribution; but a hint, a direction of thought, a glance and a gesture of rhetoric, at least, toward the idea of vengeance striking at the life, and thirsting for blood. And as to the value of such hints, or glances, remember the Atone-

ment is the central theme of the Gospel, and these very hints are made by the apostles the vital points of the Atonement. The tone in which the relations of the Father and the Son, in respect to the Atonement, are spoken of, beginning in those mysterious words already quoted: "My God! my God! why hast thou forsaken me?" and carried out in such expressions as "being made a curse for us;" as if, somehow, the wrath of God were visited upon the Redeemer's head; the emphasis and force with which the saving faith of the believer is regarded in the New Testament as anchored, not on the mercy of God rendered possible by the Cross, but on Christ. Christ personally, and alone, as if the soul would appropriate and gather him in its arms and hide forever in his bosom; that strange, high theme, too, opened by Christ himself under the similitude of the vine and branches, and reveled in by him who said: "I live, yet not I, for it is Christ that liveth in me," and, "Ye are dead, and your lives are hid with Christ in God;" and, indeed, the whole extent to which Christ is the "all in all" of the Gospel,—all this not affirms, or necessarily implies, do we say, but draws its deepest life, its loftiest inspiration from that theory of the Cross, which supposes that on it the lightnings of Retribution flashed, and its thunders rolled.

Grant that exegesis of this kind cannot be regarded as decisive; it is, in our judgment, certainly not to be overlooked. It is a poor principle of interpretation, at least of inspired writers, that tones down the richest colors of its author, clips the wings of his loftiest flight, and eviscerates his message of all that rises above the common place, the earthly, and the comprehensible. There is, in one sense, an *infinite* soul in everything. The true *seer* of nature is he who knows how to find and interpret it.

On the whole, difficult as we find it to surmount the objections to the idea of actual satisfaction rendered by Christ to the law of Retribution, we are still reluctant to rest on the lower plane already attained. If it were possible, we could joyfully embrace a deeper and stronger view.

The question then returns, is there a possible ground upon which such a view can be established?

The most attractive theory, while viewed in a single line of light, with which we are acquainted, has for its basis the old philosophy of Realism, or the doctrine of Universals. The universal man, of course, can be conceived of as acting, assuming character, incurring destinies, &c., in behalf of the whole race, involved, and compromised with himself. It is easy to see how convenient a ground is thus furnished for such a doctrine as that of the complicity of the race in Adam's sin. It is only necessary to suppose that in some way, not, we believe, explained, the universal became the particular in Adam, and thus humanity literally "sinned in him, and fell with him in the first transgression." "We sinned in Adam," says Dr. Shedd, "because we *were* Adam." In like manner, suppose Christ to have assumed universal humanity in the incarnation, then humanity obeyed the law, and suffered in expiation of its sins, or under the avenging stroke of Retribution on the cross.

We have called this the most attractive theory of real expiation with which we are acquainted. It is so, not only from the beautiful clearness and depth which it almost necessarily imparts to the thought, so long as traced in a single line, and from the air of philosophic profundity which it thus acquires; but scarcely less because it avoids, if true, the strange obliviousness with which most of the old school writers have felicitated themselves on the satisfaction rendered by Christ to penal justice, in utter apparent unconsciousness of the never yet answered objection, that the law of justice runs, "The soul that sinneth *it* shall die," not "When a soul sinneth somebody shall die." We confess, too, to a certain sympathy with this realistic theology from its open-eyed recognition of that dark, deep mystery of humanity,—the spiritual identity of the race, by which, independently of all disputed questions pertaining thereto, practically the race was on trial, and was tempted and fell in Adam, and, by an awful certainty, if not necessity, every member of it has sinned in consequence ever since, and, far the greater part, therefore, will lie down in eternal woe;—all this wrapped up in the act of a single progenitor a thousand

years before they were born ! Construct the smoothest theory possible, express it by whatever euphemism you please, still, the fact remains, dark and foreboding as night ; and it is a satisfaction to meet a philosophy which seems to recognize, even if it cannot explain it. Year by year we are seeing more clearly that there is more in this dreadful gulf of "*fallen nature*" than is generally supposed. And we do not wonder that a mind like that of the writer just mentioned, still, single, and clear, but not many-sided, that drops its thoughts straight down into the lowest depths like the lead into fathomless waters, and sometimes with scarcely more of scope and comprehension, should grasp like a diver the shining pearl of Realism as something "rich and strange," and "not more strange than true." It is the only ground worthy the name of philosophy, upon which the theory of veritable satisfaction to the law of Retribution has been placed.

Among the special "illuminations," supposed, of that wandering, but pure and lofty star, Edward Irving, was a peculiar meaning and emphasis given to the doctrine of the incarnation, by which Christ is supposed to have joined humanity to himself, and in it, and it in him, to have suffered, and with himself to be about to raise it eventually to glory, in a sense which, so far as we understand it, would rest appropriately upon the foundation of the Realistic philosophy ; or, at least, would reach the same results by providing that humanity in Christ has paid its debt on the cross, and the jaws of retribution are forever closed. And, for ourselves, it is no part of our idea of true wisdom to turn an altogether closed eye upon the thoughts of a soul like that of Edward Irving.

We remember, too, that central fire of the New Testament, the doctrine of the vital union of the believer with Christ, concerning which the elder Alexander is said to have remarked on his dying-bed, that it was the sum and substance of all theology ; and that no philosophy gives such reality, meaning, and value to that idea, as that which makes humanity in Christ to have so groaned and died on the Cross, that even Retribution owns itself content.



But what of the objections which will intrude to mar so beautiful a theory?

There is a difficulty in the first place, in conceiving of such an existence as humanity in general. The knot is, the attribute of personality. Without that you have no being, capable of rational or moral nature, office, or destiny; with it your being is an individual, and not a species or class. It is true, God is personal, and yet even more general than the general man would necessarily be. But God is infinite, and not all conditions that are possible to him are possible to the finite. But to suppose this difficulty in some way surmounted, another will arise—how to hold the individuals of the race responsible for the acts of this general being,—the personality of the class. As to original sin, for example, how am I responsible for a sin committed without my consciousness not only, but before I ever had a conscious, nay, even a personal existence? Can there be moral action without *personality*? If so, then why do we cling so tenaciously to the idea of a personal God? Nay, if so, then what is personality as distinguished from the want of it? And what is it worth?

And in the case of the Atonement, how am I entitled to any credit from the obedience or the sufferings of the general humanity in Christ, a thousand years before I had an existence? True, I existed in germ, in the general class. But that was not really *I*. The *I* is the personality, which had not then begun to be. If humanity, not I, paid the penalty of sin, then humanity, not I, must reap the benefit. The same *quasi* personality, which enables humanity thus to put forth moral action, independently of the individuals of the race, would enable that same humanity to enjoy the benefits of the payment, independently of the race. It is utterly, absolutely inconceivable that I, an individual sinner, should be regarded as having paid the penalty of my individual sins, in the act of a personality, altogether distinct from my own, and while as yet I had no personal existence. And this unfathomable gulf, between the status of Christ and myself before the law, is

proved by the fact, that notwithstanding all he has done, I remain just as utterly a sinner, just as deeply under the curse, just as sure to perish as before, until fresh action of my own has been taken altogether independently of Christ, by which the power of sin in my soul is broken, and the work of purification begun. How is this, if I, included in humanity, was so united to Christ that a real expiation for my sins could be made by him in his own body on the tree? Other difficulties follow. If all humanity, wrapped up in Christ, thus made expiation for itself on the cross, how is it that all humanity is not thereby justified and saved? Is it said that the sacrifice was for original, not for individual sin, and that for this there must still be the exercise of repentance? We ask, again, does not the offering of a sufficient expiation for past sins imply the disposition to put away sin in future, or, in other words, repentance? Can a man be so wrapped up in the soul of Christ, as to share the merit of the sacrifice on the Cross, and not become therein a penitent? Why, then, are not all men penitent? Moreover, if a full satisfaction was rendered on the Cross to the law of Retribution, why is penitence necessary at all? Must a man not only pay his debt, but then weep because he contracted it? Retribution inflicts just the true penalty—just what is right. Can the law, then, when Retribution is satisfied, go further and demand tears? Or, in other words, can Retribution, when satisfied, show itself unsatisfied? Should it be replied that Retribution is satisfied, but that simple Justice still requires repentance, the question arises, if the union between Christ and humanity is such that his suffering pays our debt to Retribution, why must not his righteousness meet our responsibility to Justice?

It would be easy to increase the array of difficulties in the way of this theory. But they all spring from the same root, the essential absurdity, nay, impossibility, according to all rational conception of transferring moral character or its consequences from one personality to another. And this is a difficulty which, so far as we know, never has been removed, and we may all judge for ourselves whether it ever will be.

If the question be still pressed whether there be not some possible theory by which the Cross may be a real satisfaction to the law of Retribution, the following may be suggested as covering ground which might possibly yield something of value if explored. It is God, in Christ, who bears the penalty of sin on the Cross. But God is the personification of all fundamental and eternal principles, Retribution among the rest, i. e. he *is* the law of Retribution, which law itself, then, virtually, on the Cross, undertakes the satisfaction of itself while setting the sinner free.

Now, the question is, whether any important modification in the conditions of the problem is thus effected! Does the fact that the law itself, in its personal head, undertakes to make expiation, render an expiation possible, where otherwise impossible?

To some this may appear conceivable. Others will object that eternal principles like those now concerned, are not matters of *will* at all; that not themselves any more than any other power, can decree them satisfied, until in the fixed *nature* of the case they are really met and fulfilled. We shall not pursue the inquiry in this direction.

If it be objected to this essay that we have settled nothing, not even in our own opinion, we reply, it was not our business to make the truth, but to expose it; and, if the truth, as it comes within the orbit of the human mind, affords elements, not at all points sufficient for a complete calculation, it is not our fault.

We may say, however, in conclusion, that, on the whole, and after such thinking as we have been able to bestow upon the subject, and especially in the light of the tone and spirit of the Scriptures, and also of the richest and ripest Christian consciousness in every age, expressed for example in the sacred songs of the Church, in such lines as,

"But Christ, the heavenly Lamb,  
Takes all our sins away,"

we are not *content* with the governmental theory of the

Atonement; nor can we accept it as a full measure of the import and power of the Cross. Deeper than this, we believe, there is a truth, which, though we can neither exactly locate, measure, nor explore, we can dimly apprehend, at least in its direction and analogy; and on it our soul can repose, and our heart can feed, while into it, leaning on their golden harps, the angels will forever strive to look.

## ARTICLE V.—WHAT MAKES A HERETIC?

A HERETIC having been taken for all that is odious, vile, and heathenish, and deemed worthy of excommunication, exile, flames, and eternal damnation, and his body, even, declared to be unfit to rest in an orthodox church-yard, it is meet to inquire what makes a heretic? What gives him his title? What works his attainder? By what marks and signs shall his character be known?

To the general reader this subject may lack in interest; but those who hunt for heresy will welcome any breeze which brings them scent of game.

That a task like this is far from easy was seen by the great Augustine: in whose opinion it is difficult, and perhaps impossible, to determine, in a single definition, what makes a heretic. With whom agrees Lardner: that "it is not easy to show, by any exact definition, what is heresy, or, who is a heretic." However, we may be able to reach, by degrees, what is not to be comprehended in any single definition.

This is, indeed, the task; to traverse a region and run a line where the boundary is indefinite; to pick the way in places where by-paths cross each other in every direction; to show the false amid mutually exclusive sects and ever-shifting dogmas; and to convict on some high and sure authority where all assume to be sound in the faith.

The task becomes the more difficult, also, because orthodoxy and heresy shade into each other by such imperceptible degrees, that one may slip from one to the other and escape detection. For, a heretic has not gone over to positive unbelief. If he is not sound in the faith he is less than an infidel. He may be poisoned with error, but does not absolutely reject the truth. He may elect and eliminate, but still he has his creed which is based on Scripture.

Moreover, by profession, he is not a heretic. He interprets the Bible according to rules of reason, and gives it a natural

and fair construction. He only rejects what is inconclusive and absurd, as held by the so-called orthodox. Indeed, he convicts them of heresy and takes to himself the orthodox title. He accuses his accusers, and, reprobated, reprobates them. Anathematized, he hurls back anathemas, and thunders against his enemies with more terrible reverberations. Cyril flames against Nestorius, and Nestorius against Cyril. "Give me a country purged of all heretics, and in exchange for it, I will give you heaven;" and back comes the fulmination, that "Nestorius is a heretic worse than Cain, or the Sodomites." Thus, each repels the idea of heresy, and is surprised, indignant, disgusted, even, at the intolerance and narrowness of the opposite party.

A heretic, says the Papist, is one who denies the infallibility of the Pope. A heretic, says the Protestant, is one who affirms it. A heretic, says the Socinian, is one who holds to the Trinity of persons, whether Papist or Protestant; and these mutual charges and professions of orthodoxy is what involves the subject. Would any confess to heresy, that ends the discussion. But how convict one of what he denies; and when he claims to be orthodox, what degree of error and what form of reasoning makes him a heretic?

A heretic, originally a chooser, sectarist, or partisan, and such in no bad sense, is since taken to be a corrupter of the faith; one who combines with it arbitrary human opinions; one who deviates, in some respect, from the standard of orthodoxy.

But here the question is thrust upon us, what is that standard, and on whose authority? For, to judge of heresy, we must be guided by some criterion which shall determine when opinion, either individual or collective, departs from the meaning of Scripture. We must rise to some uniform principle, or law, which shall be an absolute norm for all ages of the church—the object of authority being, of course, not to force, but to guide; not to impose arbitrary limits to opinions, but to test and correct them.

Here we have nothing to say as to the sources of religious knowledge. That is a separate question; and, we assume with every Protestant, that the Scriptures are the only rule of faith

and practice. We assume, moreover, their infallibility. The question, here, is as to the correctness of that which is drawn from Scripture, which is embodied and accepted in articles of faith, or otherwise, expressed and believed, and as to that criterion which, as centering in the highest authority, is the ultimate standard by which to judge of heresy.

We are the more careful to notice this, because the disposition is to make ourselves the law by which to judge of others. In every age the cry of opposing sects has been : " We are orthodox ; we are orthodox. We believe in the genuine doctrines of Scripture, and he is a heretic who dissents from us." But orthodoxy can rest on no such authority as this. For some must be wrong, and what is assumed by one will be assumed by all ; and as a consequence, the heretics will intrench themselves behind a position from which the orthodox can never dislodge them.

It is one thing to say we believe in the genuine doctrines of Scripture ; another to prove that belief to be genuine. Pride of opinion will lead us to assert our orthodoxy with zeal and vehemence ; but must this assertion be taken for granted ? May we not, like the courts, demand more impartial testimony ? The fact that orthodoxy has been the refuge of so many lies ; that under that profession every doctrine of Scripture has been disputed or denied ; and that even the Church infallible has been the mother of manifold errors and heresies, should make us cautious in asserting a claim which proves nothing for us and which may give great advantage to others.

No church will take the testimony of persons suspected of heresy to their soundness of faith. They may not question their sincerity, but they do not regard their testimony as sufficient, and especially as disinterested evidence ; and for the same reason, the heretics will question theirs ; and, whether justly or not, will set as much by their own opinion.

We may say, then, by way of negation, that the ultimate standard by which to judge of heresy cannot rest on the authority of an individual. This is to insinuate no doubts as to the right of private judgment. As the Bible appeals to individual reason, so we believe in the general trustworthiness

of the mental faculties, and that each one may, by his integrity, the purity of his will, and the measure of grace imparted, arrive at its essential truth. But the conclusion of such an one can never be a final test for others, and especially for the church universal. For, his authority, other things being equal, is only equal to that of others, and he was always liable to miss or pervert the truth. As an individual, he was not secure against something peculiar to himself, or peculiar to the time, which might warp his judgment. And what he draws from Scripture may be rather an expression of his private opinion, than its genuine meaning.

Moreover, no true champion of orthodoxy, however confident of the soundness of his views, and however orthodox, makes authority to rest in himself. He appeals to Scripture, as of right he may, and holds himself competent to apprehend its essential meaning; and his opinions must carry weight, in proportion to his piety, ability, and learning; but he ever appeals to some higher authority, by which to test his belief, and by which his conclusions are confirmed.

We may say, still further, that the ultimate standard by which to judge of heresy cannot rest on the authority of a church. We grant that, of reason, it assumes to be a better judge of the meaning of Scripture than an individual. It is composed of numbers; it is supposed to embrace more piety and learning; its life is more extended; and as able to compare and correct its opinions, and likelier to be free from that bias and narrowness which may influence private judgment, so is it naturally entitled to greater weight.

But a church, considered as a section or branch of christendom, is not supreme. Though able to judge of the truth of Scripture, it is often warped by interest, and the prevailing notions of the time. It is rarely superior to error, or party prejudice; and there is nothing in numbers which may secure it from the worst corruption. We may even presume it orthodox, but it is not enough to assert it on its own authority; and for the same reason that it affirms its orthodoxy, and proceeds to judge of heresy from that standard, a heretical church will do the same.



Doubtless, every church must have its formulas, or articles of faith by which to test its members; but it should be able to appeal to some higher standard, by which to confirm the correctness of its creed, and on which it reposes, as final authority.

But what shall be said of the Catholic Church, which assumed its title in opposition to the heretical sects, and which has always taken upon itself to judge of heresy? To what shall that church appeal which has embraced the whole of Christendom; which has ruled with unlimited sway; and which is now the most extensive and powerful organization in the Christian world.

To this we reply, that we want some evidence that the Romish church is infallible; and that it has never misjudged, or worse, has never seen fit to gloss and to corrupt the Scriptures, to suit its purpose. Wherein was it so free from error and prejudice, and so above the incentives to wealth and power, that it had no disposition to mistake or falsify their meaning? But we have no such evidence in reason, still less in fact.

It is to be remembered, moreover, that the Romish Church resolved itself into an ecclesiastical oligarchy culminating in the Pope, which thought and spoke for the multitude. In this case then, numbers signify nothing, because the mass are held in stolid ignorance. They are not allowed to judge of Scripture, and their authority, so far as orthodoxy is concerned, must go for nothing, because they had no opinion. What they believe is simply an expression of arbitrary and priestly will, which if possible, would control the thought and conscience of all mankind.

Had the doctrines and dogmas of the Romish Church been arrived at by the church as a whole; had they been the result of free investigation and interpretation of Scripture, on the part of all, the Church would carry with it a mighty authority with all thinking minds. But when we find this vast organization centering in a priestly caste which is the mouth-piece of the whole; which presumes to dole out Scripture to suit its convenience; and which is responsible to none save an irre-

sponsible Pope, we have no more regard for its authority than for that of any other powerful and private clique. The Church has become a sect, as liable to err as any other, and under as strong temptation to corrupt the faith. This is manifest in reason, and is quite too manifest in reality.

Doubtless, the Hierarchy, wishing to guard the Scriptures from the ignorance of the people, and from the desecration of the heretics, took them under their protection with good intent; but they seem to have forgotten that organized bodies may be as willing to abuse their liberties, as individuals; and that under no restraint, and swayed by powerful interests, they sometimes consent to err, when they are able to see the truth. Of this the Church has given most lamentable proof.

Furthermore, before the Catholic Church assumes to furnish the standard by which to judge of heresy, it should determine what is orthodoxy, and give us some uniform and settled creed. But this it has never done. Many of its dogmas were not only an arbitrary and unnatural formation, but they have always been changing to suit the convenience of the church. Opposing parties have ever differed as to articles of faith, and preferred against each other the charge of heresy. Hence, Eutyches is represented as saying, that "while he revered the sayings of the older church-teachers, they could not possess, in his view, the authority of a rule of faith, for they were not free from error, and they sometimes contradicted one another."

Besides, within the bosom of the church there were ever a few who resisted its arbitrary power and growing corruptions; and the Church may be compared to a stagnant marsh engendering all odious creatures; through which, nevertheless, there ran a silver stream of piety which was at length to divide and cleanse it. And we are warranted in saying that these few, however limited, carried with them a much higher authority than the church itself.

For these reasons, then, the ultimate standard by which to judge of heresy, does not center in the Catholic Church, nor in any other church, nor in any individual. All may be able to apprehend the truth of Scripture, and for the sake of argu-

ment, all may be orthodox; but it is not enough for them to affirm it on their own authority. We have, then, to set them all aside, considered as a final test, and giving to each a weight in proportion to their piety and learning and their fidelity to truth and conscience, we must seek to find some higher standard, to which all shall appeal, and by which all shall be tested.

*That, we say, is orthodoxy, which, as drawn from Scripture alone, has been believed and confirmed by the most pious and learned, in all ages of the Church;* and this, we think, is the final and true criterion by which to judge of heresy and all the creeds. We thus ascend to a law which embraces the entire life of the Church, and which preserves an unbroken line through every age. Our aim is to get above opinions; the opinions of individuals, the opinions of a church, the opinions of *the Church*, and above all those causes which occasion peculiar, partial, and perverted views; to rise to some concurrent testimony which is uniform and one. And where else shall we find it, except in those learned and pious souls, whose desire was to get above everything which can warp the mind, and apprehend that simple truth which alone can save the soul. Aside from their piety and candor they could not agree to falsify, being separated by distant ages; and when all, in the most opposite relations, arrive at essentially the same conclusions, it is positive evidence that these conclusions must be true. There must be some such unvarying law of agreement which shall become the touchstone of orthodoxy, or we shall be subjected to standards as manifold and arbitrary as are the opinions and interests of mankind.

But, is this criterion capable of positive expression? We answer, no; no further perhaps than it has been done in formulas and symbols. Nor is it necessary; we are not required to affirm so much what it is, as what it is not; partly, because any form of words must fail to embody and set forth the truth of Scripture in any adequate manner, and partly, because words and formulas are always changing. Could we conceive a council embracing all the piety and learning of the church universal, we might conceive them to settle a creed which should guide the church for all coming time; but drawn out as they are, through

successive ages, men must arrive at the truth of Scripture, more or less, through conceptions of their own, and set it forth in various expressions. It is easy to boast of a creed which has been everywhere, always, and by all accepted; but no such formula is to be found; and we must be content to be guided by a standard, which, however it fails of expression, is not a useless and vague idea, which may be traced through the entire history of the church, and which as a test is capable of positive application.

Assuming then for the present, that this standard constitutes the court of highest appeal, we inquire, in the first place, whether *doubt* makes a heretic? We answer, no; when one believes on the whole, and only doubts in particular.

By doubt, is meant, not a chronic condition of mind which is skeptical of all things, and which as a negation of all belief, is contradictory and self-destructive; nor yet, what is understood by the legal phrase "*non liquet*," as of a case which the mind is unable to decide; but doubts, arising from objections and obscurity. Thus defined, doubt, we say, is not only legitimate, but inevitable. It springs from human ignorance, and from incapacity to comprehend the case in all its bearings. Not that we require absolute knowledge as the condition of faith, which would supersede it; but when an objection stands in the way of faith, and would have us believe as against reason, we are compelled to doubt, so far as the objection is concerned; and, were there nothing but objections, faith were impossible.

But an objection against a doctrine does not disprove it; and though it occasions doubt, does not warrant disbelief. For, it may be only apparent, and should no more suffer us to deny, than to believe, without further evidence. If we hesitate in one instance, for lack of knowledge, we certainly ought in the other; and were evidence and objections equally balanced, the only legitimate course is, to hang in suspense, awaiting further light. That is a sad abuse of reason which denies what is doubtful, and then affirms the contrary, which is equally doubtful.

The most we can do is, to weigh evidence against objections, and put ourselves on whichever side the evidence preponder-

ates. Absolute knowledge is out of the question; and that is enough for us, which we have reason to believe on the whole, notwithstanding the objections against it. This is the argument of Butler, and has never been refuted.

In any case, we should confine our doubts to their legitimate sphere, and not allow them to invalidate positive evidence, and warp the mind; our business being, as Lord Bacon says, "not to make certain things doubtful, but to make doubtful things certain." Doubt should make us go deeper, and survey the subject with wider range; and when this is done, the evidence may so far outweigh the objections as to neutralize the doubts, and make them of no practical significance.

What more is possible respecting that which is accepted as the rule of faith? That many things contained therein are open to objections, none will deny; and minds most pious and profound have been tormented with doubts. But does this argue heresy? Have they raised the objections, and is doubt their choice? or are they involved in the subject, and thrust upon them as against their will? Such doubts, we repeat, are inevitable and lawful when confined to their legitimate sphere and only allowed their weight. It is enough that doubt is not the prevailing bent of the mind; that it is seeking to get beyond it; and that it already believes notwithstanding the doubts; and when, as will certainly follow on honest and faithful search, such is the weight of evidence that it rises above objections to a controlling and steadfast faith, doubt, so far from being construed into heresy, has no practical importance, and is rather of that honest kind, in which lives more faith than in half the creeds.

We inquire further, whether *error* makes a heretic? this does not follow. So Augustine: "All heresy is error, but all error is not heresy." And in his famous words, "Err I may, but a heretic I will not be." So Milton, in respect to Lutherans, Calvinists, Anabaptists, &c.: "All these may have some errors, but are no heretics." And again: "Error is against the will in misunderstanding the Scriptures, after all simple endeavor to understand them rightly." So Hooker, "Many are partakers of the error, which are not of the heresy of the church of Rome, and

did but erroneously practice that which their guides did heretically teach." And again in respect to his Ecclesiastical Polity: "Wherein I may haply err, as others before me have done; but a heretic, by the help of Almighty God, I will never be." Error, like doubt, arises from incapacity, ignorance, and from that obscurity which hangs about the subject, and may be unavoidable, notwithstanding all efforts to guard against it. This is to cast no reflections on the trustworthiness of the mental faculties, as the instrument with which to arrive at truth; but only to affirm the possibility of error, to which the human mind is always subject.

But here we impose two limitations; being equally careful to mark the motive in error, and that to which the error extends.

First, the error must be against the will, and unavoidable. Truth from the first, must be the desire and aim, and every effort made to reach it; and error must, in every instance, be the fruit of ignorance, or of incapacity to see. For, as wanton, or the result of rashness, it is inexcusable. And as involuntary, so when discovered, it must be as willingly thrust aside as unwillingly got. For, as Hooker finely remarks, "Error convicted, and afterwards maintained, is more than error."

The error again, must not so touch the heart of essential truth as to vitiate and neutralize its saving virtue. Otherwise, if not heresy, it is next akin. However honest and involuntary, it is, as radical and standing in the way of saving truth, at least a positive vice; and so to be regarded and avoided by the church.

But here the question arises, how it is possible for one who is free to search the Scriptures, and who has all needful helps, and who is supposed to be able to apprehend their essential meaning, so far to violate the rule of faith and practice as to run into radical error? Here we might urge the obscurity of Scripture on many points; the effect of education and force of circumstances; the prevailing philosophy and notions of the time; defect or peculiarity of intellect, which induces inconsequent reasoning; for which we should make all due allowance. But may we not trace the error, as a rule, to a more radical source? May we not predict of such an one that from the outset he took some other position than that of Scripture;

that he had a rooted prejudice against some doctrine which he wished to pervert or explain away; and that he was more intent to confirm his doubts and carry his point, than to multiply evidence and become established in the faith? Of this there can be no question; and this helps us to answer what makes a heretic.

1. *Subjectively.* Heresy starts in the will; in unsanctified reason; in arbitrary human opinion, as opposed to faith and all rightful authority. It is a positive force engendered in the soul, and almost certain to develop in a certain way. It is a previous condition of the mind and heart which, by prevailing bent, swings away from some part of Scripture. Orthodoxy is not its goal, nor does it commit itself to the natural flow of the current towards it. It has another point to reach, and means to push around whatever stands in its way. It is the preference of something which is more agreeable to nature, or which appears more consonant with reason to that which is taught in the Scriptures. It is *of choice*, to add something which they exclude, or subtract something which they contain, or so to interpret, change or modify, as to make them harmonize with a preconceived opinion or theory.

A heretic, we say, is such from will and desire; not that he wills to be a heretic, but he wills to be that which makes him heretical. Thus Milton: "Heresy is in the will, professedly against Scripture." And in the "I will not be a heretic," of Augustine and Hooker, they show it to be a matter of volition, as opposed to error which is unavoidable. "Heresy," says Hooker, "is heretically maintained by such as obstinately hold it, after wholesome admonition."

Self-will then, obstinacy, dogmatism, enter into the radical idea of a heretic, and help to give him that character.

Here, we shall not forget that heresy may be the natural outgrowth of the prevailing religion or philosophy; or, that it may arise from pure speculation, as in the case of Sabellianism; or, that it may be a reaction from harsh or erroneous opinions of the church, and impelled in the defense of some dogmatic interest, as in the case of Pelagianism; and that while many persons appear to have been possessed by a pious and an honest zeal, as, for instance, Nestorius, Arius, and Pela-

gius, others have been heretical, unconscious, to themselves, and out of compulsion; as witness multitudes in the Romish Church. All these circumstances, perhaps, must enter in to modify the offense; and, it is a nice question to determine how far conscientious conviction may palliate heretical opinions. But, when all is done, heresy proceeds from some other point of departure than that of Scripture, and, as a rule, is of choice, to arrive at other conclusions.

But more particularly: A heretic is such from a willing misuse or abuse of reason. He submits that to the understanding which is plainly above it, and reasons where the subject precludes it, or, he tries to disprove what, though more or less evident, he is unwilling to believe. Like the rationalist, he demands too much of reason on the one side, and like the sophist, he directly abuses it on the other. Hence, as Hooker observes, "Heresy prevailleth by a counterfeit show of reason."

Here we have no desire to limit the use of reason, but only to confine it to its proper sphere, and to have it employed in a legitimate manner. But, it is the highest part of reason to know to what it applies, and how to use it lawfully; and, never is it more irrational than when it transcends its limits, or seeks to invalidate positive evidence.

It is in the nature of a heretic, still further, as he over-estimates reason, to underrate the authority of Scripture. This, of course he denies. But how else had it been possible to father on the Bible so many absurd and contrary dogmas? Witness the speculations of the Gnostics, who ever interpret and bend the Scriptures to meet their philosophy. In the language of Trench: "They only came to the Scriptures to find a varnish—an outer Christian coloring for a system essentially anti-Christian; not to learn its language, but to see if they could not compel it to speak theirs. They came with no desire to draw out of Scripture its meaning, but to thrust into Scripture their own."

And always, heresy appears in a disposition rather to guide the Scriptures than to be guided by them. They seem to be regarded as incomplete, and as needing some sort of revision or emendation. The Bible, so far from being thought infalli-



ble, has been rummaged like the books of ancient archives, and subjected to every species of torture to prove a point; giving rise to the well known sneer :

"This is the book where each his dogma seeks;  
And this the book where each his dogma finds."

Still, we have no desire to limit the right of private judgment; least of all, to commit the Scriptures to the keeping of a church. We have seen enough of priestly wardship and ecclesiastical orthodoxy, and are quite willing to intrust the Bible to the people at large. Let the heretics torture and corrupt the Scriptures as they will, they can do no worse than popes and councils, with their wretched dogma of tradition.

It enters, still further, into the composition of a heretic that he underrates the authority of those who, by their piety and learning, have been best fitted to judge of Scripture, and who have always agreed touching its fundamental teachings. "*Nul-  
lius addictus jurare in verba magistri*," says old Burton, "is one of the first symptoms of a heretic;" and while a man is not bound to swear by the opinions of others, it is dangerous to swear by his own. There is a just medium between servility and assurance. "We are afraid," says Mr. Burke, "to put men to live and trade each on his private stock of reason; because we suspect that the stock in each man is small; and that the individuals would do better to avail themselves of the general bank and capital of nations and of ages."

By our definition of orthodoxy, we cannot require a man to feel bound to the dictates of any particular person or church, considered as final authority; because what is particular is liable to be narrow and exclusive; and we made the highest authority to rest in those who, from their piety and learning, would not be likely to err as individuals, and who could not possibly err by common consent. Now, not to regard the opinions of such, is the part of conceit. It is to presume that one is wiser than all the fathers. "*Omnes patres sic, atque ego sic*," as Burton has it.

This, we think, has been the vice of heretics: that they have not been given to test their opinions by the conclusions of others, and that they have assumed to be more competent to judge

of Scripture than all who have gone before them ; and it is this reckless self-assurance and spirit of dogmatism by which so many have swung from the Scriptures and made shipwreck of the faith. Thus much as to a heretic on the subjective side.

2. It now remains to determine what makes a heretic from the *objective* standpoint. For, though a heretic is such by virtue of his inner contents, yet the church must judge him according to his outer belief, and in view of his departure from the standard of orthodoxy. And here, as intimated, we prefer to indicate what that standard is rather by negation than affirmation, so as not to fall into those statements and definitions concerning orthodoxy which are peculiar to an age, individual, or church. We wish simply to conform to the words of Hagenbach, that "the definitions of doctrines have been undergoing constant change, while the great and essential truths which they teach remain the same in every age."

Orthodoxy, then, in the understanding of the most pious and learned in all ages of the church, has not been that view which denies the inspiration and divine authenticity of the Scriptures, with many of the Gnostics, in respect to the Old Testament and much of the New ; or the fall, depravity and ruin of the human race, in consequence of sin, in an important sense, with the Gnostics, Pelagians, Socinians, Unitarians, &c. ; or the Incarnation of Jesus Christ, with the Marcionites, Manichees, and others ; or which affirms his humanity to the exclusion of his supreme divinity, with the Ebionites, Eunnomians, Socinians, Arians, &c. ; or his divinity to the exclusion of his humanity, with some of the Gnostics, Apollinarians, &c. ; or which denies the personal distinction in the Godhead, with the Patripassians, Sabellians, Marcellians, Socinians, and Unitarians ; or the doctrine of the two natures, with the Eutychians, Monophysites, &c. ; or redemption and atonement in consequence of Christ's sufferings and death on the cross, with the Manichees, Marcionites, Socinians, and Unitarians ; or regeneration through the personal agency of the Holy Spirit, in an important sense with the Pelagians and Unitarians ; or justification by faith, with the Gnostics, and, in an essential sense, with many of the Papists and Pelagians ; or the endless punishment

of the wicked, with the Universalists ; or which affirms their annihilation, with the Destructionists ; or an offer of salvation after death, with we know not whom.

To accept, then, any of these views as the genuine teachings of Scripture, goes to make a heretic—a heretic, because it is to pervert and corrupt their essential truth ; and this not on the authority of any individual or church, but on the authority of those who, in every age of the church, have arrived at just contrary conclusions, and who, by their piety and learning, their honest and unshackled spirit, and by their free surrender to the Spirit's influence, were, and are, best fitted to apprehend the truth of Scripture. We pretend not to deny that such an one may be a Christian, nor that there are many degrees of heresy ; but simply affirm that when tried by the highest test, he, in an essential sense, departs from the faith. In fact, it is easy to show that the heretics are able to stand no such test as this, nor to furnish any similar criterion among themselves.

While, on the one side, there has been singular harmony and consistency touching the great and fundamental truths of Scripture—not so much in any form of words, perhaps, as in respect to that which manifold forms of words convey—or, aside from formulas, in respect to that which is expressed in meditations, hymns, and all methods of devotion ; while, standing on common ground, all true believers are marshaled under one banner, inspired by one watchword and engaged in one conflict ; while, in every age, it has been one Lord, one faith, one baptism, on the other side it has been endless diversity and disagreement. The heretics cross each other in every direction. Hence, a master of scoffing mentioned in Lord Bacon, in a catalogue of books of a feigned library, sets down this title of a book : “The Morris-dance of Heretics.” “For,” says Bacon, “every sect of them hath a diverse posture, or cringe by themselves, which cannot but move derision in wordlings and depraved politics, which are apt to condemn holy things.”

Witness the difference between the Ebionites, the Docetæ, and the Gnostics, in respect to the character and mission of Jesus Christ ; and also the endless diversity among the Gnos-

tics themselves—Gnosticism either exploding altogether, or at last hardening off into Manicheeism. Witness, also, the flat contradiction between the Sabellians and Arians, in respect to the Trinity—some of the latter toning down into Semi-Arians and Macedonians. Witness, still further, the shades of difference and contradiction, in respect to the natures and wills of Christ, as appears in the Apollinarians, the Nestorians, the Monophysites, and Monothelites. We shall call to mind, also, the diversity among the Pelagians, Semi-pelagians, and Donatists. The truth is, the heretics run to endless discord, and refute themselves.

We are aware that the same charge has always been made by the Papal Church against the sects of Protestant Christendom. But, in respect to external discipline and worship, we say, the church is not bound by rigid rules and forms, because such is not the design of the Gospel, nor can it be shown to be more conducive to the healthy development of Christian life. Hence the churches have taken the liberty to assume such ecclesiastical vestments as suit their taste. But the heretics, on the contrary, have sundered the body of Christ and corrupted its very life, and have not only misplaced the several parts, but have introduced such fancied improvements of their own that the original likeness is beyond recognition. Whoever tries to eliminate pure Christianity from among the heresies, has imposed upon himself as great a task as they assumed who sought to obtain the precious metals by arts of alchemy.

With respect to the heresies again, there is nothing regular and permanent. Their origin we may discover at all points in the history of the church, and pursuing a course which is devious and often self-destructive. Unlike the Gospel, which moves in a regular orbit, and displays a steady light in every age, the course of heresies has been like that of comets and meteors; some returning at distant periods under different names and phases, and others ending after a short career, in total darkness. On the one side, we might instance the Monarchians, as they appear in the Alogi, the Socinians and Unitarians; or the Monophysites as they appear among the Jacobites, or the Monothelites among the Maronites of Syria. On the

other, we might instance the Gnostic heresies; those brilliant and mighty coruscations—perhaps we should say magnificent displays of thought and fancy—which, for the time, swept all before them, and in a century or two, disappeared without leaving a historian. In this way the majority of heretical sects have gone under; while others again, like the fabled Aretusa, have reappeared and will always attach to the life of the church. For, there is that in certain doctrines which will always impel certain minds in similar lines of thought; and even heresy has its laws, and may be capable of some definite calculation.

Now, had the church in judging heresy been willing to test it by some uniform standard, and to set aside its own formulas and rules, and even ecclesiastical authority, in themselves considered, it had found it comparatively easy to determine what makes a heretic; and certainly, had not made such fatal decisions and dreadful havoc. We say ecclesiastical authority; for we care not how great that authority, nor whom, nor how many it embraces, if it has swung away from that standard and severed that unity which connects the purest life of the church, with that of the apostolic age. That is not necessarily orthodoxy which is now in power, and the prevailing belief. The multitude may be in error, and its life corrupted; “and as,” in the words Neander, “the individual spirit may, in truth, by its freedom, and by the purity of its will, outrun, in its own course of developement, the whole multitude chained to that spirit of the age, which is not the spirit of truth,” so that individual is, for the age, to be chiefly regarded; for he, above all others, preserves the connection of pure Christianity and helps to constitute that standard by which to test the church, and every individual in it. And, were all thus willing to surrender their own authority, considered as final, they might furnish a criterion on the one side, which the heretics could not furnish on the other, and which the latter would be unable to meet.

So long as we make orthodoxy to rest on private opinion, or the authority of a church, the heretics will do the same, and make as loud professions of soundness in the faith; but,

when we test them by the authority of those whose equals in piety and learning, to say nothing of numbers, are not to be found among themselves, and by a principle which, under one form or another, has held its own amid all the revolutions and corruptions of the church, we put them to the rack, and discover their manifold warpings and departures from the truth.

But it has been said of late, the modern heresy consists not in refusing to believe what has been believed, but in daring to believe more than has been believed. To this there is no objection, if one shall dare to believe nothing which militates against the truth of Scripture, and shall never strain that truth beyond itself. One should have no ambition to imitate the Romish Church, which has certainly never been backward in point of daring, whose astonishing feats are before the world, and which constitute one of the marvels of history. Papal presumption, in daring to believe, and to enforce belief, has won a notoriety to which none should aspire, and which none should envy.

The Bible we regard as a continually unfolding book, and search will ever be rewarded with new discovery. But it will be more in respect to details, than the great outlines of thought. These have been discovered, and in the main, rightly apprehended from the first; and no sagacity will involve them in essential error. It is a laudable ambition which seeks to evolve the hidden meaning of Scripture, and to rescue it from one-sided and partial views; but whoever expects to find that its leading ideas have been mistaken, will be disappointed. It may be reserved for future times to resolve certain Indian hieroglyphics; but we tell all theosophists and seers, as well as all neologists and heretics, that they are not likely to find that all the past have been in error, in respect to the fundamental truths of Scripture.

What we have to guard against is, that notion of development which contemplates Bible truth as rudimental and imperfect, and as something to be evolved, or rather developed and perfected by human wisdom. We must beware of that view which conceives all truth as in continual flux and transition, and which, as in the transmigration of souls, is to purify itself

only by constant change. In the words of an old monk, "We ought to hold to a progressive evolution of Christian truth, for everything in the world advances from one stage to another, as it grows older. But this progressive evolution presupposes an abiding principle in the peculiar nature of the thing itself. The contrary to this would not be a growth, but a change to something else. The doctrines of heavenly wisdom must, with the progress of time, become more exactly defined, but they should not be altered or curtailed. They must be unfolded in greater clearness and distinctness, but they should lose nothing of their pure and complete individual nature."

The Bible is a text-book which needs no revision or supplement; and which embraces equally the germs and the perfection of Christian knowledge.

We have thus sought to show what makes a heretic, both in inner principle and in outward belief; but we are loth to conclude without pointing the subject with a few suggestions.

In the first place, if a church or council is to judge of heresy, their first business is to find the true criterion of orthodoxy; and, guided by this standard, to determine as accurately as possible what heresy is. A world of mischief has been done by assuming an undue or a false authority, and by proceeding from inaccurate standards. The churches of course, have a measure of authority like the inferior courts; but they should always be able to refer to that tribunal which embraces the largest piety and wisdom, and whose decision is ultimate.

Who would care to be judged by such a rule as this: "A heretic is one who doubts the Catholic Church and who fails to observe its doctrines and decrees;" or this statute of Henry IV.: "A heretic is a teacher of erroneous opinions, contrary to the faith and blessed determinations of the Holy Church." There is sufficient room here, to implicate half christendom, or, in fact, whomsoever may be an object of ecclesiastical spleen. And, it should be an everlasting warning to the church, that without question, more genuine Christians have been branded with heresy, than heretics themselves. If any doubt this, let him remember that the whole Protestant world

are heretics, in the eyes of the papal church. The profession of orthodoxy is universal; and has often been only another name for conceit, arrogance, intolerance, and a cloak for every abuse, and every crime: and never has a church been more fiercely orthodox, than when exerting all its power to crush out every spark of genuine orthodoxy within its reach.

Whoever assumes, again, to test the soundness of a man's views, should give him room to express himself in his own language. All minds must not be enslaved to the same formulas, nor reduced to a uniform movement. Every church should have its creed, and may well be jealous of those words and phrases which have come down from the Fathers, and which are the fruit of patient and accurate thought; but let it not be impatient of all individual speech, nor scent a heretic under every new expression.

We are aware that the heretics have often screened themselves under words and phrases, and that this was their usual resort; but this does not prove that truth can only be expressed in a single way, nor disguise the fact, that a world of thought has been excluded by reason of too narrow formulas. It certainly does not warrant the conclusion, that every departure from a phrase, betokens conscious guilt, and an effort to conceal one's real sentiments.

It is for those again, who sit in judgment on a man, to ascertain his prevailing belief. For they must judge him, not from his doubts, but from what he believes, notwithstanding his doubts. And, therefore, they should try to discover the spirit he is of; whether, that is, he is filled with a vain conceit and pride of opinion in which he despises authority and cleaves to himself, or whether, in sympathy with truth, he is only struggling with honest doubts, and striving, by search of his own, to work out a solid and steadfast faith. If the first, let them suspect his orthodoxy, and at least predict his end; but if the second, let them bid him God speed, and cheer him on. The prow of a ship must determine her course, though she labors with the waves; and he that steers towards orthodoxy, intent to reach it, is, though surrounded with doubts, worthy of the "all hail hereafter." Nor, should he be required to surround his libra-



ry with Calvinistic books; it being as well, sometimes, to reach Calvin through the Bible, as the Bible through Calvin.

Who is more worthy of applause; he who acquires his orthodoxy by patient labor, or he who assumes it, or who receives it as a hereditary fortune? It is easy to stride a creed, and, armed cap-a-pie, to dash in headlong against all real or imaginary foes; but he who trains himself by patient discipline, and digs out the metal, and forges his own steel, is likely to prove as valiant a defender of the faith, and to do as signal execution.

It is one thing for a man to settle his creed; another, to have it settled for him. There be enough of the latter; persons profoundly orthodox—orthodox to the back-bone—steeped, as it were, in a system theology—persons who, to all appearance, never had a doubt themselves, who have no sympathy with those who do, and whose constant delight it seems to be to mow for heretics. Of all intolerant and intolerable persons these are the worst; persons who never thought with sufficient depth and comprehension to see the difficulties which invest the subject, and who then demand an absolute conformity to their straitened creed.

Contrary to this, we contend that the churches should tolerate, and even encourage, that fearless style of thinking which advances boldly from premise to conclusion, and which never sticks at arbitrary rules. Truth is the only limit which God has set, and man should stand in awe of nothing else. What if some do abuse their liberty and corrupt the faith? As an offset to this, others again, true to truth and conscience, shall shake off old doubts and errors, and passing beyond to unexplored regions, shall return with a precious freight of pearls. We say, with confidence, that such large liberty is the wisest policy, and that it will doubly repay the evil.

At least let the church never deny its ministers or members the right of thought and free inquiry. It is well to be impatient of intellectual conceit, and the churches are bound to look after the purity of their faith, and the purity of their members; but how fatal is that blindness which shackles mind! Whoso runs astray, and sects and schisms are endless, almost

anything is better than an imperious, stagnant, lifeless orthodoxy. Let the Papists tax us with Universalists, Unitarians, Quakers, Mormons, and all the rest; we can better endure it than "that gross conforming stupidity," which Milton speaks of, "that stark and dead congealment of wood, hay, and stubble, forced and frozen together, which is more to the sudden degenerating of a church than many subdichotomies of petty schisms."

And since, there be those whom no dragooning can keep from heresy, nor force into the prevailing orthodoxy, and since, as history has shown, a church can never preserve its purity by arbitrary power, therefore is it better to let men think and express those opinions freely, which, if false, the church can see and grapple with, than to try to keep them smothered where they will work in silence. Error, like the hidden fountains of the earth, must, in the long run, have vent and issue. "History," says Neander, "allows nothing to be covered up or concealed. False elements which have imperceptibly attached themselves to Christianity, in its process of unfolding, must cast off the envelop, expand to the open day, and fully express themselves, that they may be overcome by the pure Christian principle." Whatever is in the heart of man must finally issue forth and expand its force. Men will corrupt the faith, and every truth of Scripture must have its conflict. What use then to put off the contest by suppressing thought. Men will think, and first or last, Christianity must grapple with every form of error.

Though reason brandish her keenest weapons, and do her utmost, what but cowardice can fear the result. If any human device can undermine and overthrow God's temple, let it fall. But he is blind to the past, and hopeless of the future, who feels not, that Christianity is equal both to outward assault and inward corruption; and that, repelling all foes and expelling all errors, it is destined to emerge purified and victorious in the final conflict.

## ARTICLE VI.—AMERICA VINDICATED BY AN ENGLISHMAN.

*America: The origin of her present conflict; the prospect for the Slave, and the test of British Sympathy.* Illustrated by incidents of travel in the United States. By JAS. W. MASSIE, D. D., LL. D. London: John Snow, 35 Paternoster Row.

THE REV. JAMES W. MASSIE, D. D., LL. D., has published the results of his tour of observation and his mission of fraternal sympathy in the United States, with a historical sketch of the political and moral antecedents of the Rebellion, which together form the most complete and satisfactory *exposé* of the causes and bearings of the war that has yet been laid before the English public.

Dr. Massie, it will be remembered, came to this country in July, 1863, as the bearer of an "Address to Ministers and Pastors of all Christian Denominations throughout the United States," on behalf of nearly five thousand ministers of the Gospel in Great Britain and in France, who had severally subscribed the same.\* This address avowed a positive sympathy with the Government and people of the United States in opposition to the rebellion, and recognized with gratitude and hopefulness the bearing of the war upon the destruction of slavery. Dr. Massie's antecedents qualified him for such an embassy of good-will. Long identified with missionary and philanthropic movements in England, he could worthily represent the anti-slavery sentiments of British Christians. Conversant with public affairs, and especially familiar with American institutions and politics—through early studies and the

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\* Strictly speaking, the Address in form was adopted by a Ministerial Conference held at Manchester, England, June 13th, 1863. But it was an expansion of an address which had been signed by nearly eight hundred French Protestant pastors, and by more than four thousand British Ministers.

domestic correspondence of later years,—he was able, at the very outbreak of the war, to comprehend its real issues, and he devoted himself with zeal to the enlightenment of his countrymen, by means of pamphlets and addresses advocating the cause of the Union. He it was, who on the occasion of the reception of the Prince of Wales and the Princess Alexandra, flung out over the royal cortege, from his office window, the Stars and Stripes in union with the flags of Great Britain and Denmark. Of dignified and affable manners, of fluent and winning address, of candid judgment and catholic sympathies, Dr. Massie was just the man to represent to us the better spirit of England toward our affairs, and to conquer the prejudices and animosities which her evasive neutrality had awakened in all classes of our citizens. The same qualities enable him to commend our cause to his countrymen with an intelligent and earnest sympathy. His mission to us and his report of that mission at home are standing memorials of international peace and good-will.

The plan of Dr. Massie's work is not favorable to the highest literary excellence. It is neither a book of travels nor a discussion of principles, but a running commentary upon incidents and events relating to the War and to Slavery which came under his personal observation, prefaced by and interspersed with historical and other matters pertaining to "America and her Conflict." Sometimes the author falls into a desultory, conversational style, in which the order of his thoughts and the construction of his sentences are quite secondary to the statement of facts. Indeed, the work, as to its form, gives evidence of hasty composition; and a careful revision might result in recasting it throughout. But it puts our case so clearly and forcibly, in a plain common sense way, and it is so true and so genial in its sympathy with Union and Freedom, that we cannot be tempted to criticise its minor defects.

Take, for example, the following statement of the duty of the Government of the United States to maintain its own integrity and that of its territory, together with the rights and liberties of all classes of loyal citizens.

"There are States which have remained in or have returned to the Union, which have been called slave States, and have interests involved in the settlement of the present strife. A large part of Virginia, Florida, and Louisiana, all Maryland, Kentucky, Missouri, East Tennessee, and the lands which give the undisputed control of the Mississippi, belong to Federal government, and the people, white and colored, dwelling there, are its subjects, to whom an equitable administration of all the advantages of a good government are due. In the States involved in rebellion there are said to be many thousands groaning under oppression, faithful in heart and purpose to the Federal authority, and waiting for its restoration where they dwell. Can a paternal government surrender those who have never broken their allegiance? or can it leave the feeble and helpless victims of oppression, brought into bondage by its former abuse of power, to continue sufferers of a brutal thralldom which threatens their utter destruction?"

"How few Englishmen know the extent and geographical relation of the States for which secession is demanded, or the position of the territories yet unorganized into States; the relation of the arterial rivers and coast harbors which may be included in the coveted boundaries; and the extent to which the commerce of the principal cities might be affected by the inter relations of the States stretching along these confines. By what process could we ascertain the proportion of white adherents to the Northern Union shut up in the rebel States, or the negro population who have been transported from the land of their birth by slave traffic? If this birth made them citizens of the Republic, surely liberty to enjoy their rights should be guaranteed by the supreme authority. The principle involved in the right of secession is of essential moment to the integrity of the American Republic and the duty of resistance by constituted authorities: as also the responsibility of a representative government to the citizens by whom its members have been appointed, for the territory entrusted to their care, however its inhabitants may be located. [pp. 26, 28.]

Dr. Massie significantly reminds his countrymen accustomed to the lead of the *Times*, that questions of such magnitude "cannot be determined by a newspaper paragraph."

It is curious to notice upon what familiar points in our political polity Dr. M. deems it necessary to enlighten his countrymen; and yet there are some American voters who might be instructed by the following lucid statement:

"The Presidential prerogatives have either been exaggerated or misapprehended in Britain, especially by such as have objected to the policy of Mr. Lincoln during the past two years. He has been charged with doing too much, and failing to do what ought to have been done. Why have he and Congress failed to abolish slavery, since not only did he avow himself opposed to it before his election, but it has manifestly been the cause of all the recent conflict? Why did he proclaim freedom to the slave in the rebel States, where he had no power, and leave it untouched in the loyal States, where his power was dominant? Why did he tell the Chicago deputation that he must maintain slavery, if to do so would strengthen the Union, and would abolish slavery if not doing so would

weaken the Union? Why has he not allowed the slave States to retire and form a separate Republic, but has issued conscriptions, forcing on an unwilling people warfare and bloodshed, involving the United States in irretrievable debt and ruin? Why does he remove generals in the army from commands where they are popular, and sustain generals and others in authority who fail in their duty? Why does he employ colored slaves to fight against their masters, and refuse to hear their masters' remonstrances from the lips of Mr. A. H. Stephens when sent with a flag of truce? Why does he not accept terms of peace, though they have not been offered, except as they were spoken of by such peace-democrats as Mr. Wood and other tools of faction for divisive purposes?

"The President is not a lawgiver; but in times of peace and loyalty is simply an administrator of duties prescribed by the Constitution. He may send messages to Congress; but he has not a vote or seat in that assembly, nor any one to represent him in its deliberations. He can veto measures proposed and carried by the two houses of legislature, and whatever has been carried by majorities is not a law till it has received the President's signature. He has no vote, place, or control in, or over the legislatures of the several States, and no power to set aside their legislation, or the action of their Governors, as far as these relate to the internal economy of their own State. He can interdict their coinage of money, raising an army for war, or treaties with other States of the Union, or other governments, but he cannot send a message or propose to the legislature of *any one* State the enactment of a law, or the abrogation of a statute, or interfere with the internal administration of any institution, or inflict a punishment for any violation of any State ordinance. His private opinions, or the platform of his party, could not become the rule of his Presidential action, which is regulated by the Constitution. His propositions, whatever they are, must be enacted by the two houses of Congress before he could carry them out." [pp. 43, 44.]

By such simple methods does Dr. Massie seek to disabuse his countrymen of their misconceptions and prejudices with regard to our conflict. His first chapter is a concise exposition of our Constitution and of the course of American politics upon the slavery question, down to the date of the election of Mr. Lincoln. This is followed by a running sketch of the "Population who have an interest and voice in the Question" raised by the Rebellion, in which the author refutes the representation so current in England that the North and the South are "two peoples, originating from different ancestors." He also traces the connection, historical and religious, between this country, especially New England and Great Britain, and makes the following generous avowal of international dependence and amity:

"And still the language is one, and serves to extend the influence of the Anglo-Saxon race, wherever its accents are understood. The spirit of British law has

been infused, so far as it is good, into American jurisprudence, and the administration of it in both countries still bespeak its lineage. The separation of the junior race into an Independent Republic has only stimulated both branches of the family to aspire to greater things. The younger government may have vaunted itself a little, but the older regimen has learned to relax its disposition to exact and forbear among its own subjects. The commerce which has grown between the two lands has served to increase the personal intercourse of the two families, and a mutual dependence for produce and supply tends to enrich the merchants on both sides of the Atlantic and make all feel their brotherhood and obligation.

"England and America united, can contribute essentially to each other's welfare, and make each other an influence among all the nations of the earth. Speaking one language they render it a paramount vehicle of thought, not alone in their own territories or colonies, but also among all civilized peoples. Their evangelical missions, in coöperation or harmony, may extend a common Protestantism, and diffuse scriptural truth in every land to which their heralds are sent. The sister churches of both lands demonstrate the general unity of the faith; and the Catholic communion of Christians of various name, illustrates the cardinal unity and power of the truth. American missions in Greece, Turkey, Armenia, Persia, Burmah, China, India, and Polynesia; and Bible and tract societies sustained by American Christians, serve the same Lord with like organizations from Britain, and hasten the glorious advent of his kingdom. All this is appreciated and understood by the men of New England; and they would honestly deplore any circumstance which would threaten a severance of the ties of consanguinity and the fellowship of Christian peoples." [pp. 64, 65.]

The rise and progress of political agitation upon the slavery question is sketched by Dr. Massie with a graphic pen, for this is a topic with which he has made himself familiar through a long course of years. He describes the cruelties of slaveholders toward Northern emissaries of Abolition; their coarse and brutal conduct upon the floor of Congress; their imperious demands for enactments for the protection of slavery; the reaction of the North against their aggressions; and the final vote of the people against nationalizing slavery, given in the Presidential election of 1860.

The greater part of Dr. Massie's book, however, is of a more local and personal character—a description of places visited by him in a tour extended from St. John to Washington, and from New York to St. Louis. He was an industrious and observing traveler, sagacious in his estimate of national traits, and in his conclusions from political events, and often quite shrewd in discerning character. He thus describes a speech at the Academy of Music in the city of New York, by the Gov-

error of that State, "who hopes to become the successful Democratic candidate for the Presidency, when Mr. Lincoln's time expires:"

"I thought Seymour's speech was a well-ordered, heartless, voluble, and insidious piece of claptrap. He had no word of censure for the malignant men who had distracted the people by the fire and carnage of civil war; no word of sympathy for the families and parents whose supports and ornaments had fallen for their country; no sign or hint of admiration for the bravery and self-sacrifice of those who had rushed to the forefront of the battle to rescue their government and nation from disgrace. He magnified the alleged despotic action of the Federal Government in its measures to repress treachery, treason, and rebellion, whereby the Democratic party were repressed, and popular liberty was endangered; he laid the odium and blame of all upon the Republicans, and called on them, for the *peace* of the Republic, to yield themselves and the country to the irresponsible management of himself and his party. The expectation of the New York Democrats that day was, that Lee would overrun Pennsylvania, and press on to Washington: and some of them are suspected to have been in the secret of the prospective riots in New York. I learned something by this demonstration of the stump orator, the mass meeting, and the policy of Democratic demagogues." [p. 130.]

In the prosecution of his mission, Dr. Massie had a personal interview with President Lincoln, of which he gives a brief and judicious, but highly satisfactory account:

"I found Mr. Lincoln in the midst of a revision of the sentences of court martials, which seemed to him a matter of serious and conscientious responsibility. He referred to the feeling which this produced, and also to a case which occurred immediately after he entered on his office as President, and expressed the emotion produced in his mind by the fact that he was the last on whose *fiat* a man's life depended. There was here no trifling with death, or indifference to the issues of warfare. Mr. Lincoln read aloud to me (he had already perused, as he assured me) the letter I conveyed, and entered freely into a review of its contents, showing me that he fully apprehended the subject, and was prepared to maintain the position assumed in his proclamation of the 1st of January, 1863. I remained with him about half an hour, and left him when I considered my mission was discharged. There was no witness to our interview, and I will not publish any report of it. I will only add, that I believe he is an honest anti-slavery friend of the negro, wishes the emancipation of every slave within the limits of the Republic, and will faithfully stand by every word of the proclamation, not receding one step. I think him a true but unassuming Christian; in his integrity resolved to prove himself an American patriot; and eminently fitted for the place and time to which by Divine Providence he has been raised. He may be slow in his purposes, but, when formed, sure in their execution." [pp. 159, 160.]

We pass over Dr. Massie's sketch of New Haven, Hartford, Providence, Springfield, Portland, and other New England towns,—where he exchanged Addresses with the united pastors



and others touching the object of his mission ; but we cannot omit the clear discrimination between our Revolution and the Southern rebellion, which he makes from the stand-point of Bunker Hill :

"From this lofty point the waters of Charleston harbor, where the Bostonians cast the tea chests into the flood rather than pay an offensive tax imposed by the Government of George the Third, are seen ; and the sails and flags of vessels now floating on the same waters, prove how liberty lives when asserted against the usurpations of despotism or misgovernment. A blundering parallel has been drawn between the men of the American revolution and the rebels of Secession. They are as unlike as contraries. The men in 1774 had neither representative nor voice in the taxation imposed ; the men associated as a Confederacy at Richmond were their own representatives and the rulers of others as fit to rule themselves ; when they seceded to enforce taxation with the whip, and exaction of labor without reward from millions of their fellow-men ; and they are still fighting for liberty to oppress."

We commend this passage to the special attention of Earl Russell.

Dr. Massie extended his tour westward to Missouri, and dipped into the slaveholding region at Louisville, Kentucky. His impressions may be gathered from the following incident, at the latter place :

"I conversed with one of the government contrabands employed at work by the day's wages, who had a pretty correct apprehension of the present state of affairs. He had been the chattel of a rebel colonel, and hence his freedom. His father's family had been large ; two brothers had worked out their own freedom, another was still a slave, the property of some other master, but apparently in circumstances more favorable than that of many slaves as long as he is content and has no children to sell. This poor fellow had disease brought on by slave work in a rupture, and was the less able to provide for himself. There were wooden buildings in process of erection for the State Government for warlike stores ; and, as I sat surveying them, a Welchman approached to speak to one who seemed a stranger. He had imbibed slaveholding ideas of the negroes, though he assured me he was anti-slavery. He had also assimilated his notions of strong language with oaths and swearing, and the use of the Divine name. His sympathies were expressed in *expectations* that the South would succeed, etc. I was disposed to shake off the dust of my feet on the banks of the Ohio as soon as I could arrange for a train, which would convey me back to freedom, and away from the sight of slavery." [p. 267.]

The concluding chapters of the book are devoted to the army, the Sanitary Commission, and the American press. Under the latter topic, he pays a passing compliment to the English "specials."

" Besides their extracts from the Southern press and their disguised sympathizers in the North, the English press has an exhaustless and ever fresh supply from its 'special' sources. Dr. Mackay and the Hon. Mr. L. have congenially labored, the latter in Richmond, and the former at New York; the latter an *ex* private secretary and dealer in funds; and the former an *ex* politico-poetic advocate of the working poor and their seamstresses. For a time, at least, he was succeeded in his 'Special Commission, by a man who is said to have been an avowed apologist of assassination in political economy. A kindred spirit with these is a 'Special' *Manhattan*, whose antecedents may not have been less honorable, but whose slashing style and pretensions are thought adequate to the demands of Anglican conservatism. There are other 'specials,' or 'occasionals,' who supply the press with what they hear or what they fancy. I have read a description of one of the most hotly contested battles of the war, at Chancellorsville, and where the carnage was great; the divisions of the armies occupying heights and valleys, on right and left of streams, where an angel wing would have been required to have a full view of the appalling and distracting scene. But the 'special' correspondent not only saw all, but could describe what one man did and another said, and could detail the hand-to-hand fights, and single out the gallant actions of his favorites, in the most thrilling and graphic terms." [p. 435.]

Such a writer deserves a cordial and generous reception from our countrymen, and we learn with pleasure that Dr. Massie's book is to be issued to subscribers in America, under the auspices of the Union League Club of New York.

## ARTICLE VII.—AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF REV. DR. LYMAN BEECHER.

*Autobiography, Correspondence, &c., of Lyman Beecher, D. D.*  
 Edited by CHARLES BEECHER. With Illustrations. In two  
 Volumes. Vol. I. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1864.  
 12mo. pp. 563.

LYMAN BEECHER was the man of all others in the present century, who, in our American church, was most largely endowed with the spirit and power of the prophet Elias. He was preacher, reformer, theologian, and prophet, all in one, and the whole country, for more than a single generation, felt his power to arouse and direct. He said of himself most truly, in his own characteristic language, "I was made for action. The Lord drove me, but I was ready. I have always been going at full speed. \* \* \* From the beginning, my mind has taken in the church of God, my country, and the world as given to Christ. It was this that widened the scope of my activities beyond the common sphere of pastoral labor. For I soon found myself harnessed to the chariot of Christ, whose wheels of fire had rolled onward, high and dreadful to his foes, and glorious to his friends." These words describe the aims, the purposes, and the enthusiasm which directed and animated him in all his public career.

But who that ever saw or knew the man, could ever forget, or, remembering, cease to love and admire him? Who could ever lose the image of that rugged face, now firm in every muscle, and fiery with heroic energy—then relaxing into genial humor, the eye twinkling with roguish expression, and the mouth trembling with the sweetest of smiles. Who could ever forget the bristling hair, the troublesome spectacles, the compact form, the sturdy step, the crisply uttered question, the blunt reply, the fervid positiveness; the prayer, half-childlike in its unaffected humility, and half-startling for its bold assurance

and its almost irreverent familiarity; the sermon, now tame with its prosaic truisms and its dull expositions, then kindling into glowing fervor, or crashing with peal on peal of live thunder, now appalling the convicted conscience with its awful descriptions of guilt and wrath, and now softening the heart with its sympathetic assurances of the weeping love of Jesus? Who could forget his power to arouse the torpid, to assure the discouraged, to breathe life, and energy, and courage, and hope among the timid and half-hearted; or again to cower into very shame the selfish and hypocritic worldling?

As a preacher, Dr. Beecher was deservedly eminent. But it would be a mistake to account him a ranter, or a fervid declaimer, or an energetic exhorter, or a devout rhapsodist. He was a thinker, and a reasoner. His own sturdy and thoughtful intellect could be satisfied with no aliment less substantial than solid reasoning and sound common sense; and he could not bring himself to present to other minds any material different from that which he required for himself. But reasoning in a sermon for the sake of its ingenuity, or speculation for mere speculation's sake, his own soul abhorred. He must needs bring every argument to its practical conclusion, and then press it upon the conscience and the heart with all the power which fervor, and energy, and tact could furnish. Plain language, apt illustrations, and fervent appeals, were the investments with which his nice sense of adaptation and his apostolic love of souls led him to clothe his reasonings. He did not trust exclusively or chiefly to his extemporaneous power, rare and serviceable as this might be. On many single discourses he bestowed the labor of weeks, and the felicity and choiceness of the language, as well as the arrangement and power of the thoughts, testify to the value of the labor and time expended. Some of his ablest occasional discourses will never cease to be models of the noblest kind of pulpit eloquence.

As a reformer he was enterprising, bold, and judicious. The secret of his power and success lay in his firm faith in the power of truth as adapted to change the moral convictions of men, and thus to reform the sentiments and practices of society, and, as designed in the purposes of God, to accomplish

great revolutions by means of its faithful proclamation. His policy was bold, because he believed in God. He was enterprising, because he was assured that the cause was not his own. He was judicious, because his heart was set upon the work to be accomplished, and not upon any traditional ways of procedure on the one side, or any novel devices on the other. Hence he was inventive and docile; skillful by his quiet discernment to judge when the old methods were outworn, and fertile to devise those untried expedients which were best fitted to the ends which he believed could and should be accomplished. He was all things to all men in the good sense of the phrase, because the apostolic feeling was eminent in him, that by any means he might save some.

But in all his reforming movements his public spirit was conspicuous in a large hearted sympathy with the public interests, and an intense personal concern for the church, his country, and his race. This led him, when in an obscure parish on the farthest extremity of Long Island, to lay upon his own soul the responsibility for the practice of duelling, and to sound the trumpet note which rung throughout the land. This induced him to sympathize with the feebler churches in the thinly peopled and decaying towns of Connecticut, and to lay the duty of sisterly sympathy and aid upon the wealthier parishes. This moved him to see and feel the wasting desolations of intemperance, not in this or that family or social circle in Litchfield alone, but to make this family and circle the image of thousands of families and communities throughout the country, till the word of the Lord was a fire in his bones, and he could not but lift his voice in the appalling energy of a commissioned prophet. The prevalence of dangerous error depressed and vexed his spirit till it found relief in plans, and protests, and movements which were felt through New England.

As a theologian, he was thoroughly practical, and his views of theology were moulded by a constant reference to its manifest adaptation to the great end for which a revelation was given to man. His inmost soul revolted against any phrases, however set, any representations of God and his ways, however

sanctioned by tradition, which were fitted to bewilder the understanding, to weaken the faith, to cool the affections, or to disturb the reverence of the men to whom the Scriptures address themselves. His own soul struggled for years with traditional dogmas and stereotyped notions, till it emerged into a clear and settled faith in a better system. Nor did he rest content with the light which dawned upon the earlier years of his ministry. Even in the height of his reputation and power, he was eager to learn whatever of truth might enable him more effectually and successfully to vindicate the ways of God to man. Whatever might be thought of his opinions, no man could venture to charge upon him a love of novelty or change, on any other ground than that of jealous regard for the honor of God and the souls of men.

But we ought to return to Dr. Beecher as the man, for it is as the man that he is depicted in this most interesting volume, which follows his life down to the year 1823, about the time when he left Litchfield for Boston. The story of his life is told, in a few brief autobiographical sketches which were recorded as they were uttered by his own lips, in familiar and characteristic language, in a great number of letters that were exchanged between himself and his dearest relatives and most intimate friends, as well as in many graphic letters from the members of his family, which give minute and vivid pictures of the family life, drawn at the time when the events were taking place. These letters are given as they were actually written, and they bring us within the most familiar as well as the most sacred secrets of the household. We see the jubilant father in the midst of the somewhat tumultuous but always merry circle, who were at once his joy and his pride. Freedom, and humor, and genius, are present in that earnest group, but all in their most mirthful moods are chastened by a serious reverence for God, and are trained after the father's spirit to seek first the kingdom of God and its righteousness.

Of the living who survive, delicacy forbids us to speak, but of the dead there are four refined and saintly women, whose memory will be hallowed by every attentive reader of these fascinating pages. The beloved Roxana Foote stands foremost

in the group, who went forth from a home of refinement and culture, rare in those days, to be the companion of the devoted husband in the privations and cares incident to his checkered and peculiar career, who, with a brave and gentle spirit, softened and elevated his somewhat choleric nature as they toiled together up to the meridian of his career and of his fame, when she was suddenly caught from his sight,—transfigured before her death by her rapturous desire for heaven, and transfigured ever after to his love for her, that was stronger than death. Next we mention the second Mrs. Beecher, who glides so gracefully into the bereaved circle, and takes her place with manifest dignity and ease. Behind, and between the two, appears the faithful and heroic Aunt Esther, who, in strength of intellect, was able to cope with her sturdy brother and to judge of his writings with critical skill; but who, with sisterly affection and pride, adhered so steadily in all fortunes to him and his household. Half appearing and half withdrawn, is seen the fascinating Mary Hubbard, whose youthful happiness and hopes were wrecked by one of the saddest of earth's sorrows, but who was gently lifted back to comfort and even to gayety, by the sympathies of the foster-brother; in whose house she found her happiest home, and by whose Christian love and zeal she was strengthened to bear her sorrows and to rejoice even in tribulation.

We have dwelt too long upon the attractive themes which this volume suggests, to find inclination for criticism. There are some things in the book which it were better had they been omitted. Some connecting links are omitted, which should have been supplied; but it will be perused with interest and profit by many readers. If the second volume is prepared in the same spirit and manner as the first, this Autobiography will be greatly valued for a long time to come, for its vivid and instructive pictures of the religious and theological life of our country during one of its most stirring and critical periods.

ARTICLE VIII.—WEISS' LIFE AND CORRESPONDENCE  
OF THEODORE PARKER.

*Life and Correspondence of Theodore Parker*, Minister of the Twenty-eighth Congregational Society, Boston. By JOHN WEISS. Two Volumes. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1864. 8vo. pp. 478, 530.

It is said of the philosopher Hegel, that when Napoleon had fought the battle of Jena, he was so far affected by the noise and rumor of the actualities going on about him, as to leave for a while the consideration of the logical relations of Notions, in order that he might take a look at the man who had just laid Germany at his feet. After looking steadily at the Emperor for a while, he ventured the remark, "*Ein bedeutender Begriff*," and went back to his pipe and his logic. The story is very likely a *myth*, but it has none the less pertinency and truth, especially if tried by the Hegelian criterion, that whatever is rational is actual!

Theodore Parker was in like manner a "*bedeutender Begriff*"—a most significant as well as a most potent conception—because he represented the opinions and tendencies of a large body of the influential men of his time. It is this circumstance which imparts to his life its chief interest and importance. It is because he gave both form and expression to these fermenting and indefinite tendencies, and devoted to the propagation of the creed which had been crystallized in his mind, all the energies of a bold and zealous nature, that his name will be prominent upon the memorial tablets of the present century. Theodore Parker was eminently a representative man, because he had the power to conceive distinctly, to state forcibly, and to adorn and illustrate eloquently, the anti-christianism of the present generation. His power to do all this with effect did not depend solely, perhaps not chiefly, upon his intellectual superiority. It arose quite as much from what he was as a



man,—at once formed by and in his turn forming his time,—as from his genius and power as a thinker and writer.

Mr. Weiss' biography enables us to understand this representative person, both as a thinker and as a man, and as acting upon and influenced by the times in which he lived. It displays him to us in his strength and weakness, in all his varied qualities of good and evil. Very few men are as outspoken as he was. Very few have left behind them so many letters, and so full a diary as he. From all these superabundant materials, Mr. Weiss has made a very liberal selection, not always, indeed, with the best judgment—as the unpleasant personalities, both those that were published and those that were suppressed in the American edition equally testify, but with no desire to hide from the public those sides of character which would be most likely to give offense or to give prominence to those features which would enforce a favorable judgment.

Different readers will, however, judge Mr. Parker very differently, according to the eyes which they bring to the reading. Some will be greatly moved by the kindness of his nature, by his persevering industry, his scholarly aims, his large-hearted philanthropy, his all embracing humanity, his love for poor and honest men, his hatred for the knavish and disingenuous in high places, and, most of all, by his sturdy and defiant courage in uttering sentiments which would give offense. Others will be repelled by his want of self-knowledge, his failures to do justice to the opinions and motives of those from whom he differed, his violations of the decorums of speech and of courtesy, and, above all, by the irreverent and almost profane language which he allowed himself to use concerning doctrines and personages which the Christian church has always hallowed with the most sacred associations.

The impression left upon the majority of readers will, we think, be more kindly, when they finish these volumes, than when they begin to read them. If we compare Mr. Parker as a man, with any of the rejectors of historical Christianity, there is not one, with the exception of Lord Herbert, whose personal traits were not immeasurably more offensive, while there is not one who can be compared with him in tenderness of

sensibility, in practical and self-forgetting kindness, in delicate conscientiousness, and in reverent love for his ideal Jesus. The real solution of the strange contradictions which seemed to meet in his character, and of the singular extremes of opinion into which he run with an almost insane haste and inconsideration, can be furnished only as we discover in him powers and attainments, appropriate to a giant, combined with the intellectual weaknesses proper to a child. All candid and kindly readers of his *Life* will, we think, unite in the opinion, that it is rare to find a man who could see and state certain principles and facts so clearly, who was, at the same time, so preëminently endowed with the capacity of overlooking other principles and facts quite as important and quite as evident which bore in the opposite direction. Incurable one-sidedness of intellect was most conspicuous in his nature. With apparent many sidedness in his tastes and sympathies, he was narrow in his judgments and bigoted in his creed. The fervor of his feelings blinded his power to judge. The radiance of his genius invested his conclusions with preternatural glory, so that he became almost a supernaturalist when he faced his own ethical and religious intuitions. The felicity and beauty of his style, when sounded in his own ears, seemed to invest his own sayings with the authority appropriate to the responses of an oracle. The man who could always find some weak or laughable side in the sayings and doings of the great men of the world, never hesitated to accord the most unhesitating faith to an endless series of the most positive and unsupported dicta of his own respecting any person or principle in regard to whom he conceived it his duty to affirm. It seemed not only literally true, as the author of the *Fable for Critics* wrote, "that he believed in nothing but Parker," but that he believed in Parker with such an earnestness and singleness of faith as in some measure to compensate for the energy and all comprehensiveness of his disbelief in each and all of other men. Regarded in one aspect, this all-repelling and critical distrust of others, and this unquestioning and complacent confidence in himself, were most repulsive and uncomfortable, but in Parker they were attended by so much real kindness and

gentleness of love, as well as by such a childlike disposition to sympathize with and confide in other men, that one must needs, in spite of himself, ascribe these peculiarities to one of those unaccountable idiosyncrasies of natural constitution which are exceptions to all general rules.

The power to see himself as others saw him, seems to have been totally denied to Mr. Parker, and with it the capacity to measure the import of his own sayings, or the mischievous tendency of his own influence. At least, it must be acknowledged that the excitement of his own rapid and restless activity, and the rush of the moving tide of opinion and reforms on which he had so early cast himself, absorbed him so entirely that the power and the habit of critical self-judgment were placed and held in perpetual abeyance. Witness the strange mistakes which he committed in the direction of the anti-slavery movement, and mistakes strangely inconsistent with the kind temper, the large charity, and the practical good sense, which were congenial to the man—mistakes which stand out in conspicuous relief because contrasted with the sagacity with which he judged of passing tendencies in respect to that same movement, and the almost prophetic foresight with which he read the eventful future.

But we do not care to analyze the peculiarities of Mr. Parker as a man. We have only interposed these hints to serve for those who may read these volumes of biography, as a clue by which they may appreciate him more justly, and be saved from overestimating the lights and shades of his character. That this *Life* will be read by many persons with intense interest, we do not doubt. As a psychological study it is fitted to excite thoughtful minds to the highest pitch of intensity. The biographer is an admirer and disciple of Mr. Parker, allowing him to speak for himself with never a word of caution or criticism. He does not even hint at the possibility that Mr. Parker should not, in every case, have judged correctly, or reasoned soundly, or acted wisely. Hence there is the greater need that some cautions should be suggested to those whose own reflections would not furnish them.

Our chief concern is with the principles of Mr. Parker.

We have said that he was an efficient and able representative of an anti-christian system. This charge Mr. Parker himself was ever most forward to repel and deny. He claimed to be a restorer of Christianity to its original simplicity and its native power. He labored, as he said, to divest it of the false principles with which a traditional Theology had overlaid it, and to clear it of the unreal events with which a mythological or untrue History had invested its real personages. He asserted that he cleared it of the Transient that he might vindicate for it the Permanent. Never was a mistake more egregious, or a claim more monstrous. Rather is it true that he rejected all that in Christianity which is essential to its conception, or necessary for its effective working.

To the simplest possible conception of Christianity, two things are required which may be likewise conceived as the necessary constituents of its ideal essence—the fact of sin, and the fact of a deliverer. We cannot conceive that Christianity should be reduced to a simpler expression than that man is, in some sense, a sinner, and Christ is, in some sort, a redeemer. The creed of Mr. Parker, when divested of all that is figurative and extraneous, may be thus enounced: men, in general, through immaturity and bad social influences, make sad mistakes in morality and religion, both in theory and practice. Jesus, by his intuitive insight, was saved from all mistakes in the theory of religion and morality, and, to a large extent, from mistakes of practice. Hence Jesus, by his teaching and his life, so far as we can reach the truth of either, is to be accepted as the instructor and model of the race. All else is tradition and falsehood.

These were the two cardinal theses of Mr. Parker. Both of these are opposed to the Christian theses concerning Sin and its Redeemer. But both of them Mr. Parker was bold to assert and to attempt to defend. In this attempt he of course rejected the largest portion of the history and doctrine of the Old and New Testaments. In doing this he was bound not only to furnish satisfactory reasons for rejecting these teachings and this narrative, but also satisfactorily to explain how this rejected history and doctrine could possibly have been superin-

duced upon the scanty nucleus of truth. Both these tasks he essayed to meet and to fulfill, but with little sobriety or earnestness of argument, and with small satisfaction to the critical thinker. He contributed absolutely nothing new in this solution. All that he attempted to furnish was the imposing and effective array of difficulties with which the students of the Scriptures were already familiar, and concerning which they did not need again to be informed. The greater difficulty of furnishing a rule by which so large a part of this history and teaching could be separated from the true, he met by the word *intuition*. The still more difficult problem of explaining how so small a scantling of truth could possibly have been overlaid by what his theory regards as such a crushing mass of error and untruth, of exaggeration and mistake, of willful falsehood and deliberate deception, he seeks to solve by the phrases *pious credulity* and *pious fraud*. There was great bravery in the audacious attempt, great skill in the rhetoric, great genius in the diction, and great splendor in the imagery, but an utter failure in the argument and explanation. There were lofty sentiments uttered by the way, a fervent faith in conscience expressed, a sincere admiration for the pure and pious Galilean, and a triumphant joy at the power of his sayings to elevate and warm the souls of men in all the ages, but with all these splendid accessories, the words *intuitions* and *amiable credulity*, did not take the nerve out of the stubborn arguments which they attempted to confront.

The solid weight of the real arguments, for both doctrine and history, rolled back with crushing effect upon this frivolous and impotent attempt to explain the rise and existence of either, on any other than the theory that both were substantially true. Mr. Parker had undertaken to furnish another explanation of the origin and existence of each. He failed, and the reaction of his failure added another testimony to those which had been furnished before of the self-evidencing argument for the supernatural origin of the Revelations of the Old and New Testament. But while the offered solutions of Parker were broken upon the strong points of the argument which almost starts forth of itself from the truths and history of the Scriptures,

they derived some plausibility from their pertinency as directed against the weak and wretched theologies and evidences which have been often urged in the support of the divine verities. Extravagant claims for inspiration, fanciful and strained interpretations, unhistorical conceptions and explanations of actions and events, unethical vindications of the moral teachings and institutions of the earlier times, monstrous dogmas foisted upon the simple doctrines of the word, an artificial and factitious pietism of the religious life and affections—these, and all the other forms of wood, hay and stubble, which have been accepted without inquiry, and propagated without sifting, by the credulous or the indolent defenders of Christianity, on account of the vital force of the system to which these parasitic excrescences were attached; these were the real allies of Mr. Parker. Some of the expounders and teachers of Christianity, who would denounce him with expressions of loathing and of horror, were the very men who gave him all the power and opportunity which he had to do evil. It was they who gave point and force to every one of his sermons. It was they who furnished the model for each caricature which he drew in his lectures. Christian preachers, and teachers of this and other ages, were his unconscious but real allies. How fearfully through him was their traditional and cast-iron theology—their uncouth and pharisaic morality, revenged upon the truth and the life which the Great Teacher taught and acted.

But Mr. Parker did not merely fail as against a rational theology and a rightly interpreted history, but the two great points of his system were broken and wrecked, the one upon the undeniable facts of human nature, the other upon the teachings of human history. Mr. Parker denied, to a great extent, the fact, and extenuated the responsibility and guilt of human sinfulness. Human experience asserts the fact of sin, and the human conscience testifies to its guilt and malignancy. Christianity is not responsible for the fact, nor does it create the evidence for believing in it. It does but reiterate the testimony of conscience and observation concerning it, and record the history and explain the manifestations of this widespread and all pervading evil. Mr. Parker took ground both against

what we believe to be the testimony of Christianity on this point, and what we know to be the testimony of the human soul. If it be conceded that Christ does not contradict his assertions, human nature lifts up her voice in a protest against his doctrine of sin, which will not and cannot be silenced.

Again, Mr. Parker taught that there was power in the intuitions of a pure minded and devout Hebrew youth, to win back the race from its sins—if these intuitions were but obeyed by all men. *If obeyed!* yes, indeed; but on that *if* turns all the difficulty. If moral and religious truth were seen, loved, and obeyed, then it would prevail! What is this but a logical truism, a mere hypothesis—asserting no real energy and providing no working power. Who or what shall cause this truth to be seen and loved? Where is the force which can give effect to these intuitions which are within the reach of man, but which he is not inclined to reach after?—nay, which he deliberately represses by an unrighteous life, “holding the truth in unrighteousness.” In reply to these questions, human history teaches us that a certain race believed that God acted on them by means of supernatural personages, whose words and acts together were more or less efficient against Polytheism and its debasements. So far history suggests a real and efficient force. Concerning the effect, history records the singular fact that the Jews were monotheistic in their faith, and relatively pure, elevated, and profound in their moral theory and practice, so that no other nation could compare with them in these respects.

History teaches us, again, that at the beginning of the Christian era a new force of the same kind was added to the faiths already working, beginning with these same Jews who had somehow or other slowly crept up to monotheism, and going out from them with a wonderfully transforming efficacy into all parts of the Roman Empire. This force emanates from a single person, of whom it is recorded, as all concede in the second century, and some say in the first, that he believed himself to be the Son of God, having a mighty power at his command and in his person, for the enforcement of this moral and religious truth. History testifies that those who in the

second century were influenced to a better character and a better life, were moved by their faith in him as a supernatural and divinely commissioned Person. History testifies, also, that during all the Christian centuries since, the men who have been most successfully moved to goodness, have been influenced by the force of their faith in Christ, *as such a Person*. If History attests anything, it is that the actual force, which has directly or indirectly caused men to attend to and obey these eternal moral truths, has been the belief in the Person of a Supernatural and Divine Redeemer.

History teaches that without this force the effect has not been wrought. With this force, it has been, to some degree, accomplished. Moreover, it gives us many particulars of the sayings and doings ascribed to this being—by those who believed in his claims—sayings respecting himself which, if they could be supposed to be true, would make out for us a cause in all respects adequate to the effect which has actually followed.

Mr. Parker says the History of these sayings and doings, so far as it represents a Supernatural Person to be this adequate cause, cannot be true. When asked for his proof, he appeals in a vague and general way to the testimony of History in general, that men are very much inclined to ascribe a supernatural origin to teachers with high moral and religious intuitions. When he is asked to consult History for any example of such a force as Christ excited, that was wrought by men of moral and religious intuitions, without being thus enforced, he is silent. When asked if History does not teach that the really efficient element of faith in Christ has always been found in faith in his person, and is so even at this present moment, he must answer yes. But against these facts, attested by all History, he has a theory that this belief need not and ought not to be the most efficient element in the force, but that the spiritual intuitions are of themselves strong and potent enough to produce the effect. But this is his theory. Yet History shows no fact to confirm his assertion; the teachings of History are all against it. Tried by this plain and practical test, his theory must utterly fail that man does not need a personal and Supernatural Redeemer, as Christianity proves that he does, by



the three great rules of Induction, in that when the cause is present, the effect follows, when it is absent, the effect is not seen, and as the cause varies in energy, so does the effect vary in the same proportion.

We have shown that Mr. Parker's position with respect to the Historical Christianity of the Christian Church, on its two essential points, is one of direct and open antagonism. We have also shown that in this position he fails to sustain himself, because he cannot furnish a satisfactory explanation of the Sacred History on the supposition of its containing so large an element of untruth, and because in his own substitute he involves himself in a fatal conflict with the facts of Human Nature and the lessons of History.

We trust that our readers will keep these considerations in mind when they read Mr. Parker's Life or any of his works. We neither expect nor wish them to fail to love and admire what is lovely or noble, whether in the man or in his writings. Mr. Parker acted and said many brave, noble, and generous things. He honored and loved much that is great and good, but he failed rightly to estimate that which is the Greatest and the Best, THE CHRIST OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.

## ARTICLE IX.—CHARLES BEECHER'S NEW THEORY OF THE WORK OF THE REDEEMER.

*Redeemer and Redeemed.* An Investigation of the Atonement and of Eternal Judgment. By CHARLES BEECHER. Georgetown, Mass. Boston: Lee & Shepard. 1864. 12mo. pp. 357.

WHATEVER may be thought of the doctrine of Rev. Charles Beecher's "*Redeemer and Redeemed*," no reader can fail to be moved by the frankness and simplicity of the Preface. Even the sternest of critics must needs relent, at the openness with which the writer recounts his struggles for twenty years, and hesitate to disturb the rest which he confesses to have found in his singular theory. ' If moved to a severe judgment, he would be quite disarmed of any hostile intent, by the frank and *naive* confession, "I have no idea that many minds will be satisfied with them [my views]. I have learned, by sad experience, that what convinces me does not always convince other people. The most I can hope for is, that these views will interest the thoughtful, studious, of the same grand system, as a specimen of the working out of the problem by a sincere and independent mind, whose sole desire is to grow in the knowledge of our Lord Jesus Christ." Who could fail to be moved to a charitable and kindly feeling by such an avowal, save the stoniest of hard-hearted dogmatists?

The problem to be worked out is the explanation and vindication of the import and ground of the redeeming work of our Lord. The manner in which our author does it is the following: He begins with the assumption that the doctrine is true which is taught by his brother in "*The Conflict of Ages*," of a preëxistent state in which all the souls of men were subjected to a moral trial, and fell. This being assumed, he carries back into this period all the relations of the work of redemption. In order to show that his theory is necessary, he discusses the other theories which have been received in the

## ARTICLE X.—NOTICES OF NEW BOOKS.

## THEOLOGICAL AND RELIGIOUS.

PROFESSOR SHEDD'S HISTORY OF CHRISTIAN DOCTRINE.\*—We welcome this work, the fruit of investigations pursued for several years while the author filled the chair of Ecclesiastical History at Andover. American theology has needed to connect itself more with historical investigations, and to graft itself upon the past thinking of the church. We trust that these volumes may prove to be forerunners of other works in the same department of study.

The plan which Professor Shedd has adopted is that of giving a continuous view of the progress of each of the principal doctrines through the whole course of its history, instead of treating each period exhaustively before proceeding to another. The method adopted, which is that of Baumgarten-Crusius, (in his Second Part), has the advantage of affording a consecutive view of the growth of each doctrine—the thread being nowhere dropped for the purpose of bringing forward contemporaneous discussions upon other topics. Still, it is true that the various discussions of any given period throw light upon each other, and the purely *historical* interest is, thus, furthered by an opposite method. But we think that Professor Shedd has done wisely, especially in a work of no greater compass than his, in the choice he has made between these two modes of treatment.

After an Introduction (pp. 1–48) in which the learned author's conception of History, of Sacred History, and of Doctrinal History in particular, are set forth, we come to Book First, in which the Influence of Philosophical systems, especially of Aristotelianism and Platonism, upon the construction of Christian doctrine, is explained. This section of the work is followed by the History of Apologies (pp. 103–220) and the History of Theology (Trinitarianism) and Christology (pp. 223–408)—this topic filling up the first volume. The second volume is devoted to the History of

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\* *A History of Christian Doctrine.* By WILLIAM G. T. SHEDD, D. D. Two volumes. New York: Charles Scribner. 1863. Price \$6. New Haven: Judd & White.

Anthropology, (pp. 1-199), the History of Soteriology, (pp. 203-386), the History of Eschatology, (pp. 389-419), and the History of Symbols, (pp. 423-498). A topical index completes the work. The subjects which are most fully treated are the Trinity, the Doctrine of Sin, and the Atonement. The chapter on Apologies is comparatively brief, and that on Symbols still more so, while other theological topics, except those mentioned above, are thrown very much into the background. For modern theology, in particular, since the seventeenth century, little space is reserved. This we do not charge as a fault upon the work, for, generally speaking, the matter is rightly divided. Considering the proportions of this treatise, it is well that the room should be taken up by the most important topics.

Another feature of the present work is the espousal and maintenance, throughout the history, of a distinct doctrinal standpoint. This peculiarity the author himself notices in the preface. It gives to his work somewhat of the air of a commentary upon Doctrinal History, rather than a merely objective definition of the changes and progress of theological opinion. Partly on account of this characteristic, and partly, perhaps, from a desire of brevity, there is not unfrequently an omission of opinions—especially, singularities of opinion—which, from a *historical* point of view, are interesting, but which to a doctrinal theologian, anxious only to seize upon the element that is perpetuated or bears on present discussions, are of little moment. For example, in Anselm's construction of the Atonement, the fanciful notion that it is necessary to fill up the place of the fallen angels from the human race, has an important place in the theory as it lay in Anselm's mind. So the ascetic notions of Augustin about the sexual appetite were, in his view, an important feature in the doctrine of Original Sin, though modern theology is wont to throw out of consideration this point of the Augustinian theory.

In the manner in which the author has executed his plan, there is much to admire. The style is perspicuous, condensed, animated, often eloquent. Signs of a broad and generous culture crop out all along its pages; but literary allusions illustrate, without diverting, the course of the discussion. There is no want of sharp discrimination. The marks of a mind philosophical by nature and by training are obvious to the reader. The materials have been mastered, fused, and assimilated, so that a character of fresh-

ness and originality is stamped upon the entire work. It well deserves an honorable and permanent place in the standard literature of theology.

In the perusal of Professor Shedd's work, we had noted down various passages where we should wish to take exception to the author's statement either as to the substance of it or the form. But as the limits of a book-notice are insufficient to enable us to do justice to the several topics to which our memoranda relate, we prefer to postpone criticism of this sort to a more convenient season. Most of our differences from the author, however, in the reading and interpretation of Doctrinal History, probably take their rise in our inability to agree with his own theological scheme. We do not believe in his theory of history—unless qualifications are made which would essentially change its character. We do not believe that Augustinian Realism, altered and improved by Anselm, is a scriptural or reasonable explanation of the sin of mankind. We do not believe that the same Anselm's construction of the Atonement, though it undoubtedly contains profound truth, can be strictly held and defended. Nor do we believe in the dogma of the absolute inability of all men since the fall of Adam to accept when they reject, or reject when they accept, the influences of Grace. Nor, again, do we believe that theology in the seventeenth century reached its *ultima Thule*, and that modern German theology, and theological thinking hereafter, are to be approved or condemned, according as they agree or not with the creeds of that age. These theological differences must naturally lead to a somewhat diverse view and representation of the history of theological opinion. But some other occasion may, perhaps, be found for the handling of these points in which we dissent from the esteemed author of this work. But we have not thought it right, in connection with an expression of our warm appreciation of his able production, to withhold an equally frank avowal of our disagreement with several of its prominent theological, or metaphysical tenets.

HOVEY ON THE MIRACLES OF CHRIST.\*—The design of this

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\* *The Miracles of Christ, as Attested by the Evangelists.* By ALVAN HOVEY, D. D., Professor in Newton Theological Institution. Boston: Graves & Young. 1864.

work is thus stated in the preface: "To exhibit the testimony of the Evangelist to the miracles of Christ, is the chief purpose of this work. A careful survey of this testimony,—noting points of agreement and difference between the several writers, the fairness and minuteness with which they relate the events in question, and the abortive attempts which have been made to impeach their veracity,—must be acceptable to those who are seeking a knowledge of our Saviour's life. The following pages, it is hoped, will be found to comprise such a survey,—preceded by an Introduction, pointing out the fallacy of scientific and philosophical objections to miracles, and followed by a conclusion characterizing the Evangelical testimony, as learned from this survey." The author brings to his task careful and sufficient scholarship. A spirit of candor marks his discussion. The objections, from different sides, to the credibility of the New Testament miracles, are fairly met and answered. If we were to criticise the work at all, we should express the apprehension that the refutation of skeptical theories, in reference to the particular narratives, is too brief for the best effect.

MCWHORTER'S HAND-BOOK OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.\*—This little work is an unpretending, but highly meritorious production. It is a condensed and popular handling of the topics usually embraced in the "Introduction to the New Testament." There are, first, in several chapters, judicious observations upon the Canon of the New Testament and its Inspiration. Then follows an account of the ancient manuscripts, their characteristics, number, and state, together with proofs of their substantial integrity. The author then furnishes a description of the most important versions, dwelling especially upon the various English translations. The remaining and principal portion of the book consists of a distinct examination of the peculiarities of each of the New Testament books, together with explanations as to their authorship. The author makes no pretension to originality, but yet has made use of the best English authorities,—as Tregelles, Westcott, Wordsworth, Trench, and especially Alford. He has aimed to meet the wants of those on whom devolves "the duty of instruct-

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\* *A Popular Hand-book of the New Testament.* By GEORGE CUMMING MCWHORTER. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1864. pp. 295.

ing the young in the New Testament, who must often have wished for some book containing in a concise form the information they require." We doubt not that the fruit of his labor will be gratefully appreciated by those for whose benefit it is designed. The book is one which, in our judgment, is in a high degree creditable to the author, who, as we understand, is a layman in the Episcopal Church.

**SMITH'S DICTIONARY OF THE BIBLE.\***—The first volume of this Dictionary of the Bible was given to the public about four years ago. Most of our readers have undoubtedly seen it, and are acquainted with its character. There can be no question that it is immeasurably superior to anything which was generally accessible before, as the editor had the assistance of the best talent in England, both lay and clerical, in its preparation. It will be remembered that this first volume was a large octavo, with nearly twelve hundred pages, closely printed in double columns—though, to our taste, with rather too small type. The amount of reading matter, thus presented, can be estimated from the fact that each page in the Dictionary contains as much as three ordinary pages of the New Englander. It was hoped that one more volume, of the size of the first, would complete this great work. But it was deemed advisable to continue it on even a larger scale, so that some subjects might be treated more fully than was originally contemplated; and instead of one volume, two have been required. These two are now published, bearing the impress of Little, Brown, & Co. of Boston, and the whole work is completed. The two new volumes, together, contain eighteen hundred and sixty-two pages, besides an Appendix, which furnishes one hundred and sixteen additional pages.

Many of the separate Articles, if printed by themselves in the usual book form, would make quite good sized volumes. For example, the single Article on the Ancient Versions of the Old and New

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\* *A Dictionary of the Bible*; comprising its Antiquities, Biography, Geography, and Natural History. Edited by WILLIAM SMITH, LL. D., editor of the Dictionaries of "Greek and Roman Antiquities," "Biography and Mythology," and "Geography." In three volumes. Large 8vo. Vol. II. Kabzeel—Red-Heifer. pp. 1008. Vol. III. Red-Sea—Zuzims. pp. 854. With Appendix. pp. cxvi. Boston: Little, Brown, & Co. 1864. Price for three volumes, \$16.50. New Haven: Judd & White.

Testaments, prepared, with the exception of that portion which respects the Aramaic Versions of the Old Testament, by Dr. Tregelles, fills fifty-two of these compactly printed pages, and would make a volume of over one hundred and fifty pages like those in this Quarterly. There is, besides, an Article of eighteen pages, on the Authorized Version, by Prof. E. H. Plumptre; an Article on the Vulgate of thirty-two pages, by Rev. Brooke Foss Westcott; an Article on the Samaritan Pentateuch, of thirteen pages, by Emanuel Dentsch; and another on the Septuagint, by Rev. Dr. Selwyn, of ten pages; and, besides these, there is an Article (24 pp.) on the Old Testament, by Rev. Joseph Francis Thrupp, another on the New Testament, (30 pp.), by Rev. B. F. Westcott, and another on the Pentateuch, (16 pp.), by Rev. J. J. S. Perowne. This latter contributor thus sums up the results of his inquiries: Genesis was brought to its present shape either by Moses, or by one of the elders acting under him, from documents which had come from a much earlier time. Exodus, Leviticus, and Numbers, are, to a great extent, Mosaic; and he "declares unhesitatingly" for the Mosaic authority of Deuteronomy, excepting the concluding part.

Among the numerous geographical Articles we will mention only one by Mr. Layard, on Nineveh, (15 pp.); one on Syria, (8 pp.), by Mr. Rawlinson; another (36 pp.) on Palestine, by Mr. Grove; another by Hon. Mr. Twisleton, on Tyre, (8 pp.); and another by our countryman, Rev. J. P. Thompson, D. D., of the Broadway Tabernacle Church, New York, on Thebes.

The Biographical Articles are many of them quite extended, of which we will mention only that on Paul, (32 pp.), by Rev. John Llewelyn Davies; and that on Peter, (13 pp.), by Rev. F. C. Cook, who claims it as a settled point that this Apostle suffered martyrdom in Rome. He states, also, that Peter's wife attended him in his wanderings. One of the most extended Articles on this class of subjects, is that on Mary, the mother of our Lord, (11 pp.), the greater part of which, however, is occupied with the legendary history of the Virgin.

Among the Articles on the various Books of the Bible, those on Leviticus and Numbers are by Rev. J. J. S. Perowne; those on the three synoptical gospels are by Dr. Thomson, Archbishop of York; that on Romans is by Prof. J. B. Lightfoot; that on Philemon is by Prof. Hackett of Newton, Massachusetts; those on the



two Epistles of Peter, are by Rev. F. C. Cook, who thus sums up his discussion of the genuineness of the Second Epistle: "If it were a question now to be decided for the first time upon the external or internal evidences still accessible, it may be admitted that it would be far more difficult to maintain this than any other document in the New Testament; but the judgment of the early church is not to be reversed without far stronger arguments than have been adduced, more especially as the Epistle is free from objections which might be brought, with more show of reason, against others, now all but universally received: inculcating no new doctrine, bearing on no controversies of post-apostolical origin, supporting no hierarchical innovations, but simple, earnest, devout, and eminently practical; full of the characteristic graces of the apostle, who, as we believe, bequeathed this last proof of faith and hope to the church."

- The Articles on subjects pertaining to ancient rites, and ceremonies—in fact, to antiquities of every description—are quite full, and are very satisfactory.

It was stated distinctly in the Preface to the first volume, by the editor, that this work was to be a Dictionary of the Bible, and that it was to be no part of its aim to explain systems of theology, or discuss points of controversial history. Still we find from such Articles as that on the Holy Spirit, by Rev. W. T. Bullock; that on Miracles, by Dr. Fitzgerald, Bishop of Killaloe; that on the "Saviour," by Dr. Thomson, Archbishop of York; and that on Romans, by Rev. J. B. Lightfoot, not to mention very many others, that it was not intended to exclude Articles of a doctrinal character; as these are, in many cases, quite extended, and such as will be deemed generally quite satisfactory.

- But, after all, we are inclined to think that it is not in these more extended Articles that the excellence of any such work as this consists. A scholar, with any satisfactory apparatus for study around him, will not be likely to rest satisfied with any of the Articles which we have referred to above, or any discussions which could be compressed within the limits of any Article in a Dictionary. A work of this kind is consulted rather for information on the thousand subjects of less importance respecting which information is needed. And for every such purpose this Dictionary furnishes all that can be desired. There are undoubtedly words that are omitted, and Articles which are defective, yet, as a whole,

it supplies just such help as the great body of ordinary students of the Bible are asking for, and feel the need of. The three volumes are somewhat expensive; yet for the sum which they cost, we doubt whether any other work can be procured of equal value for the illustration of all parts of the Bible.

#### HISTORICAL AND BIOGRAPHICAL.

**LIFE OF EDWARD LIVINGSTON.\***—The family, from which the subject of this memoir was descended, has been distinguished, almost from the first settlement of the State of New York, for its wealth, and for the valuable public services which its different members have rendered. Edward Livingston was born in 1764, and his boyhood was passed, of course, amid the excitement that attended the Revolution. His eldest brother was one of the five to whom the framing of the Declaration of Independence was committed. Another brother commanded a regiment; and an elder sister—Mrs. Montgomery—was early left the widow of that gallant General whose memorable death, before the walls of Quebec, has endeared his name forever to the American people. After the war, and just as Mr. Livingston was himself entering upon manhood, the great questions connected with the forming of our present National Union filled the public mind. Nowhere were they debated with more excitement than in New York; where his elder brother was conspicuous among those who succeeded in overpowering the opposition, and in securing the favorable vote of the citizens of that important State. Surrounded as Edward Livingston had been with such influences from childhood, it could not but be that he should sympathize deeply with his brother in his efforts for the cause of National Unity, and he now warmly adopted those principles which, through life, led him to manifest the most loyal devotion to the Constitution.

In 1785, having been admitted to the bar, he began his professional career in the city of New York, where he immediately took a high position among such men as Hamilton, Burr, Richard Varick, Egbert Benson, John Sloss Hobart, and Brockholdst Livingston. In 1794 he was elected a Representative to

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\* *Life of Edward Livingston.* By CHARLES HAVENS HUNT. With an Introduction by GEORGE BANCROFT. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1864. 8vo. pp. 448. Price \$3.50. New Haven: Judd & White.

Congress; and was twice reëlected. In 1801 he received the appointment from President Jefferson of Attorney General of the United States for the District of New York, and soon after was elected, also, Mayor of the city. In 1803 New York was visited by the yellow fever, and while nobly devoting his time and property, and risking his life in efforts for the assistance of the sufferers, he was called most unexpectedly to meet one of the heaviest calamities of his life. He had been attacked himself by the fever, and while prostrated by it, a confidential clerk embezzled large sums belonging to the United States, in his keeping, and he found himself, on his recovery, a debtor to the government for a much larger sum than it was possible for him to pay. He immediately resigned all his public offices, and "without a word of complaint, crimination, or excuse, at once devoted his inheritance, his acquisitions, the fruits of his professional industry, to the discharge of his obligation to the government; and for near a score of years gave himself no rest till he had paid it, principal and interest." But in order to be enabled to accomplish this, in the shortest possible period, he determined to exile himself for a season from his home and family, in some place where he could hope to gain more speedily pecuniary independence. It happened that, just at this time, his brother, under the direction of President Jefferson, had succeeded in making the purchase of Louisiana from Napoleon, and Mr. Livingston naturally had his thoughts turned towards New Orleans as a place where he might hope, sooner than in New York, to acquire the means of discharging the load of debt which he found laid upon him. He therefore removed to Louisiana, and reached New Orleans in 1804, when that city contained but about eight thousand inhabitants, who consisted for the most part of Frenchmen and Spaniards. The situation of affairs in the newly purchased territory was peculiar. Louisiana had passed from the control of its European masters, and now its inhabitants were to be admitted to all the privileges of American citizens. In the adjustment of the old municipal laws, derived from France and Spain, to the new condition of things, Mr. Livingston from the first bore an important part; and showed in a very striking manner the magnanimity of his character. At his recommendation, an attempt was made to simplify the existing forms of practice in the courts, which was a medley of civil and Spanish law, and he was commissioned to frame an entirely new system of

practice, which was at once adopted by the legislature. In illustration of the value of the changes which he made, the following story is told: A young lawyer, from one of the common law States, came to New Orleans with the design of practising there his profession. He carried letters of introduction to Mr. Livingston, and in his first conversation with him expressed great solicitude to know in how long a time, if he used great diligence, he could expect to acquire a knowledge of the rules of practice. Mr. Livingston answered, "You are coming to dine with me to-morrow at four, and I think I can initiate you into all its mysteries before we sit down to dinner!"

The ceding of Louisiana to the United States had given at once to New Orleans all the importance that had been anticipated by Mr. Livingston. The city entered immediately upon a course of rapid growth which soon gave him abundant scope for the exercise of all his professional ability; and it was not long before his superior talents, his integrity, affability, and public spirit, gained for him universal confidence. A proof of the high regard that was felt for him, we have in the success that attended his efforts, during the last war with England, when the city of New Orleans was threatened by the British army. We are told that it was owing, in a great degree, to his personal influence that the many conflicting elements in the State were brought to act in unison. He also served himself as military aid to Gen. Jackson, and here formed that intimacy with the future President which afterwards led to his being called by him to fill some of the highest offices of trust in the national government, at times of critical importance.

After the war, he represented the State of Louisiana, for many years, both in the House and in the Senate of the United States. In 1831 he was made Secretary of State by President Jackson, and was his principal adviser at the time that the nullifying politicians of South Carolina made their first attempt to embroil the nation in civil war; and among the important state papers that were prepared at this exciting period by Mr. Livingston, may be mentioned the celebrated Address to the people of South Carolina. The last public service that he rendered was in the capacity of Minister to France, where he was sent in 1833 to prosecute the claim for indemnity, made by our government, for French spoliations, under the Berlin and Milan decrees, on American commerce.

## BELLES LETTRES.

CRAIK'S HISTORY OF ENGLISH LITERATURE, AND OF THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE.\*—The English language, as Professor Craik tells us, has been known by that name, and has been the national speech of the English people, at least since the middle of the fifth century. Of written remains in it we have a continuous succession of specimens since the seventh century; no two of which standing next to one another in the order of time, can possibly be pronounced to belong to different languages, but only at most to two successive stages of the same language. In other words, "we have a record or representation of the English language in which there is no gap, for much more than a thousand years, and this is what cannot be said of any other important existing European tongue, for nearly so great a length of time." Now the man who shall give us the history of the origin of this truly ancient language, and of the changes it has undergone during these fourteen centuries, will accomplish a work which will win for him the enduring gratitude of every English scholar. Such a work should unfold, in some worthy manner, the history of all those subtle influences which, at last, after so many years, have built up and given shape to this mother-tongue of ours, which is now confessed to have no superior, as a suitable vehicle for the expression of every variety of thought and feeling which a free, thoughtful, imaginative, and Christian people can have. Such a work has long been needed; and we have needed, no less, some proper history of the literature embodied in the language;—a history which should trace the connection between each successive age and the writers who have illustrated it; which should show us what have been the influences, in each age, which have called out the men of original thought, who, in turn, have stamped their influence upon their own and subsequent times: which should show us why, at one period, literature has been characterized by

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\* *A Compendious History of English Literature, and of the English Language, from the Norman Conquest.* With numerous specimens. By GEORGE L. CRAIK, LL. D., Professor of History and of English Literature in Queen's College Belfast. In two volumes. 8vo. New York: Charles Scribner. 1863. pp. 620, 581. Price \$7.00. New Haven: Judd & White.

all that is elevated, and ennobling, and why, at another, it has been degraded, artificial, and devoid of all healthy feeling.

Such a work as this we have never had, though many valuable contributions towards it have been made, in the way of criticisms of detached periods. Prominent among these, we will mention two volumes by the late Professor Henry Reed, of the University of Pennsylvania, who, as we have sometimes thought, if he had lived, might, perhaps, have succeeded in giving to the world what is so much desired. But the most comprehensive works which we have hitherto had, of which the best is the *Cyclopædia* of Chambers, can claim to furnish only an epitome of what is needed. With all the information that this last work contains, it is at best but a larger Index. It lacks the inspiration of a superintending mind, which should give life to all, and weave the story of the literature of all these thirteen centuries into one symmetrical whole.

Mr. Craik has had, then, almost an open field in which to work; and these two thick volumes, we do not hesitate to say, are a great advance upon all that has gone before. We welcome their appearance. They cannot fail to awaken new interest in one of the most fascinating of studies. Mr. Craik has made the attempt to give here, in one complete work, the history of both the English language and its literature, down to the present time, including what he calls the "Victorian era." He shows himself throughout to be well furnished with all the learning pertaining to his subject. His taste is catholic. His criticisms are appreciative and fair. His work everywhere bears the marks of wide reading and laborious study.

Mr. Craik commences with some account of the early Latin literature in Britain, in the period just subsequent to the Roman rule; and then, after speaking of the Celtic language, and its literature, he gives the story of the introduction of the English tongue into the British islands in the fifth century. He traces its history, the changes it slowly underwent, the effects of the Norman Conquest, the use of the French language in England, the results of the establishment of schools and universities, the introduction of Arabic and other new learning, the scholastic philosophy, the influence of the study of Hebrew and Greek. Mr. Craik has long been familiar with the results of the labors of all the different archæological societies in England, and of these re-

sults he has everywhere made free use; so that in all that pertains to the bibliography of what he calls the Original English period, and the Second English period, down to the times of Geoffrey Chaucer, his work furnishes a great amount of minute detail, which has hitherto been almost entirely inaccessible to the public at large. He has succeeded, also, to a good degree, in enlivening his survey of this "nocturnal portion" of our literature, in such a way that even the most cursory reader cannot fail to find much to interest and amuse.

As an illustration of his style, we quote a single paragraph from the account which he gives of the hold which the Latin language still had upon the English people even in the Anglo-Norman period.

"Giraldus Cambrensis tells us that, in a progress which he made through Wales in 1186, to assist Archbishop Baldwin in preaching a new crusade for the delivery of the Holy Land, he was always most successful when he appealed to the people in a Latin sermon; he asserts, indeed, that they did not understand a word of it, although it never failed to melt them into tears, and to make them come in crowds to take the cross. No doubt they were acted upon chiefly through their ears and their imaginations, and, for the most part, only supposed that they comprehended what they were listening to; but it is probable that their self-deception was assisted by their catching a word or phrase here and there, the meaning of which they really understood. The Latin tongue must in those days have been heard in common life on a thousand occasions, from which it has now passed away. It was the language of all the learned professions, of law, and physic, as well as of divinity, in all their grades. It was in Latin that the teachers at the Universities (many of whom, as well as of the ecclesiastics, were foreigners) delivered their prelections in all the sciences, and that all the disputations and other exercises among the students were carried on. It was the same at all the monastic schools and other seminaries of learning. The number of persons by whom these various institutions were attended was very great; they were of all ages, from boyhood to advanced manhood: and poor scholars must have been found in every village, mingling with every class of the people, in some one or other of the avocations which they followed in the intervals of their attendance at the Universities, or after they had finished their education, from parish priests down to wandering beggars."

About half of the first volume is taken up with the history of the English language and literature previous to the time of Chaucer. Of the subsequent, and by far the larger portion of the work, we have already expressed our opinion in general. Here Mr. Craik very properly confines himself, almost entirely, in his accounts of the different writers who pass under review, to giving such information only as will throw light upon his critical esti-

mates of their writings. These criticisms are illustrated with sufficient fulness by appropriate quotations, but there is scarce anything of the nature of biography attempted. It is in the department of criticism, in connection with such interesting literary information as is naturally connected with it, that the excellence of the work is to be found. For this, by his natural qualities, and by his various acquisitions, the author is singularly well qualified, and, as far as he has gone, he has been as successful as perhaps can be expected of any one individual.

The defect of the book is in its very important omissions, and in a want of symmetry in its style of criticism. This defect is at once accounted for by a reference to the Preface, where it is stated that Mr. Craik in 1844-5, published a small work, "*Sketches of the History of Literature and Learning in England*;" and that, in the preparation of this new work, much of this smaller book has been directly incorporated into it without material alteration or enlargement. Mr. Craik says he did not undertake to prepare a new work, on an entirely original plan, but simply contented himself with re-writing some of the more important portions of the old book. His defense seems to be that "it is only great names and great works which make a literature;" and that of all those who do not take rank in the first class, he had already said everything that was important.

But this brings us to consider a defect of another kind, which must necessarily leave a work of this description very incomplete. Mr. Craik seems to have limited his fullest and most careful criticisms—with exceptions however—to the works of those writers who have distinguished themselves in what may be called the department of *Belles Lettres*. Of the great lights of theology, of social, ethical, mental, and political science, he has in comparison very little to say. Properly enough he has retained the "Summaries of Scientific Discovery in successive periods," which he had prepared for the earlier work, for the reason that they supply much that illustrates the history of the literature of each era. But of many of the great works in those other departments of science which have exerted the widest influence upon their own and subsequent times, his comments are of a most meagre description.

We might mention, also, that Mr. Craik's own style is not above criticism. We will give but a single example. On the very first page, we find this sentence: "No language has been



born a written language, any more than it was ever heard tell of that a boy had been born with breeches on." But to conclude, this work of Mr. Craik, notwithstanding these defects, is by far the best of the kind which we have in the language. It will undoubtedly meet with general favor, and we trust it will have a very wide circulation.

CORSON'S CHAUCER.\*—We have long felt the need of editions of some of the English classics similar to those we possess of the Latin and Greek authors. We mean both variorum editions and smaller annotated editions for the use of younger students. Pupils in the classics have every facility for studying the derivations, dialectic forms, strange uses of words, ἀπαξ λεγόμενα, and the geographical and mythological allusions. Students of early English literature have been so destitute of all kind of convenient help that they have usually studied it very little. It is therefore with no ordinary feeling of gratitude to the maker of a good book, that we take up this little volume. Prof. Corson has shown us of what use slight help may be, when that help is judicious. We recollect now but one book edited hitherto in this way, and that is Shakspeare's "Julius Cæsar," by Craik. That was very good, but this is better. A few more such books and a good grammar, if studied, as they would not fail to be, would show their good influence on ordinary writing and conversation.

The Legend of Good Women is one of the best of Chaucer's smaller poems. There are numerous convenient editions of the Canterbury Tales, but the other poems have been hitherto only to be found in his collected works. Apart from the merit of the poem itself, the interest which it awakens, as being the source of Tennyson's "Dream of Fair Women," is enough to cause it to be selected.

The text used in this edition is that of Bell's London edition, which was formed on a collation of the only two manuscripts of the poem in existence; the Fairfax Manuscript, No. 16 in the Bodleian Library and the Arch. Seld. B. 24, following principally the former. For the purpose, perhaps, this is well enough,

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\* *Chaucer's Legends of Good Women.* Edited with an introduction and notes, glossarial and critical. By HIRAM CORSON. Philadelphia: Frederick Leyboldt. 1864. 18mo. pp. 145.

but we should have preferred the unvaried text of the best manuscript, or at least should wish the variations marked.

Before the poem itself, we have an introduction which is designed to clear up some of the difficulties which would at first sight seem to attend Chaucer's versification, as well as to criticise and explain the origin of the poem itself. Mr. Corson's remarks about the accent and pronunciation are exceedingly good and well-timed. There is, however, one thing which he leaves in the dark. He nowhere states plainly of what number of syllables the verse consists. He does indeed speak of five heavy accents and that might give eleven syllables, but in his scheme of scanning he marks them as ten syllables. Now it is evident that the greater number of lines consist of eleven syllables, if the final *e* is pronounced as it should be. For if it is pronounced in the middle of a line why not at the end? Besides this there are some lines which compel the addition of this eleventh syllable, as l. 2316-17, rhyming in *lyten, smyten*; 2379-80, *maketh, taketh*; 2383-4, *she served, deserved*; and 2391-2, *brother, another*. To speak any of these words as one syllable would be to force a disagreeable pronunciation; to leave the *e* off of the other words, would be to violate analogy. We have then left a few verses which are undeniably, as they now stand, of ten syllables. But here we think a literal transcript of another text would give us the syllable, of which the blunder of the copyist has deprived us; or as to words where an additional *e* would be impossible, may it not be that catalectic verses occasionally occur to relieve the monotony, just as verses of more than eleven syllables are sometimes used. On this point we think the editor ought to have clearly spoken.

The notes are excellent. Perhaps some things are repeated a little too often, as that on *meinie* or *many*, but they all show a research which extends from the oldest to the latest poets. The notes on *thewes* and *werdes* are examples of this.

The book also has an index of every word explained or commented on in the notes.

**THE SCHONBERG-COTTA FAMILY.\***—This is the most pleasing work of fiction that has come from the press for many months.

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\* *Chronicles of the Schönberg-Cotta Family*. By two of themselves. New York: M. W. Dodd. 1864. 12mo. pp. 552. Price \$1.50. New Haven: F. T. Jarman.

Under the form of a series of "chronicles" or diaries, which profess to have been written by the different members of the Schönberg-Cotta family, at the time of the Reformation, we have revealed to us, in their own experience, and that of their numerous friends, the feelings with which the progress of the work of Luther was attended in the hearts of the German people.

The great difficulty, in the case of most persons who attempt to make themselves acquainted with the history of the past, is a defect in the imaginative faculty. It is no easy thing to reconstruct for ourselves, though we may have the materials at our hands, any vivid idea of what must once have been the living reality. The writer of this book is one of the very small class of persons who are able to appreciate, and able to make others appreciate, the spirit of the distant past, and the characters and feelings of those who were actors in its memorable scenes. Who the author is, we are not reliably informed. The rumor is, that we are indebted for the book to an English lady.

The Schönberg-Cotta family are introduced to us as devout Roman Catholics, of the burgher class, who have their home in Eisenach. The father is a printer. In the family are numerous children, who are represented as quite intimate with Martin Luther at the time he was living in that town as a boy. This intimacy is kept up after Luther leaves Eisenach, and, in fact, it is maintained with scarcely any intermission during his whole life; so that we have, in the diary of one or another of the family, the whole story of his career, and so fully detailed that there are few incidents in his life, of which history has retained the memory, which are not interwoven with the thread of the story.

But the great interest of the book is in its very successful illustration of the gradual progress of that great change in the feelings of Luther on the subject of personal acceptance with God which brought on the Reformation. But this is by no means all. We have also the illustration of the effect of his new views respecting Jesus Christ, the authority of the papal hierarchy, and the dogmas of the Romish Church, upon the great variety of different individuals of widely different characters who are introduced in the story. The number of these characters is quite large; and each one is so skillfully drawn and so strongly marked, as to gain in the reader's mind all the freshness of distinct personality. We seem to have become ourselves acquainted with each

one, and to have seen and known the proud old Bohemian grandmother; the philosophizing father, with his even temper never disturbed by his repeated failures; "the little mother," so kind, so gentle, so patient, and loving; the practical Else; the generous Fritz; the blunt, uncompromising Christopher; the mild, contemplative, devoted Eva; the gallant and courteous Ulrich Von Gersdorf; the benevolent Herr Reichenbach; the nuns, Aunt Agnes, Catherine Von Bora, and sister Beatrice; the unhappy Priest Ruprecht Haller, and a host of others; while Melancthon, Staupitz, Eck, Tetzels, Erasmus, the elector, the emperor, the pope, and everywhere Dr. Martin Luther, are so introduced as to give an air of strange reality to all. We hope the book will be circulated by tens of thousands over the whole country.

#### POLITICAL.

**NEW EDITION OF THE FEDERALIST.\***—The first volume of this new edition of the *Federalist* makes a very handsome octavo of over seven hundred and fifty pages. It contains a portrait of Alexander Hamilton; an historical introduction, (124 pp.); a synoptical table of contents; and the *Federalist* itself, complete. The editor, (Henry B. Dawson, Esq., of Morrisania, New York), states that the text which he has adopted is "that which the distinguished authors themselves originally gave to the world," and he evidently feels no little satisfaction in being able to say that it now appears in his pages, without addition, abridgment, or the least alteration, except where typographical errors were subsequently corrected by the authors themselves, or are apparent and unquestionable." The second volume, yet to be published, will contain "Notes," prepared by the editor, which are to embrace "the more important of the alterations and corruptions of the text, which have appeared from time to time; many of the manuscript notes which have been found on the margins and blank leaves of the copies which were formerly owned by Mr. Madison, Mr. Jefferson, Mr. Ames, Chancellor Kent, and other friends of

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\* *The Federalist*: A Collection of Essays written in favor of the new Constitution, as agreed upon by the Federal Convention, September 17th, 1787. Reprinted from the original text. With an Historical Introduction and Notes by HENRY B. DAWSON. In two volumes. Vol. I. New York: Charles Scribner. 1863. 8vo. pp. 757. Price \$3.50. New Haven: Judd & White.

the respective authors; and such other illustrative matter" as the editor has supposed "will be useful to those who may examine the text of the *Federalist*; together with a very complete and carefully prepared Index to the entire work."

It will be seen that Mr. Dawson has aimed to furnish the public with an edition which shall be perfectly satisfactory; and it is evident that he has spared no pains to illustrate, in the most suitable manner, this series of political papers, the most able ever given to the American people.

We are disposed to award our praise to the editor for what he has attempted, and what he has done, as far as the republication of the original text of the *Federalist* is concerned. This he has endeavored to do with all exactness, and to give it without note or comment. Such is undoubtedly the best plan; although the reasons alleged seem to have in his mind altogether an exaggerated importance. Still, as we are promised, in the forthcoming volume, whatever verbal alterations the different authors at any time made or suggested, all parties will be completely satisfied. This edition, then, "the twenty-first in book form,"—as the results of much investigation authorize Mr. Dawson to call it—will now undoubtedly be accepted as of standard authority, at least as far as the text itself of the *Federalist* is concerned.

But we regret to say that in this first volume we find certain blemishes, which pertain to minor matters, to be sure, but which are none the less blemishes; and are surprised, also, to discover some really important errors of statement in the historical introduction which are inexcusable.

For instance, we protest against the spelling of the time honored and familiar words "*federal*," and "*Federalist*," which has been adopted. As will be seen by reference to the title given below, these words are spelled invariably with a diphthong, so as to read thus—"federal," and "Fæderalist." Now no reason that we can imagine as possibly deciding the editor to make this innovation seems at all satisfactory, and we have yet to see the first person who does not think that such a spelling in such a work is an unpardonable affectation. It is a constant offense to the eye—bad enough in this book; but insufferable when we think that it will soon be setting a thousand tyro contributors to the daily press to repeating it every day. The same thing is true of the form in which the name of Mr. JAY appears. It is invariably printed

with the acute accent over the letter *a*. We protest against these innovations, and urgently submit the question to the editor whether it is not yet possible, before the appearance of the second volume, to make a change in these words.

But to pass to matters of more moment. In the introduction, Mr. Dawson makes several extraordinary statements which we have not room to quote in full. One or two paragraphs must suffice. He says:

"Within the borders of New York, and among her members, had originated the greater number of the measures which led to the War of the Revolution; and, inspired by her example, and encouraged by her success,—not unfrequently, also, directed by her popular leaders,—her twelve associates had learned, at an early date, to look to her as to a leader, in the assertion of their own political rights, as well as in the more decided opposition which, from time to time, they had made to her representatives and to the measures of the sovereign." p. 10.

It is evident that Mr. Dawson is laboring under the impression that before and during the Revolution, the State of New York already held the position among her twelve associates of the "Empire" State. Now this whole paragraph, in its separate statements, and in its general tone, is so notoriously at variance with facts, that it is not worth the space to spread out on our pages a refutation. Who were the citizens of the State of New York, during all this period, whom Mr. Dawson will call the "leaders" of the illustrious men who are usually supposed to have exerted the greatest influence at this crisis? Mr. Dawson's own subsequent pages show conclusively that he had in mind neither John Jay or Alexander Hamilton. To whom, then, does he refer?

But to pass over many other statements, which are calculated to convey a wrong impression, we will give one more illustration of the editor's manifest ignorance of the times about which he writes:

"At length, wearied with the continued short comings of her sister States, and, probably, aroused by the frequent insults and threats of dismemberment which had been freely indulged in by more than one of her immediate neighbors,—all of whom had envied her rising greatness, without at any time aspiring to her fidelity to the Federal compact—on the suggestion of one of the most distinguished and most patriotic, but most maligned, of her citizens, New York had been the first to propose measures for a complete revision of the Federal Constitution."

Here it is very evident that Mr. Dawson supposes that in 1782—which is the time he is speaking of; i. e. the time when the

Assembly of New York recommended a Convention to revise and amend the Articles of Confederation, and to give the needed increase of authority—or, that we may give his statement the most favorable aspect, we will say, in 1786, the time of the Convention at Annapolis,—the State of New York had so far progressed in her career of “rising greatness” as to be an object of envy to all the other States; and Mr. Dawson furthermore supposes that during all this time the State of New York had showed and was continuing to show such superior fidelity to the Federal Compact as to put all the other twelve States to the blush! Now, as a matter of fact, it was not till after the latest of the above two dates, that New York had entered upon any such career of rapid growth as could justify such feelings of envy on the part of the other States. And though there may have been, and under the existing arrangements it was very natural that there should be, some clashing of interests between New York and the adjoining States, there was not even in these cases any such jealousy of her “rising power” as is claimed. It is to be remembered that at the time of the adoption of the present Constitution, New York was one of the smaller States, and her inferior political power was one of the reasons why she advocated with such warmth the doctrine of States’ Rights. And, again, with regard to the claim of a fidelity manifested to the Federal Compact, superior to that manifested by many of the other States, we emphatically deny it; though we have no desire to detract from the fair fame of New York, and are happy to admit that very generous principles often prevailed among her people. It is notorious, that it was owing to the embarrassing action of the Assembly of New York, in peremptorily refusing to grant an impost, on terms compatible with the acceptance of Congress, that all hopes of an independent federal revenue were finally dashed, and that Congress was induced to give its sanction and approbation to the meeting of the proposed Convention which drafted the present Constitution.

We confess that after reading Mr. Dawson’s historical introduction, we feel some apprehension about his forthcoming volume. However, all this does not affect the value of the text of the *Federalist*. We are thankful that we have this presented to us in so satisfactory a form, and of the merits of the Notes we will judge when they are given to the public.

We ought not to omit to state that in the Introduction there is

also a very interesting and carefully prepared account of all the previous editions; and unless we are mistaken, in no one of these does the orthography of the words "Federalist" and "federal" conform to the new spelling which Mr. Dawson is seeking to introduce.

**SPEECH OF JUDGE UPHAM ON THE TIMES.\***—We have before us, in pamphlet form, a very able speech of Hon. N. G. Upham, in which he discusses the bearings of Rebellion, Slavery, and Peace on each other. The speech was made at Concord, New Hampshire, in March, and deserves to be widely circulated through the country. Judge Upham vigorously defends the President's emancipation and amnesty proclamations, and the constitutionality of the measures respecting slavery which have been taken in defense of the Union. He argues at length the proposition that there can be no reasonable assurance of a permanent peace while slavery exists. He takes up the questions of the comparative value of slave and compensated labor, and the condition of the liberated African, and presents most abundant evidence that those States which still retain the system of slavery will be every way the gainers if they will voluntarily and immediately bring it to an end. The speech deserves a much more extended analysis than our limits will allow us to give.

#### MISCELLANEOUS.

**THE QUEEN'S ENGLISH.†**—This book has many things in it which are good. It also has many things which are bad or unnecessary. The substance of the book is some lectures delivered at Canterbury, and subsequently republished in "Good Words." Many things, however, drew out criticism and answers, to which the author replied. All this is incorporated into the book, and consequently it is very immethodical. Often an answer is given on one page to a criticism on a passage which occurs much later

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\* *An Address on the Subject of Rebellion, Slavery, and Peace*; delivered at Concord, N. H., March 2d, 1864. By N. G. UPHAM. Concord: E. C. Eastman. 1864. 8vo. pp. 40.

† *The Queen's English*: Stray notes on speaking and spelling. By HENRY ALFORD, D. D., Dean of Canterbury. London: Strahan & Co. 1864. 12mo. pp. 257.



in the volume. This referring forward, if one can say so, is not very pleasant. There are numerous errors in speech and writing touched on, which we are told are common among cultivated persons in England. If this is so, the language must be much more hardly used there than it is here. In fact, with the exception of a few discussions on controverted points, the volume is merely a statement of rules which are acknowledged by all who pretend to the slightest accuracy in their use of language.

But accuracy of speech is not usual in America, Mr. Alford tells us. Speaking of the Americans he says :

“ Look at those phrases which so amuse in their speech and books ; at their reckless exaggeration, and contempt for congruity ; and then compare the character and history of the nation—its blunted sense of moral obligation and duty to man ; its open disregard of conventional right, when aggrandizement is to be obtained ; and, I may now say, its reckless and fruitless maintenance of the most cruel and unprincipled war in the history of the world. Such examples as this . . . . may serve to show that language is no trifle.”

We do not call attention so much to the truth as to the logic of this passage.

As regards spelling, the author coincides with Webster's rule about doubling the final consonant in the past tenses of verbs. He however dislikes any omission of the *u* in words ending in *our* which he stigmatizes as an American practice, with the exception of *neighbor* or *neighbour*, where he thinks the *u* arose from analogy, which word is, he says, derived from the German *nachbar*. This shows that, like most other English writers on language, he has very faint ideas of what derivation is.

Mr. Alford defines well an idiom in saying that it is a departure from the strict rules of grammatical construction and critical analogy common to languages in general, and has some sensible remarks on various idiomatical phrases.

He also makes some valuable suggestions on the difference in the use of adjectives and adverbs to qualify verbs. But it will take stronger arguments than are brought up here to convince us that “ *it is me*,” is an idiom, and therefore a correct phrase, or to prove that “ *than*” ever governs the objective. The book may do good to some persons who are in the habit of treating their mother tongue with great disregard, but most people will find that there is a great deal of vapid talk and very little reasoning or proof. Nothing is thoroughly treated, and the arbitrary manner in which decisions are made that one phrase is correct because it follows the

rule, and another wrong for the same reason, is not calculated to satisfy. The author is one of those writers who would confine the English language in close bounds and frown on any attempt to extend it by the introduction of new words or new uses of old ones. He does not see that language is living and that from some reason never fully investigated, words once current are sometimes dropped and others taken to supply their place. This takes place continually, and yet the force of inertia is such that the language is always English, and, were the whole vocabulary foreign, would be English still.

**MÄTZNER'S ENGLISH GRAMMAR.\***—This is without doubt the best grammar of our language which has yet been published. It is even better, for it is much fuller, than that of Fiedler and Sachs, and it is far ahead of anything we have in our language. The whole subject of English Grammar is thoroughly discussed. The Syntax well repays the closest study. The philosophy of the sentence and of its arrangement is well treated, and the discussion of the several parts of speech and their relations is very thorough. The prepositions alone have over one hundred and fifty pages devoted to them. We notice that the author adopts the usual grammatical nomenclature of the cases, speaking of the Genitive and Accusative instead of the Possessive and Objective, which are the terms in vogue among English writers. He separates too the Dative from the Accusative. This is a better arrangement, it seems to us, than that usually adopted. We can thus perceive more clearly the analogy of the regimen as compared with other languages, and are able to trace more easily the use of the construction. The Dative and Accusative are really always distinct, though in form they are one, and an acknowledgment of this distinction helps us in the higher analysis of the sentence. The book is written in the same way that we write grammars of the dead languages, showing the actual uses of words and phrases, and not as we have been accustomed to write English Grammars, showing a hypothetical and wrong one, or what is called false syntax. Its object is not so much to teach one to use the language correctly, as to understand it when used correctly. We have been very much struck with the amount of reading shown in the citations and

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\* *Englische Grammatik* von EDUARD MÄTZNER. Berlin. 2 vols. 8vo. 1864. Weidmannsche Buchhandlung.

examples. They extend from the earliest Anglo-Saxon writers to the latest novels of Dickens and Trollope, and they are all carefully referred to by the line or page. We hope that the concluding volume containing the index will soon appear, as that is very much needed.

**BOOK OF PRAISE.\***—The plan of the editor, in preparing this beautiful volume, has been to make a selection of hymns which will afford appropriate expressions for those feelings of confiding faith and grateful devotion which are natural to the Christian's heart. He expresses a doubt whether "a sense of repetition and monotony" may not be created by bringing together so large a number of hymns on one subject; but no one who will examine the book itself will share his fears. In fact, there is a growing taste, everywhere manifest, for just such special selections of Hymns as are most suitable to the varying states of feeling to which our minds are subject. It is an interesting fact that the editor of this volume is an English gentleman, of high legal attainments and reputation. We hope the book will become widely known.

**PROF. DANA'S TEXT-BOOK OF GEOLOGY.†**—We are glad that Professor Dana has been induced to prepare an abridgment of his admirable Manual of Geology, for the use of Schools and Academies. If he had not done this himself, something of the kind would undoubtedly have been attempted by a less competent person. In this new volume the arrangement of the larger work has been retained, and the work is amply illustrated with three hundred and seventy-five wood cuts.

**L. SCOTT & Co's REPUBLICATIONS OF THE BRITISH REVIEWS.**—The price of the five British Reviews which are reprinted by L. Scott & Co. of New York, is not raised for the current year. According to the new law, the rates of postage are less than be-

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\* *The Book of Praise*, from the best English Hymn-writers. Selected and arranged by ROUNDELL PALMER. Cambridge: Sever & Francis. 1864. 18mo. pp. 480. Price \$1.50. New Haven: H. C. Peck.

† *A Text-Book of Geology*. Designed for Schools and Academies. By JAMES D. DANA, LL. D. Illustrated by three hundred and seventy-five wood cuts. Philadelphia: Theodore Bliss & Co. 1864. 12mo. pp. 364. Price \$1.75. New Haven: Judd & White.

fore, being only fifty-six cents a year for all these five publications;—twenty-four cents a year for Blackwood, and eight cents a year for a Review. The cost in England for a subscription to the five Reviews, is \$31.

**TAGGARD AND THOMPSON'S NEW EDITION OF LORD BACON'S WORKS.**—The eighth and ninth volumes of the new Boston edition of Lord Bacon's Works have been published; and now but one more is needed to complete the series of fifteen volumes.

We are informed that the concluding volume will be ready for delivery in a few days. After that, owing to the increased cost of manufacture, the publishers intend to make an advance in the price. All who think of purchasing this princely edition will do well, therefore, to send their subscriptions to the publishers at once. (Mr. Pease is acting as agent for the sale of the work in New Haven).

**REBELLION RECORD.**—No. XLI. is published, which brings the documentary history of the Rebellion down to November, 1863. An advertisement, with much information respecting this work, which is becoming every day more and more valuable, will be found in the advertising sheet which accompanies this number. For sale in New Haven by Mr. Pease, 50 cents per number.

**"THE AMERICAN CONFLICT,"** by HORACE GREELEY.—We have received several specimen pages of a work which is to bear this title, and is to be published soon by O. D. Case & Co., of Hartford, Conn. Mr. Horace Greeley, we are thus informed, proposes to write the history of the Great Rebellion of 1860–1864; with reference especially to its moral and political phases. It will be, also, a prominent object with him to trace the drift and progress of American opinion respecting Human Slavery from 1770 to 1864. If we may judge from these specimen pages which have been submitted to us, it is evident that the work is to be prepared with care and deliberation; and, if so, there can be no question that the book will be one of uncommon interest. It is to be printed in handsome style, with large type, and will be illustrated with portraits on steel, with views of important places, and diagrams of the scenes of all important battles.

## BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS RECEIVED.

*Thackeray, the Humorist, and the Man of Letters.* The story of his life and literary labors, including a selection from his characteristic speeches, now for the first time gathered together. By THEODORE TAYLOR, Esq., Membre de la Société des Gens de Lettres. To which is added IN MEMORIAM, by CHARLES DICKENS, and a Sketch by ANTHONY TROLLOPE. With portrait, and illustrations. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1864. 12mo. pp. 242. New Haven: H. C. Peck. Price \$1.25.

*Life and Public Services of Major-General Meade,* (GEORGE GORDON MEADE). The Hero of Gettysburg, and Commander of the Army of the Potomac. Philadelphia: T. B. Peterson & Brothers. 12mo. pp. 80.

*Life and Public Services of Major-General Butler,* (BENJAMIN F. BUTLER). The Hero of New Orleans, Commander of the Military Department of Virginia and North Carolina; also Commissioner for the exchange of Prisoners. Philadelphia: T. B. Peterson & Brothers. 12mo. pp. 108.

*The Life, Campaigns, and Public Services of General McClellan,* (GEORGE B. MCCLELLAN). The Hero of Western Virginia! South Mountain! and Antietam! Philadelphia: T. B. Peterson & Brothers. 12mo. pp. 184.

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JULY, 1864.

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THE  
NEW ENGLANDER.

No. LXXXVIII.

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JULY, 1864.

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ARTICLE I.—THE CONFLICT WITH SKEPTICISM AND UNBELIEF. THIRD ARTICLE:—BAUR'S RECONSTRUCTION OF THE APOSTOLIC HISTORY, AND ATTACK UPON THE CREDIBILITY OF THE BOOK OF ACTS.\*

*Das Christenthum u. die Christliche Kirche der drei ersten Jahrhunderte*, von Dr. Ferdinand Christian Baur. Tübingen, 1853. (Author's last Ed., 1860.)

*Die Composition u. Entstehung der Apostelgeschichte*, von Eduard Lekebusch. Gotha, 1854.

THE great question which the Church in the Apostolic age was required to consider and determine, was the relation of Christianity to the ritual law of the Old Testament. Was that law still binding? Or rather—for in this form, as was

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\* It is hardly necessary to remind the reader that the views examined in this Article have become current through the Westminster Review, and various other publications, and are likely to be still further promulgated. In order to meet the prevailing unbelief, it is necessary to confront it where it assumes a consistent and tangible form.



natural, the question first came up—was that law binding on the Gentile believers? In short, could a man be a Christian without first becoming a Jew? It cannot be denied that the full extent of the commotion which this question stirred up, is better understood in the light of recent discussions, than was the case formerly. Discounting very much, as we shall, from the extravagant representation of the Tübingen critical school, we still feel that the sound of this great conflict reverberates through no inconsiderable portion of the New Testament Scriptures. The Epistle to the Galatians is a fervid argument on this one theme. The Epistle to the Romans, though not devoted—the opinion of Baur to the contrary notwithstanding—to this distinctive subject, gives to the matter of the relation of the Jew to the Gentile, a prominent place. The two Epistles to the Corinthians bear witness to the dissension which the same question had provoked. The Epistle to the Hebrews is an argument designed to reconcile the Jewish believer to the abrogation of the old ordinances, and to keep him from lapsing, out of love to them, from the faith in Christ. The book of Acts, and most of the other monuments of the Apostolic age, contain more or less of allusion to the grand question we have described.

For it *was* a grand question. It was not simply the question—which of itself to a Jew could not fail to have the deepest interest—of the transitory or perpetual validity of the Mosaic laws and institutions. But it was, also, the question, whether Christianity was, in its real nature, a spiritual, and so a universal religion, or only an improved sect or phase of Judaism. In this transitional era, when the kingdom of God was breaking through and casting off its rudimental and provisional form, and assuming the permanent features of a religion of the spirit and a religion for mankind—in that crisis of history, it was inevitable that such commotion and controversy should arise. It was one illustration of the truth that the Son of Man did not come to bring peace, but a sword. As new chemical changes and combinations are attended with heat and combustion, so is it with every such revolution and new beginning in the course of history. And we may add that even

to the present day, the Protestant definitions of the essential nature of the Gospel, and of the method of salvation, are sought especially in those fervent declarations against bondage to rites and ceremonies, and in favor of the sufficiency of Christ, which were elicited from the Apostle Paul in the progress of this momentous controversy.

The history of this controversy, and of the questions and parties involved in it, has lately acquired a new importance, from the place which it is made to fill in the historical theory of Baur and his school. Strauss, in his *Life of Christ*, had said little of the book of Acts, and that little of not much weight. This book remained a bulwark of faith for any who were disturbed by the skeptical criticism to which the evangelical histories had been subjected. Here, at least, was the testimony of a contemporary of the Apostles, and a companion of one of them, which established the fact of a miraculous dispensation, and afforded proof of the prior miracles of the Gospel. But things could not be left by the Tübingen critics in this unsatisfactory state. The book of Acts was next made the object of attack; and, what we have now specially to observe, this attack was a part of a systematic theory, by which the origin of Catholic Christianity, or of Christianity in the form we have it, and of the larger part of the canonical writings of the New Testament, is explained in a naturalistic way, through a peculiar view of the character of the conflict to which we have adverted, and of the consequences to which it led. This attempted reconstruction of the history of the Apostolic age, on account of the extraordinary learning and ability with which it has been defended, especially by Baur, on account, also, of the light which it incidentally throws on the condition of the Apostolic Church, and, above all, on account of that increased confidence in the strength of the Christian cause which the failure of this assault upon it is fitted to inspire, deserves a fair examination.

Before engaging in this task, it may be well to say a word in answer to an inquiry that is likely to occur to the mind of a reader not conversant with the early history of the Church. How, it may naturally be asked, can such a theory as that of

the modern Tübingen school, denying as it does the accepted views respecting the origin of most of the canonical books of the New Testament, have even a show of plausibility? How can it keep the field for a moment in the face of the testimony of the early Church? Such theories are possible, we reply, for the reason that so scanty and fragmentary remains of literature have come down to us from the period immediately following the Apostolic age. After the death of the leading Apostles and the destruction of Jerusalem, there succeeds an interval which may be properly styled a *sæculum obscurum*. We have the writings of John which appeared in the latter part of the first century. Then we have the Apostolic fathers. But these writings are not of a nature to satisfy many of the most important inquiries in regard to the state of the Church. The early Greek Apologists, if we possessed them intact, would be invaluable; but the first copious works emanating from this class of writers, are the treatises of Justin Martyr, whose earliest extant production falls into the second quarter of the second century. Precious, from a historical point of view, as these works of Justin are, they consist of Apologies to the Pagan and to the Jew, and leave unnoticed many points on which light might have been thrown, had their author been writing, for example, on some subject of doctrinal theology. In brief, so far as this very interesting era is concerned, we have peculiar occasion to lament—to borrow the language of Grote when speaking of Greek literature in general—that “we possess only what has drifted ashore from the wreck of a stranded vessel.”\* We do not mean that the internal evidence of the New Testament documents, the numerous items of proof gathered from relics of the literature of the next period, and the testimony of the great writers of the second half of the second century, are insufficient. They do constitute a body of evidence which effectually refutes the main positions of the Tübingen school. But for the reasons we have stated, there is room for the essays of conjectural criticism. A picture of the state of things in the early Church

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\* Grote's Preface to the *History of Greece*.

may be drawn, a theory ingeniously framed, whose inconsistency with the truth is not, at the first blush, so patent as to preclude the need of a careful refutation. Not until such a theory is thoroughly probed and compared with the multiform evidence pertaining to the subject, is it clearly seen to be untenable.

The following are the essential points in Baur's theory.\* The doctrine of Christ was, in principle, an abolishment of the Old Testament ritual and of the distinction, as to religious rights and privileges, between the Jew and the Gentile. But the original disciples did not advance to the conclusion which lay impliedly in the religious ideas of the Master. On the contrary, they persisted to the end in the traditional persuasion that the way of salvation was through Judaism; that the Gentile must enter the Church by that door, and that the uncircumcised had no part in the Messiah's kingdom. The Apostle Paul alone was so enlightened as to perceive that the old rites were abrogated by the nature of the new religion, and that the Gentile stood on an equality with the Jew, faith being the sole requirement. Nay, he held that circumcision and the ritual were no longer admissible, since they implied some other object of reliance than Christ, some other condition of salvation besides faith. Hence, there was a radical difference in doctrine between Peter and the Jerusalem Christians on the one hand, and Paul and his followers on the other, which led to a personal disagreement and estrangement between these two Apostolic leaders. There grew up two antagonistic types of Christianity, two divisions of the Church, separate and unfriendly to each other. Such was the state of things at the end of the Apostolic age. Then followed attempts to reconcile the differ-

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\* We have drawn our representations of the Tübingen views chiefly from the work of Baur, the title of which stands at the head of this article. This work is the final, condensed presentation of his theory relative to the origin and early history of Christianity. The work of Lekebusch (the title of which is also given above) is the ablest refutation, with which we are acquainted, of Baur's theory in its bearing on the Acts of the Apostles. In this branch of the discussion, especially, we have frequently availed ourselves of his suggestions.

ence and to bridge the gulf that separated Gentile from Jewish, Pauline from Petrine Christianity. To this end, various irenical and compromising books were written in the name of the Apostles and their helpers. The only Epistles of Paul which are counted as genuine are that to the Romans, that to the Galatians, and the two Epistles to the Corinthians. But the most important monument of this pacifying effort is the book of Acts, written in the earlier part of the second century, by a Pauline Christian who, by making Paul something of a Judaizer and then representing Peter as agreeing with him in the recognition of the rights of the Gentiles, hoped, not in vain, to produce a mutual friendliness between the respective partisans of the rival Apostles. The Acts is a fiction founded on facts, and written for a specific doctrinal purpose. The narrative of the council or conference of the Apostles, for example (Acts xv.), is pronounced a pure invention of the writer, and such a representation of the condition of things as is inconsistent with Paul's own statements, and, for this and other reasons, plainly false. The same ground is taken in respect to the conversion of Cornelius and the vision of Peter attending it.

Before we directly examine these views, let us observe the main facts in the history of the reception of the Gentiles into the Church, assuming, for the present, that the documents are trustworthy. We shall show hereafter, especially in regard to the Acts, that the impeachment of their genuineness and credibility cannot be sustained.

Without doubt, Christ himself observed, during his life, the ceremonial law.\* Until that law should be supplanted by his finished work—by the act of God who gave it—he considered it obligatory. As a faithful servant, he came under the law. He rejected, indeed, the traditions of the elders, the ascetic, superstitious practices which the Pharisees had appended to the Old Testament legislation. So he signified the authority that belonged to him to modify the law by fulfilling it, or car-

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\* On the position of Christ in reference to the law, we have little difference with Baur. Baur's observations on this topic are marked by his usual perspicuity and force. See *Das Christenthum*, etc., S. 25 seq.

rying it forward to a form answering fully to the idea underlying it—as when he declared himself the Lord of the Sabbath, (Mark ii. 28).<sup>\*</sup> It is true, however, that complying with the ritual himself, he also bade others comply with it, even with its minute provisions. At the same time, both by implication and explicitly, he authorized the conclusion that in the new era which he was introducing, the ceremonies of the law would have no longer any place, nor would they be required. They belonged to another, a rudimental, preparatory system, that was passing away. The barrier between Jew and Gentile was about to fall down. The sublime declaration of Jesus at the well of Sychar respecting the nature of acceptable worship and the abolishment of all restrictions of place, as well as many other passages hardly less significant, will readily occur to the reader. We will accommodate ourselves to the predilection of the Tübingen critics for the Gospel of Matthew, and draw some illustrations from that source. First, the spiritual character of the doctrines and precepts of Jesus is a most impressive characteristic. Righteousness and piety, as described in the Sermon on the Mount, belong to the tempers of the heart. The inwardness of true religion was never so thoroughly and sublimely laid down as in this teaching. For him who thus taught, what value could forms, in themselves considered, possess? The love of God and man is the sum and substance of duty; to be perfect as the Father in Heaven is perfect, the sole aspiration. Secondly, in his direct opposition to the Pharisees, the real character of the principles of Christ comes out. It is formalism—a trust in forms—which calls forth his reprobation. “Not that which goeth into the mouth defileth a man; but that which cometh out of the mouth.” “Those things which proceed out of the mouth *come forth from the heart*; and they defile the man.” “But to eat with unwashed hands defileth not a man.” (Matt. xv. 11, 18, 20). What a simple and luminous exposition of the nature of good and evil! How clear that in the eyes of Jesus, forms had no inherent value, no abiding existence! The abrogation of the

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<sup>\*</sup> So De Wette and Meyer.

former system he affirmed and explained by saying that new wine must not be put in old bottles, or new cloth patched into an old garment. How could he more pointedly affirm that he was establishing a system so far different from the old, that the features of the two could not be blended? To cling to the old ritual, as something essential, would have the effect to destroy the fundamental peculiarity of the new system. Attempt it not, "lest the bottles should break and the wine be spilled," (Matt. ix. 17 paral.) This, be it remembered, was in reply to the question, why his disciples abstained from fasting. Thirdly, Christ forewarned his Jewish hearers that the Gentiles would even take their place in gaining possession of the blessings of the new kingdom. In connection with the centurion's exhibition of faith in the power of Jesus to heal his absent servant, he said that many would come from the east and west, many Gentiles, and sit down with the Patriarchs in the kingdom of Heaven, whilst the children of the kingdom—the natural expectants of the inheritance—would be cast out, (Matt. vii. 11, 12). In the parable of the vineyard and the rebellious husbandmen, who stand for the Jews, their crime in slaying the messengers of the owner, and finally his son and heir, leads to their destruction and to the letting out of "the vineyard unto other husbandmen." The Jews, rejecting the Messiah, are to be supplanted by the Gentiles. In keeping with such teaching are the predictions uttered by Christ concerning the destruction of Jerusalem and the downfall of the temple. Looking down upon the city, he said: "Behold your house is left unto you desolate!" But the disciples were commanded to carry the Gospel to the Gentiles—to disciple the nations. That the Gentiles were to be embraced in the Messianic kingdom was a familiar part of prophecy. As to how the kingdom was to be extended over them, was a point in regard to which the prevalent anticipations were colored by the mistaken ideas and unspiritual ambition of the people. But the incorporation of the Gentiles, in some way, into the Messiah's kingdom, all the Jews expected. Christ commanded that the same Gospel which the disciples had received themselves should be offered to their acceptance—add-

ing the direction that the believer should be baptized, and the promise that he should be saved. All other points he left to be settled in the light of providential events and under the subsequent teaching of the Holy Spirit. In accordance with that reserve which adapted the disclosure of truth to the reciprocity of the learner, Christ went no farther than to throw out the great principles, the command, and the intimations which have been adverted to, not defining precisely either what course the heathen were to take with reference to the Mosaic ritual, or what was to become of ceremonial Judaism. These things the Apostles were left to learn, in the prosecution of their work, by the outward instruction of providential events and the inward illumination by the Spirit. This reserve on the part of Christ is a characteristic and impressive example of the divine method of teaching. Instead of tearing up the old institutions—sweeping them away by a peremptory edict, before the mind was prepared for the change by perceiving that they had become superfluous, he left the Church to be first educated up to the requisite point. The dropping of the old forms was to result, as a logical and necessary consequence, from the expansive force of the new system. The logic of events—the full comprehension of the Gospel—the distinct understanding of the offices of Christ—would undermine and supplant the ritual law. How much better for the revolution to take place thus, than to be precipitated by an abrupt decree, enforced as a law from without upon minds which had gained no insight into the ground and reason for a seeming repeal of divinely given statutes!

Let us now proceed to note the manner in which the great lesson was learned. The Apostles, and the infant Church at Jerusalem under their guidance, continue to observe the ceremonies of the law as of old. They have no thought of dispensing with circumcision and the other requirements of the ritual. They are Jews, believing in the Messiah. The first murmur of difference in that young community, of which the opening part of Acts presents so delightful a picture, is the complaint of the Hellenists—the foreign, Greek-speaking Jews—that their poor are neglected in the distribution of alms. This



little incident, apart from its immediate consequence, is significant as bringing before us the two classes of Jews, which, though closely and cordially united by a common descent and common creed, are yet in some respects dissimilar, as subsequent events prove. Of the Deacons chosen, one is said to have been a proselyte of righteousness—that is, a heathen admitted by circumcision to a full participation in the privileges of the Jew. The persecution attending the martyrdom of Stephen\* disperses the Church and leads to the first effective preaching of the word beyond Jerusalem. The vision of Peter, and the baptism of Cornelius, are the earliest recognition of Gentile Christianity. Whether Cornelius was, or was not, a proselyte of the gate, cannot be determined, nor is the question very material. The previous feeling of Peter and the Jerusalem Christians, as to the qualifications for admission to the Christian Church, is seen in his remark on the occasion of his interview with Cornelius: "Ye know how that it is an unlawful thing for a man that is a Jew to keep company or come unto one of another nation."† Moreover on his return to Jerusalem, "they that were of the circumcision"—the Jewish Christians—call him to account for having eaten with Gentiles, (Acts xi. 2, 3). His defense is a recapitulation of the circumstances of his vision and a statement of the fact that the gifts of the Spirit had been exhibited by the new converts. "Forasmuch," he says, "then, as God gave them the like gift as he did unto us who believed on the Lord Jesus Christ, what was I that I could withstand God." This explanation for the time appeases the

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\* Stephen was a Hellenist. He was charged by "false witnesses" with blaspheming the temple and the law, and with saying that Jesus of Nazareth would "destroy this place," and "change the customs," delivered by Moses, (Acts vi. 13, 14). The witnesses were "false," since doubtless they maliciously perverted what Stephen had said. Yet it is evident from the tone of his speech—see especially Acts vii. 47-50, and the denunciation he was uttering when he was interrupted—that the charge was not a pure invention, but was built up on what Stephen had said. See Neander's *Apostelgeschichte*, B. I. S. 86.

† Abstinence to this extent from intercourse with the heathen was not enjoined in the Pentateuch. But Peter's remark represents the feeling and usual practice of the later Jews. The proselyte of the gate was uncircumcised, so that there was a like repugnance to intercourse with him—at least to sitting at the table with him.

discontent. But the principal event is the establishment of a Gentile church, or a church made up partly of converted and baptized heathen, at Antioch. We read that those who were scattered abroad by the persecution following the death of Stephen "traveled as far as Phenice, and Cyprus, and Antioch, *preaching the word unto none but unto Jews only.* And some of them were men of Cyprus and Cyrene, which when they were come to Antioch spake unto the *Grecians*," not Hellenists but Hellenes, "preaching the Lord Jesus." A great number of the Grecians—uncircumcised Gentiles—moved by that sense of spiritual necessities which prevailed so extensively among the heathen throughout the Roman world, believed in Christ. Observe it was men of Cyprus and Cyrene—Hellenists—who laid the foundation of this Gentile Church. Barnabas, himself a Jew by birth, but a native of Cyprus, is sent from Jerusalem to visit this rising Church so strangely composed. Seeing the reality of the work of grace which had been effected, he rejoiced in it, and having brought Paul—who was also, by birth, a Hellenist—from Tarsus, whither he had retired, the two labored together for a year, "and taught much people." Paul is now fairly embarked upon the grand work of his life. Partly on account of the peculiarity of his inward experience and partly on account of the depth and logical force of his mind—not to speak of special enlightenment from above—he discerned most clearly that faith, and faith alone, is the condition of salvation; that to make the soul depend for pardon upon legal observances along with faith, is to set the ground of salvation, partially at least, outside of Christ, and to found the Christian hope upon self-righteousness instead of his merits. He went straight to the unavoidable inference that the ritual system is not to be observed as a means of salvation, and is in no sense obligatory upon the Gentiles. Thus Paul stands forth, in this part of the Apostolic age, the glorious champion of the freedom and universality of the Gospel. It is a religion for the world—not for the Jew alone, but for the Gentile equally. The wall that divided the two classes of mankind, "the hand-writing of ordinances" being now blotted out, has been leveled to the

ground. The missionary journey of Paul and Barnabas greatly enlarged the number of heathen converts; for when they had first preached to the Jews in the places they visited, they then turned to the Gentiles. After their return they continued their labors at Antioch, now the parent of churches among the heathen, and the second metropolis, as it were, of Christianity. But the Church of Antioch is disturbed by certain men which came down from Judea—Judaizers—who declared the necessity of circumcision for salvation. As the result of the “no small dissension and disputation with them,” it is determined to send Paul and Barnabas at the head of a deputation to Jerusalem to confer with the Apostles and Elders upon this question. Of this visit, besides the narrative in the Acts, we have the advantage of an invaluable notice from the pen of Paul himself, (Gal. ii.) Waiving for the present the consideration of this last passage, we see from the account of Luke, that when the messengers from Antioch had been received by their brethren at Jerusalem, “*certain of the sect of the Pharisees which believed*” brought forward their demand, that the Gentile converts should be circumcised and required to observe the Mosaic law. It is interesting to notice that the zealous Judaizers were converted Pharisees. After much disputing, Peter and James interpose; the former referring to the events connected with the baptism of Cornelius, and both rejecting the proposition of the Judaizers. Their judgment and that of the Church was, that certain statutes which the Jew deemed most essential, should be complied with by the heathen converts. They were to abstain “from meats offered to idols, and from blood, and from things strangled, and from fornication.” The fact of the reading of the law of Moses in the synagogues of every city on the Sabbath, is set forth as a reason for the propriety of this requirement.\* Thus,

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\* The precise significance of this reason has been a mooted point among commentators. Of the various interpretations which have been suggested, it appears to us that the choice lies between two. Some would paraphrase the passage thus: “as to the Jews, *they* need no prescription, since they will of course follow the law which is read on the Sabbath.” This was the interpretation of Chrysostom, and is adopted by Neander. Others, including Meyer and Lekebusch,

so far as the influence of the Apostles went, this great question was put to rest, and on grounds satisfactory to Paul and his coadjutors. But the Judaizing party was far from resting satisfied under this most Christian arrangement. As all know, they pursued the Apostle Paul wherever he went, sowing division in the churches he planted and striving to destroy the esteem in which he was held by his converts. They seem to have sometimes made use of the name of Peter, and to have pretended to be his followers, and we find a self-styled party of Peter among the opponents of Paul in the Corinthian Church.

After the Conference at Jerusalem, there are two occurrences that deserve special notice. The one is the controversy of Paul and Peter, or, rather, the rebuke of Peter by Paul at Antioch. Peter had associated freely with the Gentile converts—had eaten with them. But on the arrival of certain Judaizing Christians from Jerusalem, he changed his course out of a timid regard to their prejudice, and withdrew from the Gentile believers. Even Barnabas was led to follow his example. Paul

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make the passage a statement of the reason why the Gentiles were to conform in these particulars to the Jewish law,—the reason, namely, that the reading of the law in the synagogues every Sabbath, rendered it more offensive to the Jews to see that law in these conspicuous points, disregarded. This appears to us to be the true sense of the passage. Gieseler, and also Baur, would make the passage signify by implication, that “the Jewish law had proved itself ineffectual for the conversion of the Gentiles, whilst the opposite result, in connection with the preaching of Paul and his associates, had shown the ceremonial law to be the only hindrance to the spread of the true religion.” Ewald suggests that the reason was advanced to pacify the fear of those who thought that the Mosaic law would fall into disuse if this indulgence were extended to the Gentile converts. Both these interpretations seem to us much less natural than the one we have approved. The view we adopt is supported by the authority of Professor Hackett in his scholarly work on the Acts.

As to the decision itself, it consists of four particulars. The heathen converts were to abstain from the flesh of animals slain as a sacrifice to idols, from using the blood of animals for food, from fornication, and from eating animals who had been strangled or put to death by any other mode than by shedding their blood. The first of these was in compliance with Ex. xxxiv. 15. The second and the fourth were levitical statutes, and founded on the sacredness of blood. The third, a moral prohibition, was joined with these *adiaphora*, because in the progress of heathen corruption it had come to be regarded as almost an *adiaphoron*—a thing morally indifferent. See on this point, Winer's Real Worterb., Art. *Hure*, and Meyer on Acts xv. 20.

publicly "withstood" Peter, saying: "If thou then, being a Jew, livest after the manner of the Gentiles (*ἐθνικῶς*), why compellest thou the Gentiles to live as do the Jews (*ιουδαίῳ*)?" We shall hereafter consider this controversy more at length. Here we merely call attention to the ground of Paul's complaint, which was a dereliction from his own principles, or hypocritical conduct, on the part of Peter. The charge was that "he walked not uprightly." It was not an error of opinion, but a moral error, which Paul censured.

The other occurrence, requiring special notice, is the last visit of Paul to Jerusalem. The narrative of Luke gives us a clear view of the state of things in the Church there. Paul and his associates were cordially received. But when he had recounted to the Apostles the fruits of his ministry among the Gentiles, and they had welcomed the intelligence, James informs him of a prejudice against him in the minds of many, owing to a report which had gained credence. He had been charged, doubtless by Jews and Judaizers from Asia and the west, with having urged the foreign, Greek-speaking Jews—the Hellenists—to forsake the Mosaic law and abstain from circumcising their children. This accusation was false. The Jewish-Christian members of the Gentile churches were, not unlikely, as Ewald conjectures, falling away from the observance of the ritual. And this might have given occasion to the charge against Paul. But there is not a particle of evidence tending to show that he ever sought to dissuade Jews from complying with the ritual. He rejected the doctrine that the observance of the law is essential to salvation. He rejected the doctrine that the observance of it was obligatory upon Gentile converts; and the adoption by them of the Jewish ritual, under the idea that salvation was contingent upon observing it, he regarded as a fatal error—as a dishonor to the sufficiency of Christ, and a method of self-righteousness. But his opposition to the law extended no farther. On the contrary, as he himself said, to the Jews he made himself a Jew. He respected their national feelings and customs. Hence he found no difficulty in taking upon him the vow which James recommended, as a visible proof that the charges against him

were false, and that he was no renegade from the religion of his fathers. But this act did not save him from the fanatical hatred of the Jews from Asia—the unbelieving Jews who had so often stirred up tumults against him in the towns where he had preached. However he may have pacified the *believing* Jews by showing respect for the national customs, he did not secure himself from the violence of the Asian Jews who were present in the city in large numbers, and in addition to their old enmity were exasperated by the erroneous impression that Paul had taken Trophimus, an Ephesian Gentile whom they had seen with him, into the temple. Hence the mob, which had for its final consequence the journey of the Apostle to Rome.

From this survey we are brought to the conclusion that while it is true that the Apostle Paul understood the relations of the new and the old dispensation with peculiar clearness, and vindicated the liberty of the Gentiles with a singular depth of conviction and an unvarying consistency, it is nevertheless true, also, that Peter and the original Apostles, and the Church of Jerusalem, as far as its public action is concerned, were in cordial fellowship with Paul and willingly tolerated the Gentile branch of the Church, not imposing upon it the yoke of the law, with the exception of the few prudential regulations recommended by the Apostolic convention.

Baur and his followers maintain an opposite opinion. There existed, they hold, a radical opposition in principle between these two branches of the Church, which involved a mutual antagonism on the part of their Apostolic leaders. The proof of this position Baur professes to find chiefly in certain expressions of the Apostle Paul in his Epistles, which are alleged to be inconsistent with many of the representations found in the Acts. From the two Epistles to the Corinthians and the Epistle to the Galatians, Baur draws most of the arguments on which he relies to establish his position. There was in the Corinthian Church, we are told, a party which denied that Paul had a right to consider himself an Apostle, and sought to supplant him by setting up the superior authority of Peter and the rest of the original disciples of Christ. This party

was stirred up by Jewish Christians who brought the letters of recommendation from Jerusalem, to which Paul satirically alludes.\* In the Epistle to the Galatians, it is said, the radical diversity of principles between the two types of Christianity, already developed in the Epistles to the Corinthians, is attended with the record of a personal alienation between Peter and Paul, which, so far as we know, was never healed. In the Epistle to the Romans, Paul is supposed to write in a milder and more conciliatory spirit; announcing his intention to carry the contribution of money to Jerusalem, and in other ways manifesting a disposition to overcome the hostility which, it is pretended, existed against him and his doctrine on the side of the mother church. Especially does Baur dwell upon the account in the Acts of the circumcision of Timothy, asserting that such an act would be absolutely incompatible with the doctrine laid down by Paul, (Gal. v. 2): "If ye be circumcised, Christ shall profit you nothing." Other instances of conformity to the Jewish law, which are attributed to Paul in the Acts, he pronounces to be equally unhistorical. The entire representation given there of the personal relations of Paul to Peter and his associates, Baur affirms to be contrary to the intimations and assertions of Paul, and to be contradicted, in particular, by Paul's narrative of his conference with the Apostles, in the second chapter of Galatians.

We believe that these propositions of the Tübingen critics are not sustained by the evidence to which they appeal, but are flatly contradicted by it, and that their positions are contrary to the truth. What evidence is there, in the Epistle to the Corinthians, of such a division and hostility as Baur affirms to have existed? There was a faction which claimed to be the disciples of Peter. But what proof is there that *he* gave them any countenance? There was also among the opponents of Paul, a party claiming to follow Apollos—himself a disciple of the Pauline doctrine. Who pretends that Apollos encouraged such a movement? To our mind, all the language of

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\* Such letters might be taken, probably, by any Christian who was *rectus in ecclesia*, in case he wished to travel.

Paul in reference to the other Apostles, which is found in these Epistles, proves the opposite of Baur's proposition. The Apostles are spoken of as one body of fellow-laborers. In vindicating his authority against the aspersions cast upon him, Paul asserts, to be sure, that "he is not a whit behind the very chiefest Apostles," (2 Cor. xi. 5). But he does not say or insinuate that "the chiefest Apostles" are *no* Apostles, or that they are perversers of the truth. The opposite of this is everywhere implied. He says: "God has set forth *us the Apostles* last, as it were appointed to death;" and in the record of hardship that follows, he associates with himself his fellow-Apostles. Witness also his appeal to the testimony of the other Apostles—of Peter, James, and the rest—in proof of the Resurrection of Christ, and the coupling of their testimony with the reference to the appearance of Christ to himself: "*For I am the least of the Apostles* and not worthy to be called an Apostle, because I persecuted the Church of God." He compares himself with the other Apostles and takes the lowest place among them! But a more striking refutation of Baur's view is contained in the remarks of Paul upon the contribution he was collecting for the poor brethren at Jerusalem. In the First Epistle he exhorts the Corinthians to aid in making up this "contribution for the saints"—*saints* it appears they were, notwithstanding their supposed heresy and hostility! And in the Second Epistle he speaks of the matter more at length. He had long been engaged in this charitable service, (ix. 2). He says that the conveyance, by his instrumentality, of this contribution, will not only relieve "the wants of the saints," but will call forth at Jerusalem "thanksgiving unto God;" that the Church at Jerusalem will find occasion to glorify God for the faithfulness of the Corinthians in thus practically carrying out their Christian profession, and for the genuineness of their Christian fellowship (*κοινωνίας*) manifested in this liberality. He adds that the saints at Jerusalem with prayer "will long after you" on account of the abounding grace of God vouchsafed to you. A deep, yearning, prayerful interest will be excited towards the Corinthian Christians in the hearts of their brethren at Jerusalem. Who can believe



that this contribution is going to a church which is considered by Paul to be made up of Judaizers—professors of what he calls another Gospel? If the Corinthians had understood Paul's letters to them as Baur does, what must have been their surprise at these incongruous exhortations, and expressions of fraternal regard for the Jerusalem believers! Turn we now to the Epistle to the Romans, written not long after. There we find the Apostle pouring out his love and compassion for his kinsmen according to the flesh—explaining that the apparent rejection of them by Divine Providence is temporary. Of the contribution he says: "Now I go unto Jerusalem to minister unto the saints. For it hath pleased them of Macedonia and Achaia to make a certain contribution for the poor saints which are at Jerusalem. It hath pleased them verily, and their debtors they are. For if the Gentiles have been made partakers of their spiritual things"—for Jerusalem was the mother church whence Christianity with all its blessings flowed out to the Gentiles—"their duty is also to minister unto them in carnal things, (Rom. xv. 25 seq.)\* Here the Apostle Paul honors the Jerusalem church as the fountain whence the Gentiles have derived their Christianity. Are these expressions compatible with the notion that this church had no fellowship with the uncircumcised converts of Christianity, and that its leaders were hostile to Paul, and in turn considered by him to be involved in fundamental error? The assertion or insinuation by Baur that there was any essential change in Paul's feeling between the writing of the Epistles to the Corinthians and Galatians, and that to the Romans, is without

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\* Principally on account of its alleged complaisance towards the Jewish Christians, the xvth chapter (as well as the xvth) of this Epistle, is declared by Baur—without the shadow of external proof and contrary to the internal evidence of both style and thought—to be an interpolation. His argument is a mere *petitio principii*. The arbitrary attempt to cast these inconvenient passages out of the Epistle, is well answered by Meyer in his Commentary on the Romans, (K. xv.) Bleek, a cautious and unprejudiced critic, says in reference to the denial by Baur and Schwegler of the genuineness of the last two chapters of the Epistle: "The grounds for this denial are wholly false and untenable, and the genuineness of these chapters, as well as the fact of their belonging to our Epistle, is to be regarded as certain." Einl. in d. N. T., S. 416.

foundation. During the whole period in which the composition of the first named Epistles occurred, Paul was interested in the business of gathering the contribution which he afterwards carried to Jerusalem.

But the main reliance of Baur is on Paul's narrative, in the second chapter of Galatians, of his conference with the Apostles and his subsequent conflict with Peter at Antioch. But an examination of this interesting passage, instead of confirming Baur's theory, will, as we think, demonstrate its falsity. Be it remembered that Paul is writing to a church which the Judaizers had tried to turn away both from his doctrine and from their esteem and respect for his person and Apostolic authority. He is placed under the necessity of explaining his relations to the other Apostles; and this he does by showing, on the one hand, his own independence and equality with them, and, on the other, the full recognition and fellowship which they had accorded to him. He is speaking of the same visit which Luke describes in the fifteenth chapter of the Acts. Fourteen years after his first visit to Jerusalem when he had spent a fortnight with Peter, (i, 18), he went there in company with Barnabas and Titus. He communicated "privately to them which were of reputation," (τοῖς δοκουσί), the Gospel which he was in the habit of preaching.\* His motive in taking this course, is set forth in the following words: "lest by any means I should run, or had run, in vain." That is to say, he explained his method of preaching in order that he might be rightly judged and appreciated by his fellow Apostles. We shall see, as we proceed, whether or not he was successful. Before stating the result of his conference, he describes the ineffectual attempt of "false brethren unawares brought in" to procure the circumcision of Titus, and his own prompt and effectual resistance to their endeavor. The "false brethren" are Judaizing reactionists having no right in the Christian brotherhood, but having crept in, as it were—intrud-

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\* This account by Paul, and the narrative in the xvth of Acts, supplement each other. The latter relates to the *public* transaction, including the decision which was reached; the former, as above stated, refers to a conference of a more private nature.

ed where they do not belong. They made it their business "to spy out the liberty" of the Gentile converts; that is, they watched with an inimical intent, designing to bring these converts to accept the yoke of the Mosaic law. Here the difference between such false brethren and the Apostles is palpable. Would Paul have undertaken to explain his Gospel to these "false brethren," lest he should run in vain? Rather would he, as he did, sternly resist them. But the refusal of Paul to circumcise Titus is used as an argument to disprove the historical truth of the circumcision of Timothy. It is said that Paul would not have done at one time what he absolutely refused to do at another. But why did he refuse to circumcise Titus? First, because he was a heathen by birth, and secondly, because his circumcision was demanded on doctrinal grounds, so that to yield would have been to give up at once the rights of the Gentiles and justification by faith. But Timothy was the son of a Jewish mother, and he was circumcised for a totally different reason from that for which the circumcision of Titus was demanded. Timothy was circumcised out of respect to unconverted Jews, not converted Judaizers. His circumcision neither imperiled the rights of the Gentiles, nor clashed with the doctrine of Justification. In this act, Paul simply made himself "a Jew unto the Jew," on his maxim of making himself all things to all men—so far as no principle was violated.\* There is, then, no inconsistency such as is charged by the Tübingen critics. The circumcision of Timothy as truly accords with the principles of Paul, as the circumcision of Titus would have contradicted them. Having mentioned the circumstances concerning Titus, Paul now returns to his conference with the Apostles: "But of those"—from those—"who seemed to be somewhat,"—that is, were regarded with most respect—here Paul breaks off the sentence by throwing in this parenthetical remark: "whatsoever they were, it maketh no matter to me; God accepteth no man's person;" and then he adds: "for they who seemed to be somewhat, in conference added nothing to me." The mode of char-

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\* 1 Cor. ix, 20 seq.

acterizing the Apostles as "those who seem to be somewhat," is misinterpreted when it is supposed to contain a tinge of irony. Nothing of that sort belongs to the phraseology. It is the equivalent of the earlier expression—"them which were of reputation." And as to the parenthetical clause, it must be remembered that Paul's enemies were endeavoring to disprove his claim to be an Apostle, and to represent that the older Apostles were possessed of superior authority. His purpose is to express, as against this disparagement, his consciousness of a perfect equality in respect to rights and claims, with the other Apostles. And having been led to allude to the high estimation in which they stood, he adds a cautionary explanation which would exclude the inference that he considered himself in any degree subordinate to them. "Whatever they were—however high may be the standing of men, God is not thereby rendered partial towards them." The last clause in the quotation above, is, however, the most important. Paul says of the Apostles, that in conference they added nothing—οὐδὲν προσάνεθον—to him. He had shortly before said that on his arrival in Jerusalem he "communicated"—ἀνεθέμην is the word—to the Apostles the Gospel he had preached. And now he says that *they* οὐδὲν προσάνεθον—had nothing to add to that Gospel by way of correction or supplement. They had no fault to find with it, no new principles to suggest; "*but contrariwise*" they—what? for everything turns on the statement that is to follow—"they gave to me and Barnabas the right hands of fellowship." Seeing that Paul had been successful in converting the Gentiles as Peter had been successful in converting the Jews, and heeding this instruction of Providence; seeing, moreover, the "grace that was given" to Paul, the other Apostles who seemed to be pillars—or, rather, were esteemed as the leaders and supporters of the Jerusalem church—Peter, James, and John, gave the hand of fraternity and fellowship, it being understood that in accordance with the plain suggestions of Providence, Paul and Barnabas should labor in heathen countries, whilst the other Apostles should "go unto the circumcision." These statements, instead of sup-

porting, utterly demolish Baur's theory. To say as he does, in effect, that this union was on the outside—was, in fact, a peaceable division and schism in the church, in which those who affirmed the necessity of circumcision and those who denied it, being unable to walk together, concluded to divide without an open quarrel, is to offer as gross a misinterpretation of a Scriptural passage as can well be conceived. The Apostle Paul expressly says that the other Apostles had nothing to add to the principles which governed him in his preaching. He implies, and intends to convey the idea, that Peter, James and John, were satisfied with the Gospel which he preached. The imputation that Paul gave the right hand of fellowship to those who maintained, to use his own language, "another Gospel," when neither he nor they *felt* that they were brethren, holding a common faith and engaged in a common work, is wholly inconsistent with his known character, and would reflect upon him and them the deepest dishonor. That the fellowship was cordially meant is proved in a manner which no audacity of denial can gainsay, by the *reasons* which Paul assigns for the act,—the perception, namely, that a great work of God had been done among the Gentiles, and that Paul was himself endued with heavenly grace for the work of an Apostle. The same thing is rendered still more evident by the circumstance that the Jerusalem Apostles requested Paul and Barnabas to remember the poor at Jerusalem and collect for them contributions—to which request they willingly agreed. Of the zeal with which Paul addressed himself to this work of charity and fellowship, we have abundant evidence.\* Did Peter, James, and John seek for the money of heretics and

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\* It had been a custom of the Jews scattered in foreign lands to send up gifts to the Capital, expressing thus their sense of the preëminence of the Judean Church gathered about the centre of their religion. Ewald associates this old custom with the record of the repeated contributions sent from the Gentile Churches to the mother church at Jerusalem. These were, to be sure, only voluntary tokens of love. Yet the Jewish Christian would naturally be reminded of the old custom we have mentioned. Hence the fact of the sending of these contributions would be a peculiar sign of respect as well as fellowship. See Ewald's *Geschichte*, &c. B. VI., S. 438.

heretical teachers? Did Paul and Barnabas labor to minister to the wants of Judaizers—"dogs," as Paul plainly calls them in the Epistle to the Philippians? No! the fellowship of the Jewish and Gentile teachers was genuine and cordial; and so the underpinning of the whole Tübingen theory falls away.

It would argue, however, not only an ignorance of the subsequent history, but also an ignorance of human nature, to suppose that this friendly and fraternal interview and the decisions of the Apostolic convention would avail either to define, in all points, the relation of the two branches of the church, or to suppress permanently the Judaizing faction. That this faction was still alive and influential was shown by the transactions at Antioch which Paul proceeds to explain. Peter had not hesitated to eat with the Gentile converts there; to break over thus the restriction which the Jew placed upon himself, as to intercourse with the heathen.\* But on the arrival of certain Jewish Christians from Jerusalem, he changed his course and withdrew from them; the other Jewish converts and even Barnabas following his example.† This conduct of Peter roused the indignation and called forth the plain and earnest rebuke of Paul. In mingling freely with the Gentile Christians, Peter acted in keeping with the liberal views which he had acquired in connection with the conversion of Cornelius and had expressed at the Apostolic convention. This convention had not defined what course the Jewish Christians were to take on the point in question. We cannot say, therefore, that Peter, in case he had abstained from eating with the Gentiles, would have violated the terms of that arrangement. It is not remarkable that in the conference at Jerusalem, this

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\* See Luke xv. 2. 1 Cor. v. 11.

† These Christians from Jerusalem are said (v. 12) to have come ἀπὸ 'Ιακώβου—that is, to have been sent by James. The business on which they were sent, we know not, just as we know not the particular object of Peter's visit. There is no intimation that James had given any sanction to the course which they chose to take with respect to the Gentile believers. To suppose that he had, would be as unwarrantable as to infer, from the course which Peter had first taken, that he had been sent, or had come, expressly to eat with the Gentiles and live as one of them.

particular question was not settled or considered ; and although this freedom of intercourse which swept down all the old barriers between Jew and heathen might be a logical deduction from the spirit of that agreement, it is not remarkable that Jewish believers—even those of a liberal turn and in favor of the fellowship concluded upon at the convention—should fail to perceive at once the propriety of such a practice. Peculiar embarrassments, as we shall hereafter more fully point out, lay in the way of such a concession. We must not forget the force of a life-long, hereditary prejudice which is intrenched among religious beliefs. Simple abstinence from this kind of fellowship with the Gentile Christians could not, therefore, be regarded as an absolute breach of the covenant which secured to them their rights and the recognition of their Christian standing. There were still two branches of the church. But the offense which Paul charged upon Peter was threefold. He was guilty of an inconsistency in departing from the course which he had pursued before the arrival of the Jewish Christians ; of hypocrisy, since in thus altering his conduct, he acted against his real convictions and from fear ; and of the virtual attempt to lead the Gentile converts to judaize, or to make them feel that they ought to be circumcised. Peter was not accused of an error of doctrine, but of an error in conduct. He behaved in a manner inconsistent with his real views, just as Barnabas did, and there is just as little ground for imputing to Peter a judaizing principle on account of his conduct on this occasion, as there is for imputing the same principle to Barnabas. Peter acted from the same cowardly feeling which had once moved him to deny his Master. If Paul had complained that Peter held a false principle, that he did not understand the rights of the Gentiles, this controversy might be urged in support of Baur's theory. But inasmuch as the censure of Paul presupposes an essential agreement between himself and Peter in their views upon the matter in question, Baur's theory not only gains no foothold, but is effectually overthrown by the record of this conflict. We simply add that Paul's reasoning on this occasion is a most forcible exposition

of the principal ground of his unflinching opposition to the laying of the ceremonial law upon the Gentiles. Such an act would derogate from the sufficiency of Christ as a Saviour, and imply that when a man believed on him, he had not secured his salvation, but was still in his sins. "If righteousness come by the law, then Christ is dead in vain."\*

The continuance of a Judaizing party after all these events, and notwithstanding the fellowship between the Apostle to the heathen and "the pillars" at Jerusalem, is not to us a cause of wonder. Remember how ingrained was the prejudice that must be removed before the requirement of circumcision could be dispensed with! And how inveterate was the obstinacy of the Pharisaical Jew, who had been so trained as hardly to distinguish between the moral and ceremonial precept, in respect either to sacredness or perpetuity, and who had accepted the Messiah, having no thought that the law or any portion of it was to pass away! And the rapid spread of Gentile Christianity, a fact which threatened to reduce ultimately the party of the ritual to a hopeless minority, would naturally rouse them to adhere more zealously to their position, and to put forth fresh efforts to obtain for it a triumph.

The objections of Baur to the narrative of Luke, disappear in the light of the preceding review. As to Peter, the fellowship he extended to Paul, (Gal. ii. 9), and his liberality in reference to the Gentile Christians at Antioch—with the exception of the temporary infidelity to his real convictions—were the proper sequel of his vision in the case of Cornelius. There is nothing in Peter's course, which throws the least doubt upon the record of that event. We must suppose, indeed, that in the interval of about fifteen years, between the affair of Cornelius and the Apostolic convention, the Judaizing spirit had grown stronger, rather than weaker, in the Jerusalem church. This was natural. Pharisees (Acts xv. 5), had become convinced of the messiahship of Jesus, and had brought into the Church their zeal in behalf of a strict adherence to the Mosaic ritual. And we have only to imagine the

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\* Gal. ii. 16-21.



situation of that church, to perceive the difficulties that beset this whole subject. The Jewish Christians themselves kept up the observance of the old forms. They frequented the temple, like other devout Israelites. That *they* should give up the ceremonial law had not been claimed or suggested. As patriotic Jews, they could not break away from the national customs. But a religious motive bound them to the old observances until these should be repealed, or until they should discern that the Gospel had virtually supplanted them. Luther's doctrine of justification carried with it logically the abolition of a great part of the existing ritual of the church. But it was only by degrees that the Wittenberg reformers felt the incongruity, and shook themselves clear, so to speak, of forms whose vitality was gone. And yet these forms were of merely human institution. But if the Jewish Christians would observe the law, how could they break over it in their intercourse with the Gentiles? How should they adjust their relations to the heathen converts? The state of things, as we gather it from Luke, is just what we should expect to result from this anomalous situation. On the one hand, there is rejoicing in the mother-church at the conversion of the Gentiles. It is seen that they have become recipients of the Spirit. There is a thankful acknowledgment of them as fellow-believers. Yet the question of freely mingling with them—of treating them in all respects as *Jewish* brethren were treated—was encumbered with the difficulties we have mentioned. A bigoted but influential faction strenuously contended against the lawfulness of eating with heathen converts, and sought to impose on *them* circumcision and the other points of the ritual. The Apostles, and the church acting as a body, refused this last demand, and shook hands with Paul, the determined defender of the rights of the Gentiles. Peter, enlightened by the teaching of the Spirit, could not refuse to eat with his Gentile brethren; yet yielded for a time at Antioch to the pressure of Judaizing opinion. The affair of Cornelius, if it excited discontent at Jerusalem, and had no permanent effect on the Judaizing element which rather grew than declined in strength,

left a lasting impression on his mind, and led him at the Apostolic convention to take the side of the Gentiles.\*

It is easy to understand, we observe further, how there might be many, who had no sympathy with the Judaizers in their requirement that the heathen convert should be circumcised, but were still unprepared for that degree of liberality in intercourse with their Gentile brethren which Peter had exhibited at Antioch. We have among us a numerous and respectable body of Christians—a friend has suggested the illustration—who believe that baptism is an essential prerequisite of communion, and that immersion alone is baptism; who, therefore, decline to sit at the Lord's table with those whom they cordially love as fellow-Christians, and whose labors in spreading the Gospel, they look upon with heartfelt sympathy. The Baptist does not deny the name of Christian brother to those from whom he is obliged to withhold certain forms of fellowship. So it was, we doubt not, with many Jewish Christians.†

As concerns Paul, the narrative of Luke is equally relieved of difficulties. That Paul, in Galatians ii, does not mention the *public* conference, which Luke describes, is easily explained. It was no part of his purpose to give a complete history of the proceedings at Jerusalem. The particular point to which his mind was directed, was his relation to the other Apostles. Had the public transaction modified, in any essential particular, the result of his private interview with them, he might have been called upon to speak of it. Such, however, was not the fact. He could conscientiously say that nothing was added—οὐδέν προσέθηκεν—to his Gospel. The conclusions of the convention, founded as they were on a desire to put no

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\* For good remarks on the topics touched upon in the paragraph above, see Ewald's *Ges. d. Volkes Israel*, B. vi., S. 226 seq., 426 seq. We may add that the narrative of the conversion of Cornelius in the Acts is full of graphic details. Persons, places and times are exactly designated. If it be a fiction, it is an example of the "lie circumstantial."

† It hardly need be said that we imply here no judgment as to the justice or injustice of the position which the Baptist takes. The illustration is pertinent, whether he be right or wrong.

needless obstruction in the way of the spread of the Gospel among the Jews, and accompanied by an express acknowledgment of the rightful exemption of the Gentiles from the yoke of the law, were fully consistent with Paul's position. But if Paul was not called upon to allude, in Gal. ii., to the public proceeding on the occasion of his visit to Jerusalem, the purpose he had in view rendered it inappropriate that he should do so. His immediate purpose was to guard against the impression that he stood, in any sense, in a subordinate position with reference to the other Apostles. An allusion to the arrangement of the convention might have furnished his enemies with a pretext for the unfounded charge of a dependence on his part upon "the pillars" at Jerusalem.

It is objected to Luke's narrative of the convention, that the decision which is said to have been made there would infallibly have been referred to by Paul in 1 Cor. viii., where the matter of eating flesh offered to idols is considered. In answer to this objection, we remark that the Apostle in this passage *does* oppose the practice referred to, and on the same *general* ground as that assigned in the Jerusalem letter; namely, a regard for those who thought the practice wrong, (comp. Acts xv, 21, and 1 Cor. viii., 9 seq.) His aim was to instill a right feeling into the minds of the Corinthians, and to inculcate a principle on which they could act intelligently. An appeal to authority—or what would be taken for authority—would have defeated this design. Besides, it was not the danger of giving needless offense to the Jews, but it was the consciences of weak Gentile brethren, which Paul had to consider. Moreover, the arrangement at the conference applied to the churches of Syria and Cilicia, in particular to Antioch and to the dissension that had broken out there. After Gentile Christianity had become widely prevalent, after Paul had fully entered, as an independent laborer, into his own peculiar field, and when, especially, the Jewish Christians (of the judaizing type) kept up their mischievous efforts to deprive the Gentiles of their liberty, it may well be assumed that the arrangement in question—based, as it was, on a prudential consideration—had become obsolete. It had been made to meet an emergency. When Paul had

churches, too, made up chiefly of converts from Judaism, and of the Jews and of preventing the Jews, who were enemies of the Old Testament, from having any validity. It had no resemblance to a later council. It was a fraternal meeting at Antioch, through Silas and Judas Barsabbas, the substance of it being also put into a letter, and carried. There was not a judicial proceeding of brethren.\* They did not come to law to the Church, but to quiet a particular

Now prepared to consider the question of the genuineness of the Acts. If we have shown that the representation which is there given of the respective positions of Paul and Peter, and of the mutual relations of the Jewish and Gentile Christians, is *not* discordant either with the statements of Paul or with the probabilities in the case, we have destroyed the sole argument of any weight against the genuineness of the book. For on this imaginary discordance the objection to the early composition of the Acts is founded. But, in our judgment, the genuineness of this book can be fully established, and the attack which has been made upon it, shown to be groundless.

1. The testimony of the author, direct and incidental, when we consider the form in which it is given, is a strong proof of the genuineness of the book, and in the absence of counteracting evidence, a convincing proof.

We assume, what is now a conceded fact, that the Third Gospel and the Acts have the same author. Independently of the evidence afforded by the preface to the Acts, the resemblance of the two books in language and style is conclusive. Now, the Third Gospel purports to be written by one personally acquainted with the Apostles. He records

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\* See, on this subject, Neander's *Apostelgeschichte*, B. I., S. 422 seq., Lekebusch, S. 314 seq., Bleek's *Einl. in d. N. T.*, S. 371 seq., Meyer, *Gal. Einl.* §3, *Apostelgeschichte*, S. 280.

what he had received from "eye-witnesses and ministers of the word," (Luke i. 2). The Acts, addressed to the same Theophilus and referring in its preface back to the Gospel, is the sequel of the latter work. The author of the Acts, therefore, claims to be an acquaintance of the Apostles. And we may observe—though the remark might properly be made a special topic of evidence—that since all the proof of the early date of the Gospel tends equally to establish the early date of the Acts, and since we have internal proof that the Gospel was written not later than about the date of the destruction of Jerusalem, the genuineness of the Acts is a necessary inference. Proving that Luke wrote the Gospel, we have proved that he wrote the Acts also. And the phraseology in the prologue of the Gospel obliges us to suppose either that the writer is a conscientious and well-informed historian, or consciously and basely false. He declares that he writes in order that Theophilus may be assured of the *certainly*, the unassailable reality—*τὴν ἀσφάλειαν*—of the truths of Christianity in which he had been instructed. But not to dwell on the connection of the Gospel with the Acts, and considering this last book by itself, we are happily provided with an incidental testimony of the most convincing character. We allude to the passages in which the writer speaks in the first person plural, thus including himself among the participants in the events he records. This use of the "we" begins with Paul's leaving Troas, (xvi. 11), and continues in the account of his stay at Philippi. It is resumed on the return of Paul to Philippi, (xx. 5-15)—thus raising the presumption that the author of these passages had, in the interval, tarried at that place. The remaining passages in which this peculiarity appears, are xxi. 1-18; xxvii. 1.—xxviii. 17. Now, what is the explanation of this phenomenon? Only two hypotheses are open to discussion among those who ascribe the book to Luke. The first is the old, generally received, and, as we think, well sustained view that Luke was himself, in these places, the attendant of Paul. The second is the hypothesis of Schleiermacher, variously modified by other writers, that Luke here introduces, without formal notice, a document emanating, as

they commonly suppose, from Timothy, or, as some have thought, from Silas. This last form of the hypothesis, that Silas wrote the passages in question, is supported by no argument worthy of attention, and is fully refuted by the circumstance that in connection with at least one of the passages, (see Acts xvi. 19-25), Silas is mentioned in the third person. But the theory that Timothy is the author of these passages, though adopted by so able and candid a writer as Bleek, has been, as we believe, effectually disproved.\* This theory does not, to be sure, shake the general credibility of the book, or the fact of its being composed by Luke. But how stands the evidence in regard to it? We read (in Acts xx. 4, 5): "And there accompanied him [Paul] into Asia, Sopater of Berea; and of the Thessalonians, Aristarchus and Secundus; and Gaius of Derby, and *Timotheus*; and of Asia, Tychicus and Trophimus. *These* going before tarried *for us* at Troas." If, under the term "these," all who are named before are referred to—which is the most natural interpretation†—the so-called Timothy-hypothesis falls to the ground. In connection with this piece of evidence, it deserves remark that the absence of all detail—the summary style of the narrative—in passages directly connected with those under consideration, and covering a portion of Paul's career; in which Timothy bore an equal part, is against the supposition that Luke had at his command a diary of this Apostolic helper. But the decisive argument against the Schleiermacherian hypothesis, is the wrong view of the general structure and character of the book which that theory implies. Were it true that the book presents the appearance of being a compilation of documents imperfectly fused together—left in a good degree in their original state—it might not unreasonably be assumed that the author had taken up a document from another's pen, without taking care to alter the pronominal feature which we are discussing. This

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\* The examination of the "Timothy-hypothesis," by Lekebusch, (S. 140-167), is one of the finest parts of his excellent treatise. We present the more prominent considerations bearing on the topic.

† See Meyer, *ad loc.*

idea of the book was a part of Schleiermacher's theory. But a more thorough examination of the Acts has made it clear that, from whatever sources the author draws his information, it is one production, coherent in plan; its different parts connected by references forward and backward; uniform in style; and flowing from a single pen. If Luke took up into his work a document of Timothy, he could not have given it the complete harmony with his own style which it exhibits, without changing its form and phraseology *to such an extent as renders it impossible to suppose the retention of the "we" to be artless or accidental.* Memoranda of Timothy, if Luke had such, were *rewritten by him*; but this leaves the retaining of the "we," with no explanation, an insoluble fact. We infer, then, with confidence that Luke, in these passages, *professes* to speak in his own person.\* This fact Zeller and the other Tübingen critics admit; and their conclusion is that whilst the author of the Acts, writing in the second century, used a previously written document, he intentionally left the "we" as it stood—although the document in other parts was materially wrought over by him—in order to produce the false impression that he was the contemporary and associate of Paul! This refined fraud is attributed, and it is thought necessary to attribute, to the author of the Acts! But if we are not prepared to adopt this theory, we have no alternative but to accept the testimony of the author concerning himself—that is, to ascribe his work to a contemporary and companion of the Apostles.

2. The assumption that the book of Acts is spurious, and its contents in great part fictitious, is irreconcilable with the moral spirit that characterizes the work. The presumption adverse to Baur's theory, which is raised by the author's own testimony respecting himself, is confirmed by the moral tone of the book. It is true, that every well-meaning book is not thereby

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\* There remains, to be sure, the unanswered question, why Luke does not more expressly state the fact of his joining Paul, but leaves it to be gathered from this use of the pronoun. But this difficulty is, to say the least, not greater than the difficulty of supposing him to introduce a document of this sort without notice and without altering the pronominal form. The book was written for a private individual. Of the circumstances of Luke's companionship with Paul. Theophilus may have known something before.

proved to come from the writer from whom it pretends to emanate. Nor would we contend that the ideas of antiquity, and of Jewish antiquity in particular, in regard to this matter of authorship, accorded in all respects with the ethical feeling of a modern day.\* Apocryphal and other ancient works are extant, which bore the name of some revered person of an earlier time, and which, notwithstanding this groundless pretension, were designed to promote the cause of religion. But an elaborate outlay of cunning for the purpose of creating a false impression in respect to the real author of a book, deserves reprobation, whether the book be ancient or recent. An effort of this kind must always have been considered a piece of knavery. Where there is plainly discovered an earnest regard for the law of veracity, we are cut off from supposing anything like a pious fraud. In this case, we must give credit to the testimony which the book itself offers, respecting its author. Much more are we precluded in that case, from considering a large part of the narrative a deliberate fiction. Now there is manifest throughout the book of Acts a penetrating discernment of the sacredness of truth and the obligation of veracity. He who set down the record of the sin and punishment of Ananias and Sapphira, was incapable of palming off, as a veritable history of the Apostles and of the manner in which they were guided by the Holy Spirit, a series of fictitious stories invented by himself. Dropping for the moment the question of the general verity of the narrative, let us observe the amount of duplicity which the above described theory of Zeller imputes to the author of the Acts. The retention of the "we" in a document which he has recast and recomposed—a retention deliberately resolved upon, we are told, for the sake of deceiving the reader into the belief that the author lived long before—is certainly equivalent, in a moral point of view, to the *insertion* of this pronoun, by the writer for the same end.† If the author, writing, it is supposed, in the second century, were charged with *inserting* this word, here and there, in his own composition, the duplicity would not be worse. How foreign

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\* This Lekebusch frankly allows.

† See Lekebusch.



this refined method of self-advertisement is from the universal habit of apocryphal writers, who are apt to blazon their assumed names on the front of their works, will strike all who are acquainted with this species of literature. A writer capable of such a trick as is charged upon the author of the Acts, would almost infallibly have introduced the passages which contain the "we," with an explicit declaration that here he joined Paul, or became a participant in the events that follow. But the particular point on which we now insist is the incompatibility of such detestable deceit with the pure and truthful air of the historian, and his recognition of the law of veracity.

3. An irrefragable argument for the genuineness and credibility of Acts is afforded by the relation in which it stands to the Pauline Epistles.

The coincidences and diversities are each an impressive proof of the correctness of the old and accepted view concerning the book. As to the former, the peculiarity of them, as Paley, in the *Horæ Paulinæ*, has very ingeniously shown, is that they are undesigned. There are such correspondences with the data furnished by the Epistles as could not have been contrived, for they can only be detected by searching. The omissions in the Acts are an equally remarkable feature. We learn from the Epistles various facts of importance respecting Paul, which a writer of the second century would certainly have worked into a history or historical romance in which the Apostle was to figure so prominently. Thus, for example, we have no notice in the Acts of the sojourn of Paul in Arabia, shortly after his conversion, which he himself mentions, (Gal. i. 17). Luke describes him as preaching in Damascus, and, "after that many days were fulfilled," as flying from the machinations of the Jews to Jerusalem. For aught that appears, the author of the Acts is ignorant of the fact of his visiting Arabia. But a later writer, with the Epistle to the Galatians in his hand, would not have failed to show, at least, his knowledge of an event so distinctly stated by the Apostle himself. The three shipwrecks, and most of the other hardships which Paul had endured, (2 Cor. xi. 24 seq.), are not mentioned in the

Acts.\* And if we look at what is actually narrated by Luke, although Baur's theory of an inconsistency between the general representations of the Acts and the Epistles is false, yet the former shows itself an independent narrative. It is not built up on the basis of information derived from the writings of Paul. These are not made use of in its composition. Now this fact demonstrates the early date of the Acts. Suppose that a Gentile Christian of the second century had conceived the plan of writing a work for the purpose which Baur attributes to the author of this book,—his very first act would have been to resort to the Epistles for the materials out of which to construct his work. Conscious that a comparison of his production with these well known documents would be inevitable, he would guard against the semblance of contradiction. He would seek throughout to dovetail his work with the authentic records of the Apostolic age. Hence, in laboring to swell their list of discrepancies between the Acts and Paul, the Tübingen critics are unconsciously beating down their own theory.

4. Baur's theory is not sustained, but is overthrown, by a candid view of the contents of the Acts. Lekebusch has shown that the alleged parallelism in the career of Peter and of Paul is chiefly in the imagination of the critics, and that the differences in their respective deeds and fortunes are vastly more numerous and more conspicuous than the points of resemblance. In truth, there are no such resemblances which are not accidental, and to be expected in the case of the two leading Apostles, both of whom were engaged in the same work and exposed to like perils. That in the Acts, Paul is said to have addressed himself, in the places he visited, first to the Jews and then to the heathen, rather confirms than weakens the authority of Luke; for such was unquestionably the historical fact. An opposite course would have been in the highest degree unnatural. The Gospel was a means of salvation "to

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\* The shipwreck recorded in the Acts was subsequent to the writing of this Epistle.

the Jew *first*, and also to the Greek," (Rom. i. 16); and if Paul was the Apostle to the Gentiles, this meant simply that his field of labor was in Gentile countries. But there are passages in the Acts which a writer having the end in view which Baur imputes to the author of the book would never have admitted. Hé is, by the supposition, a Pauline Christian, and designs to make it appear that Paul was a recognized Apostle, on a footing of perfect equality with the original disciples. Yet he begins, in the very first chapter, by describing the choice of an Apostle, at the instance of Peter, to fill up the number of the twelve. He must be, said Peter, one who "has companied with us" through the whole life of Christ, from the baptism of John, and be ordained "to be a witness with us of his resurrection," (Acts i. 21, 22). In treating of the Apocalypse, Baur—without reason, as we think—regards the allusions to "the twelve" Apostles, as an indirect thrust at the Apostle Paul, and a sign of the judaizing character of the book. Yet here we have a Pauline Christian falling into a similar style! A partisan of Paul, inventing history for the purpose of exalting his equal Apostolic claims, it is safe to say, would never have introduced the passage in question.

But let us turn to the narrative of the last visit of the Apostle Paul to Jerusalem—that visit which was so important in its results, and is so fully described by the author of the Acts. It is one main design, they say, of this author to extenuate and hide from view the mutual opposition of the two branches of the Church, and to produce the impression that the body of Jewish Christians agree on the ritual question with Paul. Now what do we find in the midst of this very passage in which Paul is brought into contact with the Church at Jerusalem and the Jewish Christians who thronged the city? Why, James and the elders at Jerusalem are reported as saying to Paul: "Thou seest, brother, how *many thousands*"—literally myriads, μυριάδες—"of Jews there are which believe; and they are *all zealous of the law*;" and they were all jealous of Paul on account of the information they had received that he was in the habit of dissuading Jews from observing the Mosaic law and circumcising their children. That is, a writer, who is in-

venting and altering history, for the purpose of hiding a fact, gives to that fact a conspicuous place in his narrative! Baur has no other solution than the remark that the writer here "forgets the role he is playing." But the answer is that supposing so shrewd a writer as he is represented to be, to forget *anywhere* the design he had in view, he could not forget it in the crisis of the whole history, when Paul met the Jewish-Christian Church for the last time, and when this very point of the authority of the ritual, and the views and feelings of the Jewish believers, is the theme of the narrative.\*

We have adverted above to the manner in which the author of the Acts begins his work. Not less incompatible with the Tübingen theory is the manner in which he concludes. The reader must bear in mind that, according to Baur and Zeller, a main aim of the writer is to represent the Apostle in a friendly attitude towards his Jewish countrymen. A Gentile Christian holds out the olive-branch to the Jew. But how ends this "reconciling" and "pacifying" production? It winds up with a denunciation from Paul against the unbelief of the Jews, in which, using the stern words of the prophet Isaiah, he charges upon them a judicial blindness, and adds: "Be it known therefore unto you, that the salvation of God *is sent unto the Gentiles*, and that *they will hear it*." That is, the divine rejection of the Jews and choice of the Gentiles is the last word from Paul which the reader hears! How would that sound in the ear of the zealous Judaizer whom this book was to conciliate, and win to the esteem of Paul and of his type of doctrine? Is it not plain that the "tendency" ascribed to this work is read into it by the critics? Their interpretation is not drawn from an unprejudiced examination of the contents of the book, which are flatly inconsistent with it, but from the demands of a preconceived and, we believe, unfounded historical theory of their own contriving.

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\* Baur more than insinuates that the Jewish *Christians* took part in this violent attack upon Paul, and that Luke is at pains to suppress the fact. If we are to believe Baur, then, the same writer who so flagrantly "forgets his part" as to make mention of the zeal of "many thousands" of believers for the law, recovers his memory so fully as to falsify in the very next breath!

The neglect of the writer to avail himself of the most natural means of promoting his alleged purpose, is, also, a proof that this purpose belongs only to the critic's brain. A single example of this negligence, unaccountable on Baur's theory of the design of the book, is the omission of the writer to bring Paul and Peter together in Rome, where, according to a belief then current, they both perished as martyrs in the Neronian persecution.\* What would the writer of an irenical fiction lay hold of so soon, as the supposed conjunction of the two Apostles in the capital of the world, and their common fate? How easily might a tale be spun out of this meeting of the leaders of the two branches of the Church, which would effectually promote the author's plan! Yet the book closes abruptly—the author seeming at last to hasten to the conclusion—with no mention of Peter's visit to Rome, connection with the Gentile capital, or interview with Paul.

5. The unfitness of such a work as the book of Acts to secure the end for which, according to Baur, it was composed, stands in the way of the acceptance of his theory.

Here, if we are to believe the Tübingen critics, was a great division in the Church. Jewish Christians, on the one hand, following the doctrine of Peter, required circumcision and a compliance with the ritual as a condition of fellowship with the Gentile Christians. The latter, on the contrary, following the authority of Paul, as decidedly refused to yield to this demand. Efforts are at length made from different sides to bring about an accommodation. And this writer composes an historical romance for the purpose of spreading such a conception of the Apostolic history as shall remove, especially, the Jewish-Christian prejudice against communion with the heathen believers. To this end he represents Peter as tolerating the Gentiles in their uncircumcision, as taking part in the reception of Cor-

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\* For proof that the report of Peter having suffered martyrdom at Rome is met with prior to the date assigned by the Tübingen critics to the Acts, see Gieseler's Church History, B. I., S. 27, N. 6. In truth, there is no sufficient reason for disbelieving the tradition so early and widely current. For a full examination of the point, see Dr. Schaff's *History of the Apostolic Church*, p. 372, seq. See also Bleek's Einl. S. 563.

nelius into the church, and as resisting the imposition of the yoke of ritual observances upon the Gentiles. But how would the Judaizing party relish this representation of their great Apostle? Were they so little wedded to their principles as to abandon them the moment they were told by some writer pretending to be an associate of Paul, that their views relative to the course taken by Peter and in respect to his doctrine were contrary to the truth? Had they only to be told in a book falsely purporting to come from a Pauline Christian of a former day, that Peter really fraternized with Paul, and was in favor of the immunity of the Gentile converts? And similar inquiries are pertinent when we consider how such a work would be received by the followers of Paul. If this great Apostle had, in truth, forbidden circumcision altogether, as the Baur school pretend, and if his disciples were rooted in their attachment to his principles, as they were certainly familiar with his writings, how would they be satisfied with the narrative of the circumcision of Timothy and the other examples of conformity to the law, recorded in the Acts? Would they not have spurned this misrepresentation of the principles and conduct of their great leader, and made their appeal to the very passages in his Epistles on which the Tübingen critics found their thesis as to his real position? It is unaccountable that a work which flies in the face of the cherished opinions and traditions of the two rival parties, should pass uncontradicted, and even contribute to secure a most important change in the platforms on which they respectively stand. Yet this unknown writer in the first quarter of the second century, audaciously perverting the facts of history and adding incidents which sprung from his own invention, succeeded, if we are to believe the Tübingen critics, in this unexampled imposture. To this extent do these critics task our credulity.

To what desperate shifts the Tübingen critics are driven, in their effort to read into the Acts a deep-laid plot which has no existence outside of their own suspicious fancy, may be seen from one or two examples. Luke records a contention between Paul and Barnabas which led to their separation from each other. Will it be believed that he is charged by Baur with

making this record of a comparatively "unimportant" dispute, in order to divert the thoughts of his readers from the more serious quarrel with Peter, which he is desirous of covering up? As if his readers, with the Epistle to the Galatians in their hand, could be kept in ignorance of this dispute with Peter! As if the allusion to one conflict could suppress the recollection of another! Why, as Lekebusch inquires, should he not rather pass over in silence the minor quarrel also, provided his aim were such as Baur imagines? The earlier prominent record of the friendship of Paul with Barnabas, that "distinguished and meritorious member of the Jerusalem church," is attributed to the apologetic or conciliatory design of the author of the Acts. Yet the same author now describes a sharp controversy between them! The simple truth is, that the conflict with Barnabas is mentioned because it had an influence on the history of the missions to the Gentiles, and of the spread of Christianity among them, which it is the leading purpose of Luke to narrate. The controversy with Peter had no such influence. It was merely an example of the inconsistency of Peter, which Luke, if he was informed of it, had no occasion to record.\*

Another illustration of that strange, morbid suspicion which is a prime quality of the Tübingen criticism, is the charge that the journey of Paul to Jerusalem, (Acts xi.), which the Apostle in Gal. ii. does not mention, was invented by Luke for the purpose of bringing Paul as often as possible into intercourse with the Jerusalem Apostles! Now if we look at Luke's narrative, we find that all he says of that journey is in one verse, (v. 30): "and they sent it [a contribution for the poor] to the elders by the hands of Barnabas and Saul." If Luke had the purpose of which he is accused, why should he confine himself to a bare mention of the fact of the journey? Would he not infallibly have given details of the interview? Would he not, at least, have stated that Paul met the other Apostles, and conferred with them? Would he, as he does, make it known that Peter, the Jewish-Christian leader, was at that time in prison,

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\* See Lekebusch, S. 305.

so that he and Paul could not have met? Luke describes with some detail, the occasion of the contribution. Agabus, one of the prophets who had come from Jerusalem, predicted a dearth, and the Antioch Christians accordingly determined to send relief to their brethren in Judea. We are required, then, to suppose that Luke took pains to invent all this to serve as a preface to the bare, solitary remark that Saul was sent to Jerusalem with the money. This, says Lekebusch, is to make Luke build up mountains that a mouse may come forth. We have no warrant for supposing that Paul intended to record in Galatians all the visits he had made to Jerusalem.\* In fact, we do not know that on the occasion referred to by Luke in Acts xi., Paul entered Jerusalem. He was indeed sent with Silas, but as Luke says nothing further, it is not improbable that he was prevented, for some reason, from going so far as the city. In any event, the treatment of this topic by Baur and his followers, is a fair example of that hypercriticism which finds an occult, and generally a bad motive, underneath the simplest historical statement.

The historical discrepancies alleged to exist between Luke and the other authorities, whether sacred or secular—which discrepancies, were they made out, cannot be shown to imply any design, any *tendency*, on the part of the author, afford no help to the Tübingen cause. The consideration of them, in case the subject of inquiry were the nature and extent, and the proper formula of *inspiration*, would be pertinent; but admitting them to be insoluble, they are not sufficient to affect the general *credibility* of the historian, which is the question under discussion. Take, for example, the reference to Theudas, (Acts v. 36), and suppose him to be the same Theudas whom Josephus refers to, (Antiq. xx. 5, 1), and that Luke is therefore guilty of an anachronism. Or suppose an error in the reference in the Gospel to a taxing under Cyrenias, (Luke ii. 1), and that the cause which drew Joseph and the mother of Jesus to Bethlehem is mistakenly given—that their visit to Bethlehem was occasioned by some other tax, and that Luke's chronology on this point is at fault.

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\* πάλιν (again, another time), not δεύτερον, is the word he uses, (v. 1.)



Would his general credibility as a historian be impaired? If so, there is no secular historian who does not fall under a like condemnation. There was a traditional belief that Martin Luther was born during a visit of his mother to a fair in Eisleben. The statement is found in so good an authority as Seckendorf, who doubtless derived it from what he considered an authentic source; and after him it is found in a multitude of writers. It is now known, however, that the parents of Luther had removed their abode to Eisleben before the birth of Luther, and that no fair was held in the place at that time! Shall the former historians of Luther be for this reason convicted of carelessness or willful falsification? Or will it be denied, on account of their discrepancy with later biographies, that Luther was born in Eisleben? This would be parallel to the course taken by Strauss and his friends, even if the chronological difficulty in Luke were proved to be insoluble. Macaulay somewhere—in a passage to which we are unable at the moment to turn—attributes the epithet *Silent*, attached to the name of William, the founder of the Dutch Commonwealth, to his taciturn habit; although the truth is that he had no such habit, and acquired this title from his prudent reticence on a single occasion. The same historian probably confounded William Penn, a pardon-broker, with William Penn the Quaker. This may, perhaps, suggest the possibility of there being more than one Theudas. But, however this may be, who will charge the English historian with being careless in his researches and uninformed in the matters whereof he writes? It may be said that in Luke the difficulty is enhanced by the occurrence of the reference to Theudas in a speech of Gamaliel. But—on the supposition, again, that an error here were proved—is absolute correctness in the report of a public speech and in all the historical references it may contain, so very common? Suppose that Gamaliel was known to have referred, in his address to the Sanhedrim, to various factions which had all proved to be short-lived, and that in the version of the speech which reached Luke, the name of Theudas had erroneously crept in, owing possibly to the circumstance that his name was often linked, in common speech, with that of Judas

of Galilee, whom Gamaliel had really mentioned. We affirm that analogous examples of inaccuracy can be found in the most approved and trustworthy historians. These alleged discrepancies, and all others, should, each by itself, be made the subject of fair and searching investigation. But the apologist and the skeptic both err, when the latter claims, and the former consents, to stake the credibility of the New Testament, much more the cause of supernatural Christianity itself, upon the possibility of harmonizing all minor diversities. To the antagonist of revelation we say,—Grant that it cannot be done; even grant that the sacred historians stand in all respects upon a level with uninspired writers of equal qualifications for ascertaining the truth and of equal integrity in communicating it, yet you are as far as ever from succeeding in your attack upon revelation. Were it our purpose, in this Article, to go beyond the special objections characteristic of the Tübingen school, we might dwell upon the numberless allusions in the Acts to points of geography and history, to existing features of law and government, to customs and manners, most of which are incidental and such as only a contemporary writer could weave into a narrative. It is not too much to say that the general correctness of Luke in these manifold particulars has been positively established. The passage, for example, relating to the voyage and shipwreck of St. Paul, has been subjected to a most thorough scrutiny, and the pathway of the ship followed from point to point. The result is a striking verification of Luke's narrative. He is shown to be, by this passage in his narrative, an observing and truthful writer.\*

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\* See Smith's *Voyage and Shipwreck of St. Paul*; also the excellent *Life of St. Paul* by Conybeare and Howson. A beautiful instance of Luke's *candor* is Acts xxi. 29. Describing the rage of the fanatical Jews from Asia, and their cry that Paul had introduced Greeks into the temple, he adds, parenthetically: "For they had seen before with him in the city, Trophimus, an Ephesian, *whom they supposed that Paul had brought into the temple.*" The effect of this remark of Luke is to palliate their guilt in offering violence to Paul. They had drawn a false inference from seeing Trophimus with Paul in another place. With his usual felicity, Bengel points out the accordance of this circumstance of Paul's association with Trophimus, with the Apostle's character: "*Paulus Trophimum non introduxit in templum: neque enim tamen plane vitavit Judæorum causa.*" *Gnomon*, (Acts xxi. 29).

The speeches recorded by Luke in the Acts have been a favorite subject of sceptical attack. But the force of this attack is broken, when it is conceded that the language in which the speeches are presented, is, generally speaking, that of the historian. Some of them were not made in the Greek, but in another tongue; and in regard to the rest, it must be in fairness, and may be with safety, allowed that the form in which they are recorded is given them by Luke. This accounts for their resemblance in phraseology to the ordinary style of Luke's narrative. Ancient historians, as all scholars know, were in the habit of throwing into the direct form—the *oratio directa*—or the form of quotation, what a modern writer presents in form as well as in fact in his own language. But when we look at the contents of the speeches in the Acts, they are found to harmonize with the known characters of the various persons to whom they are ascribed, and with the circumstances in which they were severally uttered. As an offset to the complaint that Paul's peculiar doctrine is missing from his speeches, and from the book generally, we may put the judgment of Luther that the principal purpose for which the book was written was to "teach all Christendom the great fundamental Christian doctrine" of justification by faith alone.\* The reader has only to recall such passages as the direction given to the trembling jailer who inquired what he should do to be saved, to be convinced of the groundless nature of this piece of criticism.

The speeches of Paul have been made the subject of a special, instructive discussion from the pen of Tholuck.† The principal part of his Article is taken up with a comparison of the farewell address of the Apostle to the elders of Ephesus, at Miletus, with the writings of Paul, the purpose being to show the correspondence of that address with the Apostle's character and modes of thought. That the reader may be enabled to follow out this investigation for himself, we furnish here a very brief outline of most of the points in the comparison. The address is contained in the xxth chapter of Acts. Paul's descrip-

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\* Quoted in Lekebusch, S. 235.

† In the *Studien u. Kritiken*, 1839, II.

tion of his pastoral fidelity (v. 18-21) is shown to harmonize strikingly with allusions to the same topic in 1 Thess. ii. 10, and 2 Cor. vi. 3, 4. It is the habit of Paul frequently to appeal to his own life and conduct, partly in answer to calumnies, and partly to excite other Christians to follow his example, as in 2 Cor. i. 12; 1 Cor. xi. 1; Phil. iii. 15. The mention of his tears, in the address, (v. 31), brings out a characteristic of Paul which is also discovered from 2 Cor. ii. 4, where the Apostle says that he wrote to the Corinthians with "many tears." In each case it is tears of love and of yearning over them for whose spiritual safety he is anxious. A little, yet striking mark of the authenticity of Luke's report is Paul's allusion (v. 19) to what he had suffered at Ephesus from "the lying in wait of the Jews;" since in his narrative Luke had not mentioned any such persecution, but only the tumult raised by Demetrius. Had the address been invented by Luke, there would almost certainly be in the narrative an explanatory passage. In verse 20th, Paul reminds the elders of his preaching in private as well as in public; which falls in with 1 Thess. ii. 11, and with his exhortation to Timothy (2 Tim. iv. 2) to preach "in season and out of season." His boldness in preaching and his freedom from the fear of man, (v. 27), are the same qualities to which he adverts in 2 Cor. iv. 2, and 1 Thess. ii. 4, professing in the last passage that he did not speak "as pleasing men, but God which trieth our hearts." In verse 22d, he anticipates persecution in Jerusalem; in Rom. xv. 31, he expresses the same fear. How accordant is the Apostle's expression of the cheap estimate he puts upon life, if he might finish the ministry committed to him by the Lord Jesus, (v. 24, to be compared with xxi. 13), with the expression of self-sacrifice in Phil. ii. 17, and of triumph in 2 Tim. iv. 7! The promise of future dangers to the church (v. 29-30) may be compared with 1 Tim. iv. 1, and is shown by the Epistle to the Ephesians to have been verified. The same diligence and tenderness with which he had warned the Ephesians, (v. 31), we find him claiming to have exercised in regard to the Thessalonians, to whom he says, (1 Thess. ii. 11), "ye know how we exhorted and comforted and charged every one of you, as a

father does his children." The commending of the elders to God and the word of His grace, which was able "to build them up," (v. 32), chimes with the benediction in Rom. xvi. 25, beginning: "Now unto Him that is able to establish you." In v. 33, we hear the Apostle remind the elders how, coveting no man's silver, or gold, or apparel, he had sustained himself and his attendants by the labor of his own hands. His motives for pursuing this course are not explained here, but must be learned from the Epistles, in 1 Thess. ii. 9, 2 Thess. iii. 7-9, 1 Cor. iv. 12, ix. 12, 2 Cor. xi. 8. Especially worthy of note is the expression "these hands"—*αἱ χεῖρες αὐταὶ* (v. 34)—words requiring us to suppose a gesture to accompany them. Still more deserving of remark is the quotation of a saying of Christ not elsewhere recorded: "it is more blessed to give than to receive," (v. 35). The saying itself is worthy to emanate from Christ, and is conformed to the spirit and style of his teaching. Coming in so simply and naturally, it seems to bear witness to the truth and fidelity of the entire report of the Apostle's discourse.

In the preceding observations we have employed for the purpose of refuting the Tübingen hypothesis—except in the last remarks on the speeches of Paul—only the four Pauline Epistles accepted by Baur. But when we inquire for the grounds on which the genuineness of the remaining canonical Epistles ascribed to this Apostle is denied, we find that the principal reason is the inconsistency of their representations with the theory which the four are supposed to authorize. On this ground chiefly, even the Epistles to the Colossians and Philippians, which were never before doubted, and the marks of whose Pauline authorship are so irresistibly evident in their style and contents, are declared to be spurious! One would think that the inconsistency of these documents with Baur's theory would raise in his mind a strong presumption, not against them but against that. But when we discover that his theory is overthrown by the testimony of the very documents on which he chooses to rely, and that his main objection to the genuineness of the other leading Epistles of Paul is thus taken

away, we may resort to them for further illustration of the view which the Apostle took of the Jewish Christians. We find him, in the Epistle to the Ephesians, telling the Gentiles that they are no more "strangers and foreigners, but fellow-citizens with the saints, and of the household of God," and "built upon the foundation of the Apostles and Prophets," (Eph. ii. 19-20). How fully does this harmonize with the spirit of the beautiful passage in the Romans, where Paul compares the Gentiles, in their relation to Israel, to the wild olive tree grafted upon the native olive and partaking of its "root and fatness," (Rom. xi. 17)! We find him in the First Epistle to the Thessalonians, saying: "for ye, brethren, became *followers of the churches of God which in Judea are in Christ Jesus*: for ye, also, have suffered like things of your own countrymen, even as they have of the Jews"—the Jews, who likewise "forbid us to speak to the Gentiles that they might be saved," (1 Thess. ii. 14 seq.) The Thessalonians, in the heroic spirit with which they had met persecution, had resembled their Christian brethren in Judea, whose firmness under such trial was well known. This one expression of honor to the faithful Christians of Judea, joined, as it is, with reprobation of the conduct of the unbelieving Jews, destroys the theory of Baur.\*

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\* The attack of the Tübingen school upon the genuineness of most of the Pauline Epistles, resting as it does upon false assumptions, should not be allowed for a moment to affect the judgment which is founded on positive, abundant proofs. Take, for example, the First Epistle to the Thessalonians. Its Pauline authorship was never doubted until it was doubted by Baur. It is not only recognized by the great Church teachers in the second half of the second century, but is found in the Syrian version, in the canon of Muratori, even in the canon of Marcion. Its language is Pauline. Its tone and spirit are Pauline. Its contents are adapted to a state of the Thessalonian Church which may well be supposed to have existed. It has correspondences with the Acts, which are obviously uncontrived, yet exact. Compare 1 Thess. iii. 1, 2 with Acts xvii. 18, xviii. 5. And if the passage—iv. 15, 17—express a hope or an expectation of the *parousia* during the Apostle's lifetime, it demonstrates the Pauline authorship, since no writer of the second century would attribute such a disappointed expectation to Paul. The objections of Baur to the Pauline origin of this Epistle are of no weight, and mainly rest upon misinterpretation.

There are thirteen canonical Epistles bearing the name of Paul. No criticism—save that, of the Baur school—which by any stretch of charity can be called

There are three other documents in the New Testament canon which throw important light upon the subject of this Article. These are the 1st Epistle of Peter, the Epistle to the Hebrews, and the Apocalypse.

The 1st Epistle of Peter is reckoned by Eusebius among the *Homologoumena*—the writings of undisputed genuineness. Among the witnesses to its authenticity are Papias and Polycarp.\* It is addressed apparently to the first generation of converts from heathenism, and not to their children or grandchildren, (e. g. 1 Peter i. 14). It purports to come from "a witness of the sufferings of Christ," (1 Peter v. 1); a fact introduced so briefly and naturally as to convince Schleiermacher that the expression was not put into the mouth of Peter, but was truly his own. It is addressed to "the stran-

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sober, pretends to deny the genuineness of the Epistles to the Philippians, to the Colossians, the two Epistles to the Thessalonians, and the Epistle to Philemon. The Pauline authorship of the Epistle to the Ephesians may be said to have been completely vindicated against the doubts suggested by DeWette and others. In fact, one of the main grounds of doubt—the absence of personal greetings—is an argument for the genuineness of the work; since, though we can only conjecture the cause of this peculiarity, it is one which a forger would last of all have permitted to exist. Of the Pastoral Epistles, the Second of Timothy and the Epistle to Titus are fully proved to be Pauline, and recognized as such by unprejudiced critics, like Bleek and Meyer, who hold themselves at liberty to judge with perfect freedom of the claim of a book to a place in the canon. Of the First Epistle to Timothy, Neander says that he is not convinced of its genuineness with the "same assurance that he has in reference to the authorship of the other Pauline Epistles."—*Apostelgeschichte*, B. I., S. 538. N. Such misgivings, however, in respect to either of the Pastoral Epistles are not shared by critics of equal candor and penetration—for example, by the late Dr. Arnold. As to the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews, a point about which the opinion of the ancient Church was divided, he is now generally conceded to have been, not Paul himself, but a disciple of Paul. This was the opinion, also, of Erasmus, Luther, and Calvin. It is the view of Neander, Bleek, Meyer, and, in fact, of all or nearly all the German critics. Its early date is, however, established; and if not written by Paul, it has the same relation to him as the writings of Luke have, and the same right in the canon as the Second and Third Gospels and the Acts.

\* Eusebius iii. 39, iv. 14. Those who deny the genuineness of the 2d Epistle of Peter, must yet place it not later than the beginning of the second century; and hence the testimony of this document (2 Peter iii. 1) to the 1st Epistle, as a work of Peter, is valuable. See on this and the other points of proof, Bleek's *Einl.* S. 565 seq.

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 gentiles are meant; so that  
*ἐκ τῆς πόλεως*, the metropolitan char-  
 istianity is assumed in a man-  
 s written from Babylon—the  
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 where Peter would naturally be  
 his missionary labors. A suitable  
 was afforded by the journey of Silas,  
 a member of the Jerusalem Church,  
 ed with Paul in founding and training  
 which he now carried this letter. In  
 were those who, as we learn from Paul  
 s, had, through the influence of Judaizers,  
 at they had not received the true Gospel.  
 sures this class by simply saying at the close of  
 have written briefly, exhorting and testifying  
*to true grace of God wherein ye stand.*" It is an  
 of confidence and fraternal sympathy from the  
 to the circumcision," written within a few years pre-  
 the destruction of Jerusalem, and shortly before his own

other most interesting monument of the state of things  
 at critical time, is the Epistle to the Hebrews. It was  
 tten while the temple was yet standing, but not very long  
 fore the siege and capture of the city by Titus. It was  
 addressed to Jewish Christians, and, as we believe, to the  
 Palestinian Christians. It was written to keep them from  
 apostasy—from lapsing into mere Judaism. This, every one  
 must see, was the great danger so long as the Jewish Christians  
 continued to cling to the ritual. It would seem that there were  
 some of this class who had ceased to meet with their brethren,  
 (Hebrews x. 25). It is probable that with the rapid growth of  
 the Gentile branch of the church, which was attended by a  
 growing indifference to the ceremonial law still sacred to the  
 native Jew, the disaffection of the Jewish Christians increased;  
 and it is not improbable that in that class who are described as  
 "forsaking the assembling of themselves together" is to be re-



cognized the germ of heretical Judaizing sects who become known to us at a later day. The great aim of the author of the Epistle is to persuade the Jewish Christian that in Christ the ritual is fulfilled, that in Him all that he had in the law is retained in a perfect and satisfying form.

Not less interesting as a memorial of the state of things which we are attempting to depict, is the Apocalypse. The Apocalypse was written—this fact, we take it, is now established, notwithstanding the continued dissent of a critic here and there—shortly after the Neronian persecution, and shortly before the destruction of Jerusalem. The Apostles Peter and Paul had been put to death. The bitter fanaticism of the Jews, and all the signs of the times, foretold the judgments soon to fall upon the Jewish state. The condition of the churches in Asia Minor, coupled, we may well believe, with the persecuting animosity of his countrymen “according to the flesh” in Jerusalem, had drawn the Apostle John to Ephesus. The preponderance of proof, in our opinion, is in favor of the more common opinion that the Apostle is the author of the Apocalypse. But if not his work, it was certainly written by some one who belonged to his school and his neighborhood. Baur, who holds that the Apostle himself wrote it, has most unsuccessfully attempted to find in it a Judaizing and Anti-Pauline character. The distinction put upon the twelve Apostles (Rev. xxi. 14) is one of his arguments. If this have any force, then Acts was written by a Judaizer. (see Acts i. 21 seq.); and Luke’s Gospel also, (see Luke xxii. 30), which Baur considers especially Pauline in its spirit. Baur even discerns in the reference to false or pretended Apostles (Rev. ii. 2) a side hit at Paul! Ewald, with just as little reason, considers them Judaizers. It is probable that they were leaders of the Nicolaitans, who seem to have been a sect of antinomian, gnostical libertines—abusing their freedom in the gospel by joining the heathen in licentious pleasures, and blending a sort of gnosis, which the writer designates a knowing of “the depths of Satan,” (Rev. iii. 24); using, perhaps, the term *Satan*, as in the other phrase—the synagogue of Satan—where *they* would use *God*. A Judaizing spirit is in-

ferred by Baur from the distinct mention of the "hundred and forty and four thousand" from the tribes of Israel (Rev. vii. 4) who were among the redeemed. How ill-founded is this conclusion we see when we further read that those gathered from "all nations, and kindreds, and people, and tongues," instead of being a definite, symbolical to be sure, yet limited, number were "a great multitude which no man could count." (v. 9). But the Apocalypse affords a happy confirmation of the historical truth of the Apostolic convention. Having alluded (Rev. ii. 20) as he had done before (v. 14) to the obligation to abstain from fornication and from meat sacrificed to idols, the writer adds, (v. 24, 25), "I will put upon you *none other burden*: but that which ye have already"—namely, the true faith—"hold fast till I come." Here the context requires us to suppose that "burden" signifies injunction; and thus we are obliged to explain the passage by referring back to what he has said on the two points of duty above mentioned. In the requirement to abstain from fornication and from flesh offered to idols, he would add no other burden—*ἄλλο βάρος*—the very word used in the rescript of the Apostolic convention, (Acts xv. 21)!\* To our mind, this passage affords a striking corroboration of the narrative of Luke. A portion of the Asia Minor Christians had neglected the warnings of Paul, had abused their freedom, making it an obedience to lust, and had mingled with the heathen in their licentious feasts. Hence the need of imposing the old restraints, and the Apostle revives the rules suggested by that early conference in which he had himself taken part.

We may sum up in a few words the main points in the view we have taken. The Apostles and most other Jewish Christians kept up the observance of the ceremonial law, and felt bound so to do, until Christ should appear to abrogate that law, or in some other way should explicitly declare the old ritual abolished. Peter was divinely instructed in the affair of Cornelius, that free intercourse with the Gentile convert was

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\* The interpretation we have given above is sanctioned by high critical authority—including that of Lünemann (in Meyer) and Alford.

## ARTICLE II.—VICTOR HUGO AND “LES MISÉRABLES.”

“LITERATURE is the expression of society,” said M. de Bonald, in the good old times of conservatism. If this be true, we trust that the present expression of society in France is not its best, and that in all its better moments it bears a more sober aspect than that which the romantic school of the day is pleased to give it. The XIXth century, eager to anticipate time in its slower achievements, accepted without restriction all possible innovations, and gave full scope to all sorts of doctrines and theories; but conservatism opposed a vigorous resistance to the new invasion and wrestled bravely with the intruders. It was a struggle between the past and the present. The monarchical and religious school, which numbered among its chiefs Chateaubriand, Bonald, de Maistre, Lamennais, etc., adhered steadfastly to the rigorous laws of the classic, whilst the new school, headed by Madame de Staël, rebelled against the narrow limits prescribed to genius, and boldly declared itself independent. The foreign literatures of Spain, Germany, and especially England, were called in aid to affranchise the French taste from academical conventions, and a new era dawned upon the world of letters. It was a grand and noble move on the part of the progressionists to endeavor to liberate literature from its *centennial fetters*, and in their earlier efforts they gained considerable ground over their superannuated antagonist. But, as in all revolutions, literary or political, there are fiery partisans that carry things too far, the younger disciples of the new republic, also, like the athletes of ancient Greece, who threw their javelins beyond the mark, overstepped all limits, and defeated the object of the first founders. Madame de Staël, though the first to unfurl the banner of liberty in the domain of art, still respected its former etiquette and subscribed to its laws; but her followers, young and ardent enthusiasts, declared themselves independent of Greece

and Rome, and founded a code of their own. It was in the midst of this fever of innovation that Victor Marie Hugo entered first the arena of letters. Born at Besançon, in France, on the 26th of February, 1802, and raised amidst the various influences of climate, manners, and ideas of the three inspiring countries, France, Italy, and Spain, his mind, naturally quick and active, acquired a vastness of information and a richness of ideas rarely to be met with in the same person.

From his mother, who was a royalist and had shared the dangers of the Vendean insurrection, he inherited the strong royalistic proclivities of which he has given such ample proofs in a number of his works, and from his father, who was one of the first volunteers of the French republic, those democratic aspirations which led him to embrace so fervently the new idea of freedom, as it had been conceived by the young apostles of the romantic.

*Veni, vidi, vici!* His first steps amidst the revolutionary party were those of a conqueror. He appeared amongst them with all the dazzling pomp of an eastern wealth of imagery, with the quaint and curious forms of ancient lore, and with that commanding attitude that secures instinctive submission. Skilled in the archaic, he brought forth from the dusty past all its stunning epithets and quaint figures, and boldly inoculated them into the modern phrase. Never had language been handled with so much daring, and been made to produce such effective results. It seemed, under his magic pen, a palette charged with luminous colors, with which he delighted to glorify the idea. Verse had never flown with so much force and melody, prose had never been so impressive. The new school hailed him as its leader. A small circle was formed under the mystic name of *Cénacle*, and its members devoted themselves with fervor to the promulgation of their new code. Then followed a period of wild lawlessness in which these ultra reformers laid hands upon the most sacred remnants of the past. The classic goddess, the Beautiful, was dethroned, and in her stead they raised a disheveled bacchante, which they termed the *characteresque*, and which usurped all the rights of the former. Gross realism succeeded the ideal; local colors,

and costumers more or less historical, or more or less singular, were deemed sufficient in the production of any work of art. It was the reign of the Ugly, and the middle age, with all its deformities, became the leading subject. The disgusting and horrible were substituted for pathos, instinct for sentiment, fancy for common sense. The charnel houses and slaughter houses even were explored to fill the new want, and the executioner became a hero. Literary liberty had thus its revolutionary era—its 93. Once proclaimed, the press was invaded by all sorts of styles, manners, and forms; the melancholy, the terrible, the burlesque, showed themselves in the most fanciful garbs, and the public underwent all possible emotions. But too often the pathos of the modern novel failed entirely to draw from the reader the sympathetic tear; its victims had never lived; nor did many of its railleries call forth a hearty laugh; the experienced reader would too often recognize in them pickings from Molière, done so over and over again that they had lost all flavor; he would be tickled, amused, more often shocked, but never convinced. The new school had spread vast tables well decked with fine linen, porcelains, and crystals, and silver, and vases—but the roast, the substantial roast, proved too often wanting. Thus, when the new poet appeared with his “*Orientales*,” and “*Fenilles d’Automne*,” which works reveal in particular the exuberant picturesqueness of his lyrical genius, the discomfited reader turned his hopes upon him and asked of him to fulfill the many promises which the new school had made, and had so sadly failed to realize.

M. Hugo commenced his literary career with the composition of a few odes, and lyrical pieces which he called ballads, and in which he endeavored to reproduce the superstitious legends of the Middle Ages, and with two novels, *Han d’Islande* and *Bug Jargal*. In these early writings, M. Hugo exhibits already his tendency for antithesis and violent contrasts. *Han d’Islande* is a kind of ogre that drinks sea-water and men’s blood. *Habibrah*, his counterpart, is a hideous dwarf; both seemed created for the sake of strong contrast, and only to bring out the more ideal conceptions of

*Ethel*, *Ordemer*, and *Marie*. But the struggle between the innovators and the adherents to classic forms being the fiercest on the stage, M. Hugo hastened to join his party there and brought it a drama, of seven thousand verses, entitled *Cromwell*. This drama, however, like many subsequent ones, failed to secure to the *Cénacle* the expected triumph. The dramatic is not M. Hugo's forte; his genius is too lyrical to fall within the exigencies of that branch of literature; it is there that the defects of his manner are most apparent; his personages, although they are called *Didier*, *Gomez*, *Marion*, *Friboulet*, etc., are ever and again, *I*, M. Hugo. They say, often, very fine things—dramatic digressions full of lyrical beauties—but one hears constantly the author prompting them. Thus, through odes, ballads, dramas, and romances, M. Hugo, faithful to his preconceived notions of excellence, imposed his system upon the public. But the public, who, since the *Restauration*, had strongly imbibed republicanism, forgave willingly all extravaganzas of style and plot, in favor of democratic principles, and greatly interested at that time in the new doctrine of humanitarianism, such as Saint Simonism disengaged from its theoretic apparel had laid open, it received the "*Burgraves*," "*Claude Gueux*," "*Le Dernier Jour d'un Condamné*," as the introduction to a work that would prove a crowning piece, a synopsis, as it were, of the author's doctrines, and in which he would fully define and develop his republican views, and bring them into the service of the cause he had embraced. Thus, when midst the fifes and drums of the press, his new work, "*Les Misérables*," was announced, the public received it with unanimous applause. Heralded as it was by some of the best critics of the day, partisans of the Hugo school and members of the mystic *Cénacle*, who launched it into the world midst the most sounding praises, it is not to be wondered that its first appearance created so great a sensation. The giant's vast proportions appalled the multitude. It was left for the subsequent observer to consider whether his power was commensurate with his dimensions; whether the Hercules was a factitious or a real god?

In his Preface to his work, M. Hugo gives us in a few lines an idea of its character and the noble mission it is to perform.

"As long," says he, "as there will exist, in consequence of established laws and manners, a social damnation, creating in open civilization an artificial hell, and complicating destiny which is divine with a human fatality; as long as the three problems of the age—the degradation of man by proletariat, the fall of the woman by hunger, the atrophy of the child by night, will not be solved; as long as in certain regions a social asphyxia is possible; in other terms, and in a still wider sense, as long as there shall be ignorance and misery, books of this nature will not be useless." From this we may judge what sorts of pictures the author intends to present to us.

The spiritual club of the god is raised against the dragon society. Its vices, crimes, misery, shall be revealed, their causes and ravages explained, their victims defended! M. Hugo, as poet and novelist, has ever been the protector of the suffering masses; he pities the laborer that dies of hunger for want of work, as profoundly as the criminal that expiates his misdeed in prison; but whether such pity is just, is another question. A sentiment may be generous and yet very false. Society cannot be made wholly responsible for all the ill-sorted marriages, the crimes perpetrated for want of work, the untimely deaths of children sickening in factories. The assassin must needs be imprisoned, or otherwise restrained. However, the work before us is intended to point out moral reforms. What these moral reforms are, and whether they can be made practically applicable, we will endeavor to find out.

We have, then, before us, five books, *Fantine*, *Cosette*, *Marius*, *l'Idylle rue Plumet*, *Jean Valjean*, forming a long series of essays enshrined as it were in different novels, each distinct, and yet connected like the acts of a drama. The first book—*Fantine*, although the title is hardly appropriate—the character after whom it is named playing in it but a subordinate part,—has been the most read, and deservedly so. As a work of art, it is superior to the others. It presents us in three large pictures, whose subjects are the Bishop, the Convict, the Grisetite, three fine studies, carefully drawn, with bold

outlines, and of so vigorous a conception that we cannot help recognizing in them a master's hand.

The Bishop is a character that secures our sympathies from the first; full of grandeur and simplicity, the embodiment of all evangelical virtues. Such constancy in well doing, such devotion, and charity, and love, and tolerance, tax considerably our faith, and it is well for M. Hugo to tell us that "Monseigneur Bienvenu was an exception to the rule." However, we often concede to high art the privilege of clothing its subjects in perfection, provided they remain consistent with their principles. Thus do we give Mr. Myriel's acts of charity our full sympathy. We rejoice to see him exchange his beautiful palace for the humble hospital, although such noble self-denial lies more in the line of an humble curate; hierarchy has certain claims upon bishops, which should not be so easily slighted; still, we are willing to see in him but the good man par excellence, and follow him in all sincerity of heart to the city of D——, where he takes the place of the unwilling chaplain, and assists a culprit in his last moments. We are also profoundly moved at his own way of "regulating the expenses of his household," and, for a moment, we are inclined to think that M. Hugo wishes to reconcile modern society with the clergy, and that his dearest political hopes rest on evangelical influence. But a strange scene, grand, it is true, though of rather an equivocal character, breaks into this touching legend, and baffles all our surmises. What does M. Hugo mean with the bishop's visit to the dying terrorist? Is it a little triumph he has secretly reserved for his republican views? But in this he robs Peter to pay Paul, for, by it, he certainly spoils his bishop, which is one of his best creations, and secures but a small victory to his democratic principles. It would have been better for the sake of art to let the old republican die as he had lived, misunderstood and scorned, and allow M. Myriel to remain true to his episcopal character. Far be it from us to pretend suggesting improvements to so finished an artist as M. Hugo, yet we fancy that Monseigneur Myriel would have looked better in a more commanding attitude than that of kneeling to the old republican and im-



ploring his blessing. It is not to be supposed that the bishop was ignorant of the great object of the revolution of '93, and that the representations which the dying man made of its leading characters would convert him to republicanism. The venerable bishop would still have remained the good man, if, with bigoted adherence to his episcopal principles, he had majestically raised himself, and, blessing the old republican, had called down upon his head divine pardon for his errors and his faults. Thus he would have been true to his office and to the principles of hierarchy by which we must suppose a catholic bishop to be guided; besides, his faith rendered it absolutely obligatory on him to see in the men of the revolution only enemies to order. However, we will not quarrel with M. Hugo about such licenses of logic, if we but find in this vast picture a centre around which all these ultra creations may rally.

*Jean Valjean* is an old acquaintance, whom M. Hugo introduced to us many years ago, when he wrote "*Le Dernier Jour d' un Condamné.*" For the satisfaction of our readers, we will quote here what the poor criminal, the hero of the above named work, is made to declare, and show the close identity of the two characters. "I was thirty-two years old; one fine morning, they gave me a way-bill and seventy francs which I had saved during my fifteen years of galley service, working sixteen hours a day, thirty days per month, and twelve months per year. However, I wished to become an honest man with my seventy francs, for I had finer feelings under my rags than there are under many a surplice."

"But the devil of a passport! It was a yellow one, and there was written below: liberated convict; I was obliged to show it, wherever I passed, and present it every week to the mayor of the village where I was obliged to put up. A fine accommodation indeed! a galley slave! People were afraid of me, and the little children ran away at my approach, and all doors were closed. No one would give me any work. I spent my seventy francs and then I was obliged to look for a further living. I showed my arms, good for work; still they closed the doors. I offered to do days work for fifteen sous, ten sous,

five sous—nothing. What was I to do? One day being hungry, I ran my elbow through a baker's window to take a loaf of bread, but the baker took me. I did not even get a chance to eat the bread, but was sent to the galley for life with three branded letters on the shoulder; if you want to see them, I will show them to you. This kind of justice is called repetition of an offense. Behold me again at the treadmill. I was put back to Toulon; this time with the green caps. I tried to escape again. There were only three walls to pierce, two chains to cut, and I had one nail to do it with. I escaped. . . . This time no yellow passport, but no money either, etc." The case, certainly, is strangely similar to that of *Jean Valjean*. We would have preferred a newer conception, but let it go. *Jean Valjean* then is a convict, who has spent nineteen years at the galleys: five years for having stolen a loaf of bread, and fourteen years for having made repeated attempts at evasion. It is no doubt a case much to be deplored, that attempts at evasion on the part of *good* convicts should be attended with such sad consequences, but it must be remembered that convicts are not generally good men, and that the law must necessarily make provision to prevent the evasion of criminals in order to protect society. As for being sentenced to five years' galley service for stealing a loaf of bread, that is merely an absurdity, if not a slander upon the code of laws. But to proceed, Jean Valjean's time being up, he is set free, but alas! only to be still more miserable. His freedom avails him nothing. His yellow passport becomes Cain's mark on his brow. All doors close against him. One would think in reading the fearful experiences through which he is made to pass, that the human race had lost at once all its sensibility and generosity. Well nigh giving up to despair, he chances upon the door of the good bishop. He finds a seat at the holy man's table, is offered a bed, is treated with the utmost kindness and courtesy. But the demon of covetousness drives him still into crime. Under the cover of night and taking advantage of the prelate's sleep, he seizes upon his silver and flies with the booty. But watchful justice gets hold of the suspicious marauder, and brings him back to the bishop, who, con-

sistently with his sublimated character, heaps upon the culprit such boundless charity and munificence as must surely effect a reformation. We will not stop to consider the plausibility of such proceedings: they set at defiance extravagance itself; enough to say that if *Jean Valjean*, after the painful consequences which a convict's character brings with it, and which he had been made to feel so forcibly, turns out to be so hopeless a scoundrel as to rob the only being that could reconcile him with humanity, he well deserved his nineteen years of galley-service. M. Hugo wields a powerful pen, no doubt; he gives us at times Miltonic sketches, but he allows too often his imagination to run away with his common sense; and in these cases he actually practices imposition upon the good-natured reader. He lures him with false promises, captivates his attention, wins his sympathies, and, suddenly, for no reasonable cause whatever, without there being the least necessity for it, he tears off the mask of the endeared image and shows him a monster so steeped in vice, that he must needs lose all hopes of him. Again and again is the reader thus startled, and his sympathies violently wrecked against these strange stage effects of M. Hugo's composition. We look in vain for any plausible reason that the author may have had, in making his hero so determined a villain. It is obvious from the first that he wishes to secure our sympathy with the convict; he is the embodiment of his darling theme—oppressed humanity. For this purpose his subject should have been a more redeemable character, and it is useless to say that the unexpected conduct of the convict, in robbing the bishop, makes it very hard for us to believe in his sudden reformation, and still harder to accept the astonishing deeds of heroism, and charity, and self-abnegation which he is made to perform in subsequent situations. The whole career of *Jean Valjean* presents a series of impossible cases, of strange incongruities, and stands in continuous antagonism with the principles of truth and honor which ought to be every honest man's line of conduct. *Jean Valjean* is made a saint in one sense, and in another a convict. We cannot make the two agree. His virtue is constantly getting him into scrapes; and it is a painful thing to

see that the saint needs so often the convict to help him out of trouble. Besides, his many narrow escapes, and that fearful chase through the labyrinth of streets in Paris, where, like a hunted deer, he is so cruelly pursued by the inexorable Javert, are most fatiguing to the reader, and when, at last, he is driven into a court without issue, and must infallibly fall into the hands of his enemies, the situation becomes so painful that the tortured reader is willing to accept any mode of escape, however improbable, which the author may suggest, provided he be relieved from his anxiety. Such useless shifting of scenes and efforts at sudden effects, contribute in no wise to the artistic development of an idea. They plough the emotions as it were, but without dropping into them any generous seeds. They are the well-known tricks of the flashy feuilleton-writer, who, in order to keep the public attention awake for the next day's paper, is obliged to resort to all sorts of charlatanisms. The novel, it is true, commands a wide field of operations, and has a right to all the vast resources of imagination and sentiment, to the multiplied expressions of all human passions, and the endless ramifications of fancy, but its boundaries should still be art. It should work upon our emotions without imparting pain, should interest the heart, and yet keep entire the liberty of the mind; it should allow us to preserve amidst the deepest impressions, the empire of our contemplative faculties. But "*Les Misérables*" does not fulfill any of these conditions. The more we advance in the work, the more we feel our sympathy with the convict to abate. We suspect all along that the author is pulling at all the wires of his far reaching imagination to force his hero upon our admiration.

*Fantine* is no less an abortion than *Jean Valjean*. It is impossible to inclose within the same being two such incompatible things as exquisite purity of heart and moral degradation. M. Hugo, it is well known, is fond of strong contrasts; antithesis is his hobby; but however well it may serve his purposes at times, he cannot employ it always, and especially in spite of all reason and common sense. M. Hugo may declaim in his most grandiloquent rhetoric that the more *Fantine*

sinks in the mire, the purer she arises from it, but we do not believe it.

The company in which Fantine is introduced to us, which company, be it said by the way, is hardly a subject worthy of so exercised a talent as M. Hugo's—some of the most inferior novelists having well nigh worn it out—already brands her in our esteem. Her youth, her beauty, her sensibility, do not make up for her idleness and coquetry which have led her into vice. She is one of the many that if they do not know the right, feel it, and yet choose the wrong. "The wages of sin is death," nor can society be made accountable for its sad consequences. It is true that M. Hugo, by the magic of his pen, succeeds in working up our feelings to a considerable degree, and our sensibilities are cruelly racked when Fantine comes to sell her hair, teeth, and finally her person, for the sake of her child. But by cooler consideration we can hardly call that last sacrifice the climax, for we must remember that it was not the first time that Fantine had resorted to such means. One thing may be said in defense of the *grisette*: she lived amidst a class of people whose morality had become so blunted by a continued familiarity with vice, that the boundaries of both virtue and vice were broken down. Hence, what motive for reform could she have had? *Coquette* appears amongst all these ultra creations, as perhaps the only one that can be said to have a real existence—to be a being of flesh and blood. Her unhappy childhood, her devotion to her supposed father, the eventful circumstances of her love, and her final marriage with Marius, cannot fail to interest us, yet could we wish a better sustained development of her destiny. M. Hugo's love for physiological and historical researches, render it very loose and disconnected.

*Marius* is another living contradiction, besides being a kind of namby pamby, milk and water creation. M. Hugo in vain attempts to force him upon our interest by lending him the most extravagant qualities of disinterestedness and honor; such qualities are totally incompatible with so sluggish a nature as his is represented to be. How can we possibly couple the total indifference which, in his earlier years, he manifests

towards a father of whose existence he is aware,—and whom, from mere reports, he casts from him,—with that excess of filial devotion that causes him to sacrifice subsequently all feelings of love and humanity to a false supposition? However much the octogenerian bean, M. Gillenormand, may have slandered the Colonel Pontmercy, Marius' father, his calumnies were all of a political character, and would not so entirely have alienated the heart of a child from his parent as to render him completely indifferent even to his death. It were a curious case of physiology if a few incidental remarks, made, in regard to his father, by an old man whom he meets accidentally at church, could work out such a transformation as that which M. Hugo would make us believe Marius underwent.

The love of Eponine for Marius, is another far-fetched antithesis. The fig cannot be culled on the thornbush, no more than such disinterested affection and chivalrous sentiments as those with which our author would fain endow the wretched prostitute, could be found amidst beings born and raised in the very bosom of vice and crime. There are fluids that will not mix, and M. Hugo endeavors in vain to fuse vice with virtue, purity with degradation, baseness with elevation;—they cannot mingle. His gorgeous phraseology and deceptive imagery rob us for a moment of our power of reflection, and we look for a while with awe and wonder upon these strange creations that seem to move before us so life-like and vivid; but the instant we put our hand upon them, to test their humanity, they vanish as so many optical illusions. This constant adherence to antithesis, this mad worship of the contraries which characterize all of M. Hugo's productions—poetical as well as prose—carry him repeatedly beyond all historic reality and human truth. Thus are his characters generally false. He does not look upon the world like a man that has lived and remembers facts, but as a hermit, who, in his self-imposed solitude, judges of things according to his *a priori* conceptions. Like the dreamy German who, when called upon to give a correct representation of a camel, shut himself up and drew a picture of the animal from the depth of his moral consciousness, he, also, sees men and things from his own peculiar stand-

point, and through the perfumed vapors of his intoxicating *nargile*. He does not take much account of the mere idea—true or real—it is its form, its external beauty that he considers; whether it is susceptible of polish and can be made brilliant, and, to quote from an able French critic who appears to have sifted M. Hugo's method of composition, "he estimates images as images in themselves and for themselves, for the dazzling brilliancy of their colors, not as a symbol, not as translating Newton's truth through Homer's beauty, but as having an individual value independent of the idea which they should contain." M. Hugo seems to have chosen Voltaire's "*Frappez fort*" for his motto; only Voltaire struck according to the legitimate rules of high art, whilst M. Hugo strikes at random, following his own impulses and the willful caprices of an ungovernable fancy.

But to proceed with our examination of the gallery of portraits exhibited on the great drama, we come to Javert. Javert is a police agent, who is to keep order in the little town of Montreuil-sur-Mer. The author represents him as a man rigidly conscientious, one whose sense of duty has so petrified his heart that he takes no account of good or bad motives, but considers only the deed alone as it stands in opposition to, or in accordance with, the law. Javert recognizes in Jean Valjean a former convict, and as such persecutes him with a tenacity that would be fiendish if it were possible. We know what it is to sublimate defects or qualities in a favorite conception, and would willingly pardon M. Hugo any eccentricity in regard to so powerful an engine as Javert is made to be in carrying on the destinies of the hero, and fanning our anxiety concerning him, but we regret that he should have so mistaken good taste in the delineation of his character as to allow himself phrases such as these: "He caused the lightning to break from the law, he assisted the Absolute. He arrayed himself in a glory. There was in his victory a remnant of defiance and combat. *Erect, proud, resplendent*, he showed off in full azure the superhuman bestiality of a ferocious arch angel; the fearful shadow of the action which he was accomplishing made visible on his clenched fist the faint gleaming of the social

sword." Such pompous extravagance of style would be allowable in no case, still less in so simple a subject as the description of a police inspector in a country town. In Javert we are to see, no doubt, iron-handed society and its persecuting justice for all wrong doers. Yet would we have been better satisfied with a more natural impersonation. We look in vain through the vast calendar of humanity for a saint of that character; a man whose sense of duty would lead him to persecute, in a most cruel manner, another of whose identity as a convict he is not even sure, at any rate, whom he knows to be harmless, for he calls him himself "the good convict," and who, finally, when, owing his life to that same victim of his fiendish watchfulness, he is overcome by a strange feeling of generosity and deviates from that straight line of duty as he considers it, puts an end to his life to amend for his short coming. We stare at such oddities, but question their existence. Javert, like the rest of the *dramatis personæ* of this ponderous composition is the homunculus of M. Hugo's literary laboratory. The glass bottle, in which he is enshrined, alone gives him weight.

One principle defect in this vast panorama, "*Les Misérables*," so varied in situations, characters, and groupings, so dazzling in color, so impressive as to its motive, is the want of perspective. All is foreground, no soft middle tints shading off smoothly into a vague and suggestive distance. Even the figures that are hardly a link of connection to the whole, Gavroche, for example, whose presence seems entirely useless, except for the opportunity it affords M. Hugo to display his monographic knowledge of natural and social history, and the good father Mabeuf, who stand in no particular connection with any of the others, appear in the same work with the principal characters.

To describe the little scamp Gavroche, M. Hugo enters into an endless digression, and gives us the history of Paris in its "atom," as he calls it, and to draw M. Mabeuf, who is truly a charming creation, full of life and truth, he stops the narrative to give us a delightful description of the character of an old and unsophisticated bibliomaniac. These two sketches,



among his best, perhaps, and most original, are entirely out of place; they would be accepted with delight anywhere else, but here they only make confusion. Again, we would like to see the accessory *personæ* at a greater distance, in a less decided attitude, and adding as it were by their feebler outlines to the more vigorous conception of the fearful figures. These have no other relief but what is given them by the dark background formed by the fearful *Thenardier* band. Gloomy enough is the picture of the cavern of evil in which reign such monsters as *Babet*, *Gueulemer*, *Claquesous*, and *Montparnasse*.

That such really exist is sufficiently proved by the sad police records of the great capitals of Europe, but to attribute their moral degradation solely to ignorance, is taking rather an overindulgent view of what constitutes vice and crime. There is besides the darkness of ignorance in which men fall into sin, the spirit of defiance that rebels against the law. The angels that made war in heaven did not sin through ignorance, but through defiance, and the fearful deeds perpetrated on earth are more often the results of rebellion than of ignorance. M. Hugo's reflections as to the existence of such a state of things are most unsatisfactory, and his philosophy is altogether illogical. "This cave," says he, in describing the retreat of the heroes of the culvert; "the great cavern of evil, below all others and the enemy of all others, knows no philosophers: its dagger has never made a pen; its blackness has no relation to the sublime blackness of the inkstand. Never, under this suffocating vault, have the shriveled fingers of night turned over a book or unfolded a paper. It is darkness and wants chaos. Its vault is made of ignorance. Destroy the cave of ignorance and you destroy the mole crime. The *only* social peril is the dark. Ignorance mixed with the human clay blackens it. This *incurable* blackness reaches the innermost of man and becomes the evil." Letting alone the strange metaphysical figures the author uses, such as "*the sublime blackness of the inkstand*," "*the shriveled fingers of night*," "*the mole crime*," "*the human clay mixed with an incurable blackness*," etc., we would ask him—and he is the very man to answer the question,

for he can lay claim to a profound historical knowledge—whether indeed evil has decreased in the world in proportion to the extension of knowledge? From the dark ages to modern times, evil has ever exercised its destructive power, changing only in manner. The various stages of civilization have given it a different coloring. First simply gross and braving the open daylight, it became by degrees more refined, cunning and subtle—the increase of knowledge helped to sharpen its wits. The knight robber, that waylaid the merchant traveler on the main road, and in the very face of noon, gave place to the crafty sharper that extorts money unlawfully from whomever he can. The ready dagger that avenged an insult or offense, in times gone by, is still working for the same purpose only with an artful prudence that sets the law at defiance, and calls for renewed energy and greater wisdom in those that administer justice. That crime is too often attributable to ignorance every one admits, and in this case we acknowledge its decrease as instruction spreads more generally, but we are far from conceding to M. Hugo that “*the only social peril is the dark.*” *The cavern of evil* cannot be burnt down by the flaming torch of knowledge. It is constructed of such incombustible material as to defy—using the author’s own figures—all the sublime power of inkstand and pen. M. Hugo is philosopher enough to know that Arimanes and Oromasdes balance the universe. Without evil, no good; without vice, no virtue; without antagonism, no combat; without combat, no victory; without victory, no crown.

But let us grasp, if possible, the whole of the gigantic problem, let us unroll the vast panoramic drama, and follow it up in its varied tableaux. The interest of the spectator increases, we admit, as he passes from one to the other of the stirring chapters contained in the first book, *Fantine*, and follows the strange fortunes of its hero convict. Towards the end of the volume all his interest centres upon the unfortunate M. Madeleine, who, victim of his heroic sacrifice, is cast again a reprobate upon the world, and doomed to affront again the direful perils of a convict’s life. Eager to learn the fate of the poor wanderer, he opens anxiously the second volume, *Coquette*, when

lo! he finds himself upon entirely new ground—the plain of Waterloo! He turns page after page to look for M. Madeleine again, *Jean Valjean*, but in vain. Nineteen chapters of history separate him from him. The introduction of the scoundrel Thenardier, robbing the dead and wounded after the battle, is hardly a sufficient reason for so elaborate a digression. But the reader, thus cheated out of his just expectations, shall be compensated for his disappointment. M. Hugo's powerful brush sweeps over the memorable battle ground, and with a few magic touches calls up before our astonished eyes all the immortal martyrs of the great tyrant's ambition. There we are initiated into all the wonderful military tactics, all the resources, all the plans, hopes, and finally are made to witness the deep despair of the great conqueror. "It was the day of destiny! Napoleon had been denounced to the Infinite—his fall was decided upon. He stood in God's way." There are, we grant, great and sublime passages in the brilliant description of that eventful day. The author has brought to bear upon it all the force of his rich and vivid imagination. Waterloo, under his nervous pen, becomes a new battle ground, and like his immortal statue of Mirabeau, which in former years he carved out so grandly from its marble block of history, appears in such magnificent grandeur that we must needs stoop to its magnitude. But it is not in its place in the "*Misérables*;" as a study by itself it would have been entitled to much praise; but forced as it is into the picture, cutting off its connecting links, it loses much of its merits. Besides, the author's ungovernable mania to strike at sudden and startling effects, leaves a blot upon it for which its finer qualities will hardly atone. In the closing chapter M. Hugo, as the daring champion of democracy, throws boldly the glove in the face of all decency, and becomes disgustingly vulgar. All who have read the history of this great battle, know the expressive reply of Cambronne. It was energetic—nothing more, and needed no further explanation than that which modest history has already given it. But M. Hugo is determined to make something more of it. He shall and will, notwithstanding all French bashfulness and prudery, drop sublimity in history.

“With two syllables Cambronne drowned the European coalition . . . of the last of words he made the first . . . by a visitation of a breath from above he found an expression for the soul—*Merde!*” Though one should not “*be too tame, yet is there a modesty of nature* which should not be o’ersteped.” Such barbarous flourishes as these are not to be tolerated in a polished literature. Voltaire, with all his daring, never insulted his native tongue to the same degree. However, the battle is lost, notwithstanding Cambronne’s heroism, and the reader finds again his hero in the port of Toulon. Now follow a series of pictures, more or less truthful, of which *Jean Valjean* is the subject, and through which we follow him in breathless expectation. He escapes once more from the galleys whereto his virtue had brought him a second time, rescues Fantine’s child from the claws of the tiger *Thenardier*, adopts her, settles in Paris, until again exciting Javert’s malevolent watchfulness by his improvident charities, he is tracked, cruelly hunted down from street to street, and finds at last an extraordinary retreat in a convent. But M. Hugo, true to his system, instead of satisfying the anxious reader as to the probable reception that awaits the poor fugitive in that holy haven, stops to describe to us the sacred order of the *Petit Picpus*. This parenthesis, as he calls it, stretches over eleven chapters of very useful information and eight chapters of moral and philosophical reflections—the latter a parenthesis within a parenthesis. However, by this time we have become somewhat accustomed to the author’s fondness for digression, and after having picked up again the broken thread of the narrative and accompanied the hero through his marvelous adventures within the convent, when with the expectation of securing life through death, he lends himself to the fanciful imposture of being buried in another’s stead, we close the second volume under the purest and sweetest impressions. Jean Valjean and Cosette are safe in the convent.

The third book, *Marius*, carries us far back into the history of Paris, and opens with a learned study of the great capital, in respect to one powerful element in its population, its “atom,” the gamin. Gavroche is the child of nature—the last

representative of the ancient Gauls. Thirteen chapters are given to this study, all in honor of that little barbarian, who disappears forthwith, to return again six hundred pages further on, in order to inform us that he is the son of Thenardier. Nor is M. Hugo in a hurry, after this third imposition upon our patience, to resume the thread of his narrative, but forgets himself more and more over pictures and studies. After the *gamin* he gives us the portrait of the "grand bourgeois," M. Luc Esprit Gillenormand, a personage most distantly related to the main characters of the story, and who deserved nowise the prominence that is given him. In fact, through the whole of *Marius* the floor is invaded by a number of new personages who seem to be only so many pretexts for discussion and description. At last, in the latter part of *Marius*, we get again a sight of our hero, M. Leblanc, *alias* Madeleine. The ex-convict has become an apostle of goodness and charity. Alas! little is there to encourage him in the rough path to reformation. His good deeds only bring him into trouble, and he becomes constantly the victim of his noble impulses. Duped by the wily Thenardier, who lures him into his den under false pretences, he falls into a snare that well nigh costs him his life. Twice, the same virtue, charity, brings him into trouble and into the hands of his arch enemy, Javert, and twice he escapes through the resources of the treadmill. It would be difficult to define the religious principles M. Hugo wishes to inculcate by such equivocal situations; for, either holiness is inefficient or rascality is allowable.

The book closes upon the renewed danger hovering over the good Jean Valjean, and the reader, now fully cured of his natural curiosity, and rendered perfectly submissive to the mode of narrating of the author, opens the fourth volume fully prepared to meet with something altogether different from the point in question.

The *Idylle de la rue Plumet* and the *Epopée, rue Saint Denis*, open with interesting and instructive chapters on political history. The two chapters on 1830 treat of the revolution from which sprang the monarchy of July. If all these long pages of historical facts and philosophic reflections introduced the

revolution which the author intends to relate, we might forgive their intrusion ; but the scenes they are intended to precede will only take place long after, and this introduction, which snaps again the thread of the romance, remains itself isolated in the midst of it. The reflections upon the reign of Louis Philippe are resumed only after three hundred pages of eventful incidents—the courtship of Marius, the new dangers that threaten the adopted father of Cosette, and the nocturnal exploits of the Thenardier band. However, on the bloody theatre of that last French insurrection we find all our acquaintances assembled :

*M. Mabeuf*, *Gavroche*, the friends of the A. B. C. Club and companions of *Marius*, *Eponine*, *Javert*, *Jean Valjean*, and the noblest deeds of heroism and disinterestedness illustrate this period. Fifty men stand against sixty thousand and fall. Father Mabeuf is killed in the act of planting the revolutionary banner upon that most Spartan barricade of the *carrefour de la Petite Truanderie* ; Eponine takes upon herself the blow directed upon Marius and dies a heroine's death ; Enjolras, the young chief of the club, is shot by the conquerors. Jean Valjean alone escapes miraculously, after distinguishing himself again by the most unaccountable act of self-sacrifice. He liberates his enemy, Javert, who had forfeited his life among the insurgents, rescues Marius covered with wounds, and escapes with him through a culvert.

In the midst of all these incidents we are launched into the last book, *Jean Valjean*, in which we hope to find a sort of *résumé* of the author's ideas of reforms. After the various episodes connected with the barricades—the flight of Jean Valjean, and the fifth long digression, in which the author reveals to us the secrets of the culvert, the intestines of the Leviathan, Paris, the suicide of Javert, the consummation of Marius' happiness in his union with Cosette, we expect naturally that this life-long sacrifice of the reformed convict will at last meet with a due reward ; but Jean Valjean dies in abandonment and neglect, and the famous book is at an end. No *résumé* ! Let who can find out what it teaches ! “The book which the reader has before his eyes at this moment,” says the author,

probably with the intention of giving us some hints and helping us to a conclusion, "is from one end to the other, in its whole and its details, the course from evil to good, from injustice to justice, from falsehood to truth, from night to day, from appetite to conscience, from rottenness to life, from hell to heaven, from chaos to God. Starting point, matter; term, the soul; the hydra at the beginning, the angel in the end." In the midst of all this pompous array of words and attempts at subtlety, altogether out of proportion with the plan of the novel, we question even the wholesomeness of its tendencies. To overcome hate by love, to trace to a wandering soul the road to redemption, to bring self-abnegation in apposition with selfishness, and show the nobility of the one and the baseness of the other, all this we grant tends to accelerate the true progress of mankind and assist in its ideal elevation; but the career of Jean Valjean, who, we take it, is to embody the ideas of right and wrong of the author, is far from realizing such a programme. The factitiousness of his existence and his equivocal line of conduct prevent the reader from indulging in any hopes as to a reformation obtained on such a basis. The sole aim of the author, in the conception of this strange character, and its still stranger destinies, seems to caricature society in its political economy and lay bare its worst side. M. Hugo has already given us, through *Claude Gueux*, his opinion of this left-handed society. *Claude Gueux*, be it remembered, is the first edition of Jean Valjean—an excellent man, whom society has contrived to corrupt. "Good conditioned brain," says the author, "a heart of the right sort, but which destiny has put into so badly an organized society that he must needs steal, and this same society puts him into so badly an organized prison that he must needs kill." All such attacks are both unjust and uncalled for. M. Hugo in his self-imposed retirement must have lost sight of the wondrous improvements the nineteenth century has brought with it. They belie his accusations in every respect. Everywhere, in all civilized countries, society has done and is still doing its best under the circumstances; indeed, it is perhaps doing too much. The spirit of philanthropy that at the present high state of civilization pervades

the world is almost overleaping itself, and in its strong desire to elevate the masses pulls them up by force. Slowly but surely do all things work toward a universal reformation, nor will artificial means hasten the former's completion. Ignorance must be ruled, nor can the teachings it needs be wholly of a persuasive and moral character; there are orders of minds that understand through their senses only, and for these is hard labor the best education they can have. Mediocrity should be taught to content itself with the humble station it is capable of filling, and superiority should lend a helping hand to these two; but the theory of equality, fraternity, and liberty of these kindly intentioned socialists is pernicious to the very people they wish to serve; it must tend to destroy in them all feeling of reverence. How will man strive after excellence if he does not recognize superiority? Inequality is the law of the universe. We shall ever have amongst us the poor and the rich, as we shall have the just and the unjust, the happy and unhappy, the sick and well; nor will socialism ever remove the obstructions that lie in the way of the progress of some, or set barriers to the rapid advancement of others. The child of fortune, on the swift wheel of its patron, will always reach the goal and win the prize before the poor foot wanderer, who climbs painfully up the steep hill, can come in time to do his reaping. It is a profound, an anxious, often a fearful game which the human race plays around that vast table, the world, to secure the hard earned prize, fortune, and its chances are most unequal; yet all the philanthropy of the world could not secure the prize to the most deserving; it depends entirely upon the strength of the players, and the most advanced civilization can do nothing more than equalize somewhat the chances of the game. We would not cast even the shadow of ridicule upon the noble phalanx of philanthropists who have so powerfully contributed to the advancement of mankind, but amidst that excellent brotherhood, as among many others, there are quacks and busybodies who, like the meddling fly of the fable, make a great ado and fancy that it is they who help the heavy coach over the rough and stony road. Many of them get more often hold of the wrong end than of the right one.



It would be well for some of these enthusiasts to study a little more closely the excellent lessons Cervantes gives them in his *Don Quixote*. Their repeated attacks upon windmills or unsuspecting travelers, and their absurd expectations of impossible Eldorados, are at least as ludicrous as those of the kindly intentioned knight errant of Mancha. But in supposing even M. Hugo to be an honest and sincere socialist, what good, we ask, can such a work as "*Les Misérables*" do to his cause? It cannot materially contribute to the reformation of society. Society is human nature taken collectively, and to expect a revolution in society would be to expect a revolution in human nature; nor will it be likely to effect a change of heart in the police agents. The case of Saint Jean Valjean is not that of convicts in general, and the watchfulness of the police cannot be too great in regard to such individuals; it will neither encourage criminals, should they happen upon the book, to reform and follow in the footsteps of the model presented to them, for Jean Valjean's sad experiences in the practice of virtue are sufficient to repel the best intentioned. The whole work has a vulgarizing effect; its plot and the management of the same tend to increase if possible the already bitter feeling that exists between the two inevitable antagonisms in society, the rich and the poor. It seems to say to the first: You shall always have the rich against you; and to the rich, You shall always have the poor against you. The multitude, it is true, can only be impressed by the outward, by forcible and vivid images, yet might these images be as well of an elevating as of a vulgarizing character. Let them be pictures of noble deeds, of generous actions, of heroic virtues, of courageous suffering, of contentment in humble life, and resignation under affliction. Such imprints left upon the soul would serve to awaken the dormant principles of the good and the beautiful among the masses, and raise them more effectually above the commonplaceness of their condition than the feverish and far-fetched contrasts of the sensational school, by which they are kept in such constant excitement. But it is more than probable that such better books would not yield their authors five hundred thousand francs! Alas! we are much afraid that M.

Hugo, in the composition of his great novel, had less a socialistic than a pecuniary interest at heart. But letting alone all uncharitable suppositions, we still object to the work as a work of art. It is a picture without centre and background, its most insignificant details are worked up with a painful minuteness, and it is interlarded with a number of lengthy digressions which, despite their actual merits, lose all their worth for being out of place. M. Coustal, one of M. Hugo's critics, amused himself with calculating the amount of pages of these various digressions, and found that the battle of Waterloo, the description of the Restoration, the advent of Louis Philippe, the war of the Barricades, form, with the history of the Petit-Picpus, and the essay on the culverts of Paris, a total of no less than one thousand pages. These are serious charges against the work, besides those of extravagance of style and deficiency of logic. Yet do we allow to M. Hugo genius, most of his productions have in them that principle which insures life; pearls of the finest quality are generally found in them, buried it is true under heaps of rubbish, but pearls nevertheless—diamonds set in diamonds, regardless of squandered riches, which might have been used to far better purpose. M. Hugo is an excellent miner; he has dug diligently the secret depths of literature and collected much gold and precious gems, but when he has obtained the treasure he does not always know what to do with it, or how to bring it into the service of high art. While he is so skillful an artist that he gives to the most inconceivable figures an appearance of life that startles us, he renders himself guilty of debaucheries of colors equaled only by those of Rubens. Like that tremendous colorist, he revels in all the extremes of brilliancy, and forces his subjects upon our imagination by the magnificence of their vestments. Nor will M. Hugo yield to the bitter sarcasms of his enemies, or to the kindlier entreaties of his critic friends, to reform his manner. He will have his own way, whether good or bad. Whatever the critics have said for or against M. Hugo is true. His works are equally deserving of high praise and great blame. La Bruyère said of Rabelais, in respect to taste and morality: "He is incomprehensible. His book is a riddle—a chimera."

There where he is bad he goes far beyond the worst, and where he is good he is exquisite and excellent." The same might be applied to the author of "*Les Misérables*."

He has given us, at various intervals, startling novels, during whose perusal we are alternately applauding with all our heart, or throwing the book away in disgust; beautiful pages of poetry where the *grandiose* and sublime are so linked with the trivial that we are at a loss to tell which is which, or in a short epigrammatic form the results of his graver studies, as in "*Littérature et Philosophie Mêlées*," which present us a bewildering maze of intricate thoughts and ideas that only serve to confuse our own. The very quality that constitutes his glory is also the one that is fatal to its highest manifestation; his force spends itself equally upon the majestic and the trivial. The mind that produced the grand dithyrambe of Mirabeau, and so conceived the celebrated statesman as to stand him before us transfigured, with all the nerve and force of a Greek god, exhausted itself also over *Gavroche*, giving to actual insignificance a semblance of greatness. His reckless imagination will take no account of the possible, and his love for mere system too often overrules with him inspiration. The scholar and artist in him are constantly at variance. His best productions are sadly marred by the shifting of scenes and stages, effects to which only feeble writers resort, and which are unworthy of so cultivated a mind as M. Hugo's. Yet have these defects been in a great measure the secret of his worldly success. He fascinated the public by the bold vigor of his designs, clothed in all the barbarity of what is so ingeniously called in French *l'imprévu*, and, especially in "*Les Misérables*," managed to cater for all tastes.

As to the philosophic tendency of M. Hugo's works, they are of less importance than they are generally supposed to be. Some such sentences as these, for example, will naturally impress the unsophisticated reader with a sense of profundity, and make him believe that there is indeed a great question at stake. "All birds that fly have at their claws the thread of the infinite. Germination is complicated both with the birth of a meteor and the breaking of the egg by the swallow's beak; it brings about at the same time the birth of a worm and the ad-

vent of Socrates. In these vast cosmical interchanges of elements and principles universal life comes and goes in unknown quantities, employing everything, losing nothing, sewing an animalcula here, a star there, dissolving all except the geometrical point, the I; bringing all back to the soul-atom, unfolding everything in God. A machine made of mind,—enormous gear whose first motive power is the fly, and its last wheel the Zodiac.”

But none of these deep questions are sustained through the work; they are a kind of make-believes without any actual import. Not that M. Hugo would willfully practice imposition upon his readers, but that the character of his mind leads him naturally to attempts at philosophy in all his compositions. He plays with thought as it were, and besprinkles with it his romance. But M. Hugo's sentiments, which have run through various orders, such as Vendean chivalry, ardent republicanism, religious faith, and metaphysical skepticism, Saint Simonism, socialism, etc., are hardly to be dreaded or welcomed either way. M. Hugo treats all such questions as an artist treats his subjects; he studies them not for their own intrinsic value, but for what can be made of them by a skillful hand; it is their external beauty he considers, and which he endeavors to bring out, heaping upon it, as a matter of course, all the resources of art. Alas for art that it has come down to become mere imitation, to cover nakedness and poverty of thought, and be but the gaudy vestment of mere insignificance. Since the days of Praxiteles and Phidias its kingdom has suffered violence and the violent have taken it by force. The spirit of enterprise that accompanies progress has substituted the useful for the beautiful, and man steeped from contemplation into action; but this is only a certain phase of the age. The same Progress in its revolutions will bring about new phases again, minglings perhaps of old and new. Let us hope in its ultimate good.

But to return to the main subject in hand, “*Les Misérables*,” we look in vain in it for any powerful dominant idea, pervading the whole and resolving itself into a determinate form. It seems from beginning to end, and throughout all its characters, plots and counterplots, but a painful endeavor on

the part of the author to incarnate his favorite system, to draw sweetness from bitterness, such as he has himself revealed it to us when he laid bare the machinery of his "Lucrezia Borgia."

"Take," says he, "the most hideous moral deformity, place it where it is most appalling, in the heart of a woman, and then mix with this moral deformity a pure sentiment, the purest that woman can feel, maternal love, and you will have a monster that will excite your pity even to tears; the deformed soul will appear beautiful, the moral deformity will be purified by maternal love." But M. Hugo can never convince us with such *a priori* conceptions. We all know what constitutes maternal love; there must exist a certain amount of spirituality in that sentiment, otherwise it is nothing but a brute's instinct. The wild beast loves its offspring, but that does not redeem its ferocious nature. A monster like Lucrezia Borgia is utterly incapable of love of any kind; her nature is altogether bestial, and the apparent love she manifests towards her son is nothing but animal instinct—it has no spiritual source whatever. How faulty, and little, and absurd do all such conceptions as these appear to us when we contemplate the great creations of the immortal Shakspeare! How the monster "Macbeth" is redeemed in our eyes by the fearful remorse that preys upon his ill-gotten success? How the great poet has chastised that "vaulting ambition that o'erleaps itself!" When Macbeth dies he excites all our sympathy. The death of Lucrezia Borgia excites nothing but disgust; we take no account of that so-called maternal love by which the author fancies he has saved her. In addition to all these juggler tricks with which he amuses the multitude, he seems to have had another object in view, something that looks very much like a personal revenge. The Government banished M. Hugo, and M. Hugo returns the blow by attacking its political economy and abusing society. His revolutionary character caused him to be banished during the eventful days of December, 1851; he then retired to the Jersey and Guernsey Islands, from where, "nursing his wrath to keep it warm," he wrote those later works, in which he indulges his resentment against society and attacks it at all points. Alas! that great men will so

often do little things ! M. Hugo, with his powerful talent and a genius a little more submissive, might have been one of the beacons of his age. He commands all the means to secure just celebrity, and perhaps immortality—power of diction, wealth of ideas, grace and vivacity of manner—all but a sufficiently high motive. What childish thrusts at an enemy that will never deign to notice them ! Do we not know what society is and probably will be, judging from the even tenor of its course ? Through the heavy sea of life it has ploughed its painful way, midst storms and calms, and shoals and cliffs, taking advantage of each favorable wind, accelerating or slackening its course, according to tides and gales, rising again from each storm, with renewed energy and fresh determination.

Our present age is in a state of ebullition. The various elements and divers human interests thrown into that vast form the world, and which are to work to some happy end and fuse into one great whole, are still in a state of fermentation, and must go through the fiery furnace of probation before they attain the proper maturity to allow the casting. What the cast may be futurity alone can reveal. May it shell out from its long prison house like that bright bell of the great poet of Germany, clear and perfect, revealing its entire purity on its smooth surface, the finer works the Master wrought upon it, and ring out *Concord* to the future ages !

**ARTICLE III.—INFANT BAPTISM PROVED FROM THE  
UNITY OF THE CHURCH IN ALL AGES.**

OUR aim in this Article is to show, first, that God has had but one Church in the world from the days of Abraham to the present time; secondly, that this Church has ever been under one and the same covenant, unchanged; and, thirdly, that while the *ordinances* or *sacraments* of the Church have been changed since the coming of Christ, those now in use have the same meaning with those in use before his coming, and are not more restricted in their application.

I. What was the beginning of the Christian Church? Did it commence with the baptism and public ministry of Christ? Then it did not begin with John the Baptist, for the baptism of Jesus occurred in the midst of John's ministry. And if any claim that the Christian Church commenced with the preaching of John the Baptist, we point to the words of Christ, (Matt. xi. 11.), "Notwithstanding, he that is least in the kingdom of Heaven, is greater than he," as conclusive evidence that John belonged to the old dispensation, and not to that of the Gospel. The Gospel dispensation, we believe, commenced with the death of Christ, or in connection with events transpiring about that time. The Sacrament of the Lord's Supper was instituted the night before his crucifixion. The ordinance of Christian Baptism seems to have been instituted after the resurrection of our Saviour, when he commanded, "Go ye therefore, and disciple all the nations, baptising them unto the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost." (Matt. xxviii. 19). And this dispensation was fully set up and established in power, when the Spirit was copiously dispensed on the day of Pentecost. Then and not till then was the Gospel dispensation completely inaugurated. (See Acts i. 4-8).

But the beginning of the Church of God is another matter. David belonged to that Church, and Isaiah, and Daniel, and Abraham. And our position is that the Church, in its formal and outward aspect, *began* with Abraham.

We must distinguish between the Church visible, and the Church invisible. The Church invisible consists of all those, in every age of the world, who truly love God, repent of sin, and believe in the Mediator between God and man. Adam, we trust, belonged to this Church, after his fall, and after Christ was preached to him as the Seed of the woman, who should bruise the serpent's head. Enoch, we know, belonged to the true Church, the Church invisible; for he walked with God, and he was not, for God took him. Noah was doubtless a worthy member of this invisible Church; and so is every one who is born of God, whatever his professions, or failure to profess.

But God has set up a *visible* Church on earth. One Church amid all the varieties of form and organization; and that Church is composed of all who profess and call themselves His people, and on whom is called the name of the Lord. Now in order to a proper organization of any Church, two things are indispensable, viz.: a Covenant, and Ordinances, or something in the nature of a Sacrament. And we are ready to admit, that *in a certain sense* there was a Church visible on earth before the days of Abraham. God did virtually enter into covenant with Adam, Abel, Enoch and other good men, that if they believed on the promised Seed of the woman, they should be saved for His sake; and that covenant, moreover, was ratified by sacrifices. To that extent there was a Church visible even then. And yet from Adam to Terah—the father of Abraham—in other words, for some two thousand years of the world's history, there was, so far as we can know, no *formal* covenant\* entered into between God and man, and

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\* It is hardly necessary to remark that the "Covenant" spoken of in Gen. ix, has nothing to do with a *Church* covenant, which implies mutual obligations. The family of Noah may indeed be considered as constituting a visible Church. But it has no visible, progressive history as a Church. If continued at all, it was doubtless in the line of Shem, as given in the 11th chapter of Genesis. But of the religious character of those whose names are there recorded we know absolutely nothing, except from Josh. xxiv. 15, where they, or some of them at least, figure as idolaters; nor is there any evidence that any of them, after Shem, entered into covenant with God, or observed any religious ordinances. In the family of Abraham, on the other hand, the Church has a continuous, progressive history, until it merges into the Christian Church.



no regular or prescribed ordinances, such as are requisite in our idea of a Church.

With Abraham then commences the Church of God, in its organized and permanent form; and the same Church, with certain authorized changes in its ordinances, has come down to us. In proof of the identity of the Abrahamic with the Christian Church, we remark first, we should expect *a priori* to find it so, from the character of God. He is ever the same. And human nature also is ever essentially the same. For this, we have the amplest testimony in the Word of God. Again, the way of salvation is the same for all men from the beginning to the end of the world. Our first parents, if saved at all, will be saved on precisely the same terms with the last of their descendants who shall ever enter the Kingdom of God. Should we not then expect that when the Most High establishes a Church on earth, that Church would be substantially one, so long as the earth and the Church should exist?

But let us notice the *promise* of God to Abraham, when he was *called out* from his country and kindred, as the Church—*ἡ ἐκκλησία*—is in every age *called out* from the world. “In thee shall all families of the earth be blessed,” (Gen. xii. 3). Mark the fulness of this promise. It is by no means restricted to the natural descendants of Abraham. It includes Gentile as well as Jew. It was the establishment of a Church destined to spread and prevail till all families of the earth should be embraced in it, and blessed by it. “To Abraham and his seed were the promises made,” (Gal. iii. 16). We are explicitly informed by the inspired writer, that in this promise there was special reference to Christ, and to believers in him. Again we read that Abraham is “the father of all them that believe,” circumcised or uncircumcised, Jew or Gentile, (see Rom. iv. 11, 18). “And if ye be Christ’s, then are ye Abraham’s seed, and heirs according to the promise,” (Gal. iii. 29). What do these passages teach, if not the identity of the Abrahamic with the Christian Church?

For corroborative evidence see Gal. iii. 8. “And the Scripture, foreseeing that God would justify the heathen through faith, preached before—i. e. beforehand—the *Gospel* unto Abraham,

saying, In thee shall all nations be blessed." With this agree the words of Christ, (John viii. 56). "Your father Abraham rejoiced to see my day; and he saw it, and he was glad." But, not only was the Gospel—the good news of salvation through Christ the Anointed of God, the promised seed—preached to Abraham, as it is to us, showing the essential identity of the Church, then and now; we have still more conclusive testimony to the same point. In his Epistle to the Romans, (ch. xi.), the apostle inquires, "Hath God cast away his people?" As if he had asked, is the Abrahamic Church a failure, or has it been utterly rejected? And he replies with an emphatic "God forbid!" "God hath not cast away his people which he foreknew." In the seventeenth verse he thus proceeds. "And if some of the branches be broken off, and thou, being a wild olive-tree, wert grafted in among them, and with them partakest of the root and fatness of the olive-tree, boast not against the branches. But if thou boast, thou bearest not the root, but the root thee." We ask particular attention to this figure. The Church is compared to a good olive-tree, some of whose branches become unfruitful, and are cut off. To take the place of these, other branches are cut out of an olive-tree, wild by nature, and are grafted into the good olive-tree, thus coming to partake of its root and fatness. And of the rejected branches the apostle predicts that they shall be grafted in again, if they abide not still in unbelief. Is not the Church of God, commencing with Abraham, the father of the faithful, this good olive-tree? Are not the branches rejected, the unbelieving Jews, and those grafted in to supply their room, and preserve the beauty and symmetry of the tree, the believing Gentiles? If this is (as we believe) the only possible explanation of the figure, consistent or allowable, how could the essential identity of the Jewish and of the Christian Church be more clearly or more forcibly expressed? We Gentile Christians are grafted upon the stock of the Jewish Church. That is the root, that is the trunk. We have no separate, independent existence. If we are branches at all of God's Olive-tree—the Church—we are incorporated with that one only Church in existence, from Abraham onward. If we be

Christ's, then are we Abraham's seed, and heirs only according to the promise made to him.

II. This view of the identity of the Abrahamic with the Christian Church may be confirmed, as we consider the Covenant which God has established with men. This Covenant, with its mutual obligations, is first formally stated in Gen. xvii. 7, 9: "I will establish my covenant between me and thee, and thy seed after thee, in their generations, for an everlasting covenant; to be a God unto thee, and to thy seed after thee." "Thou shalt keep my covenant, therefore, thou and thy seed after thee, in their generations."

The same Covenant was confirmed with the Jews under the lead of Moses. (Deut. xxix. 10-25): "Ye stand this day all of you before the Lord your God—your little ones, &c.—that thou shouldest enter into covenant with the Lord thy God—that he may establish thee to-day for a people unto himself, and that he may be unto thee a God, as he hath said unto thee, and as he hath sworn unto thy fathers, to Abraham, to Isaac, and to Jacob. Neither with you only do I make this covenant and this oath; but with him that standeth here with us this day before the Lord our God, and also with him that is not here with us this day;—so that the generation to come of your children that shall rise up after you, shall say, when they see the plagues of that land, Wherefore hath the Lord done thus?—Then men shall say, Because they have forsaken the covenant," &c. Notice, here, that the covenant, to be a God to Abraham and to his seed after him, expressly included the *children* of those who entered into the covenant, and that to all generations—on the condition that they should keep, and not forsake the covenant. Observe, the children were *bound* by the act of their parents, an act performed without their consent, and even, it might be, before their birth. Isaac was not born till after the covenant was made with Abraham, for him and his seed. Moses includes in the covenant their little ones, and those not present with them when the covenant was renewed. He binds by it succeeding generations, and denounces against them the curse of God, should they forsake it.

But, it may be asked, was it not predicted by the prophet

Jeremiah, that this covenant should pass away, and be replaced by a *new* one? And does not the writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews speak of this substitution as having actually been made? The words of the prophet are these, (Jer. xxxi. 31-33): "Behold, the days come, saith the Lord, that I will make a new covenant with the house of Israel, and with the house of Judah; not according to the covenant that I made with their fathers, in the day that I took them by the hand to bring them out of the land of Egypt, which my covenant they brake, although I was an husband unto them, saith the Lord: but this shall be the covenant that I will make with the house of Israel; After those days, saith the Lord, I will put my law in their inward parts, and write it in their hearts; and will be their God, and they shall be my people." At first sight, we grant, this passage, and especially as quoted and applied in Hebrews, chapter viii, seems to favor the idea that there are two distinct, separate covenants, instead of the same identical covenant under different dispensations, or connected with different ordinances. But let us look at the covenant itself, and see what it is. The *new* covenant, as foretold by Jeremiah, is this: "After those days, saith the Lord, I will put my law in their inward parts, and write it in their hearts; and will be their God, and they shall be my people." Now, so far as the first part of this new covenant is concerned, it is certainly as old as the time of David; for, he says, speaking of the righteous, (Ps. xxxvii. 31): "The law of his God is in his heart;" and, again, (Ps. xl. 8): "I delight to do thy will, O my God; yea, thy law is within my heart;" and, again, (Ps. li. 6): "Behold, thou desirest truth in the inward parts; and in the hidden part thou shalt make me to know wisdom." What is this but putting the law of God in the inward parts, and writing it in the heart—precisely what belongs to the *new* covenant, but which David understood as well as any man now living? In like manner our Saviour says, (John xiii. 34): "A *new* commandment I give unto you, that ye love one another;" while the beloved disciple writes, (2 John 5), "not as though I wrote a new commandment unto thee, but that which we had from the beginning, that we love one another. The same com-

mandment is both old and new, according as we take our position on the side of Him from whom it flows in an eternal, unfailing stream, or on the side of him in whose renewed nature it wells up, a living spring, newly connected with the fountain of Eternal Love. So the Covenant is new, yet old; as old as God's Church on earth, but set forth anew, in clearer characters, under the Gospel dispensation. For, look again at the last part of this new covenant, I "will be their God, and they shall be my people." What is this but the identical promise made to Abraham, "I will be a God unto thee and to thy seed after thee;" and "thou shalt keep my covenant?" Are not the terms convertible? Do they not mean precisely the same thing?

It is indeed a new *dispensation* under which we live. And we would barely propose the inquiry whether the sacred writer in the use of *διαθήκη*, (Heb. ch. viii.), is not speaking of a new *dispensation*, rather than strictly of a new *covenant*. Certainly the word used is susceptible of that meaning. Does it not in that sense best correspond with the entire scope of his argument?

We truly are not under Jewish ordinances. We are not bound by the Levitical or ceremonial law. But the Covenant is altogether another matter. It had nothing to do with Levitical rites and ceremonies. Long before Levi, it was established with Abraham, the father of all them that believe, though they be not circumcised, for him and his seed; and if ye be Christ's, then are ye Abraham's seed, and heirs according to the promise, "I will be a God to thee and to thy seed after thee."

This, then, is the Covenant established originally with Abraham, confirmed to Moses, and, when broken, *renewed*, (like the tables of the law), according to the promise of Jeremiah, in the Gospel Dispensation;—but one and the same identical Covenant from Abraham's day to ours, in the same terms, "I will be their God, and they shall be my people."

III. We proceed to show, in the third place, that while the ordinances or sacraments of the Church have been changed since the coming of Christ, those now in use have the same

meaning with those in use before his coming, and are not more restricted in their application. The Covenant was at first ratified by a required sacrifice, of which God signified his acceptance. (Gen. xv. 9-18). This accepted sacrifice was of the nature of a solemn oath or sacrament, by which God confirmed to Abraham his promise to bless him and his seed. Sacrifices continued to be offered by God's people, as occasion demanded, until the time of Moses. Thus Abraham offered up the ram in sacrifice, "in' the stead of his son," (Gen. xxii. 13), in which transaction the great Gospel principle of substitution was revealed with unusual distinctness. Jacob also offered sacrifice to his covenant-keeping God. (Gen. xxxi. 42, 54). But in the time of Moses was instituted the ordinance of the Passover—an ordinance, which, in another form, still continues in the Christian Church. All sacrifices, from the beginning of the world, were typical of the sacrifice of Christ. His death was thus foreshadowed, probably, to our first parents, before they left the garden of Eden. (Gen. iii. 21). Abel's offering, doubtless, had respect to the death of Christ, and signified his faith in the Redeemer to come. (Heb. xi. 4). Thus, in the Church from Abraham to Moses, sacrifices found their place as an ordinance, typical of the Great Sacrifice to be offered for the sins of the world. But in the institution of the Passover, this ordinance first received a definite form and method. Its yearly observance at a prescribed time was enjoined, and that time was made to correspond with the precise date of the crucifixion of Christ.

The other ordinance in the Church, as it existed before Christ, was Circumcision. This was given to Abraham as a token of the Covenant into which God entered with him. "Every man-child among you shall be circumcised—and it shall be a token of the covenant betwixt me and you." (Gen. xvii. 10, 11). And while the Passover prefigured, and, as it were, commemorated in advance the death of Christ, the Lamb of God, slain from the foundation of the world, the ordinance of Circumcision taught the impurity of human nature, that it needs to be sanctified and consecrated to God.

The ordinances of the Christian Church, as all admit, are

Baptism and the Lord's Supper. Of these, the Lord's Supper evidently takes the place of the Passover. Not only was it instituted during the observance of the Paschal Feast, the one ordinance thus, as it were, *running out into* the other. Its design and significance are the same. True, the Passover was designed to commemorate the deliverance of Israel from Egypt; but that deliverance itself was but a type of the deliverance of the true Israel from a worse than Egyptian bondage, through the blood of the Lamb. To all who are Christ's may be figuratively applied the words spoken of the literal Israel by the prophet, (Hosca xii. 1), and by accommodation referred to our Saviour by the Evangelist, (Matt. ii. 15), "Out of Egypt have I called my son."

Each of these ordinances—the Passover and the Eucharist—is a commemorative festival; commemorative of the same act, the tragic scene on Calvary. One pointed forward to the death of the Lamb, of whom not a bone should be broken (Ex. xii. 46, John xix. 36); the other reverts, with ever fresh interest, to the same mournful yet joy-inspiring event. And as these two ordinances or sacraments, one in the old, the other in the new dispensation, have the same meaning, so, also, in each dispensation, all the members of the Church alike are to celebrate it.

And as the Lord's Supper takes the place of the Passover, so does Baptism that of Circumcision. The one rite denotes native impurity, needing to be purged and sanctified; so does the other. The one denotes consecration to the service of God; so does the other. The one is a seal of the covenant; so is the other. The one was a sign and seal of the righteousness of faith, (Rom. iv. 11); so is the other. The one was the initiatory rite of the Church under the old dispensation; the other performs the same office under the new. Is it not, then, clear that as the Eucharist supersedes or comes in the room of the Passover, so Baptism supersedes or comes in the room of Circumcision? And are we not warranted in saying that while the ordinances or sacraments of the Church have been changed since the coming of Christ, those now in use have the same meaning with those in use before his coming?

Are they, then, more restricted in their rightful application? All the members of the Ancient Church partook of the Paschal Lamb; all the members of the Modern Church partake of the Eucharist. Circumcision was to be applied to professed believers and their infant children. Does the analogy traced thus far here suddenly break, and hold no farther? If so, why? Because there is no express *command* to baptize the infants of believers? Let us employ an illustration already familiar to some of our readers.\* A certain farmer has a large flock of sheep, which he is very careful to have distinctly marked. For a long term of years he causes the right ear of every sheep to be cut in a peculiar manner. He gives strict directions to his servants to have every sheep thus marked; and be very careful, he adds, not to omit the lambs. The directions are carefully complied with, and the farmer's sheep, lambs, and all, are everywhere recognized throughout that region by the peculiar ear-mark. But, at length, for some cause, the farmer resolves to change his practice. Instead of the bloody ear-mark, he determines simply to stamp on his sheep his own initials. He accordingly instructs his servants to substitute the stamp for the shears. Now, suppose in these new instructions, he says nothing about the *lambs* by name; will those servants, always accustomed to mark lambs as well as sheep, conclude that he does not wish to have his lambs marked any longer? Would they be warranted in drawing the inference from the fact that no *special* mention was made of them, that the lambs thenceforth must go unmarked?

God established Circumcision as the rite initiatory into the Church. He commanded that it should be applied to all who, from every nation, should become incorporated with his people in the Church—and also to the infant children of all his people. This ordinance was faithfully observed in the Church for nearly two thousand years. Even the Saviour of the world was subjected to this rite.

But now, when the milder dispensation of the Gospel is

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\* See Hall on Baptism, p. 156.



established, a new and less painful ordinance is substituted for this, as initiatory into the Christian Church. At the same time, the slaughter of the paschal lamb is replaced by the bloodless Eucharist. It is true that no *express command* can be adduced to apply this new initiatory and consecratory rite to the infants of believers, as its predecessor and synonym was applied; and most certainly no *prohibition* of such application can be found. Does not, then, the legal maxim apply in this case; the *reason* remaining the same, the *law* remains in full force?

Again: by what right do we observe the first day of the week, instead of the seventh, as the Christian Sabbath? Who will produce the *express command* of God for the change? Or, by what right do females present themselves at the Communion Table? Will any one produce a single command or explicit permission for them to partake of the sacred elements? Can even one clear and indubitable instance be adduced from the Scriptures of their presence at the table of the Lord? Female believers were, indeed, under the old dispensation, admitted to the Paschal Feast; and in like manner infants then received the initiatory rite of the Church. These stand on the same footing. The Christian Sabbath, Infant Baptism, and Female Communion, rest alike, not on the express command of God, but on what we believe to be His will, revealed with sufficient clearness and distinctness. In each case, we have to depend on inference and argument; and the argument for infant baptism is not, we believe, the weakest of the three.

God has always made much of the family relation in connection with his Church. He established that relation, confining it to one person of each sex, "that he might seek a godly seed." (Mal. ii. 15). In the rite of Circumcision, pater-nity was sanctified—consecrated to God. The household of Abraham shared with him in all the blessings of the covenant. And this principle of dealing with men *by families* is not discarded under the Gospel dispensation. Mark the words of Paul and Silas to the jailer, (Acts xvi. 31), "Believe on the Lord Jesus Christ, and thou shalt be saved *and thy house*." Now we admit that in order to be saved, there must be a *per-*

sonal faith in the Lord Jesus, if one is of sufficient age to understand and believe; but the point here is that the family is considered *together—as a unit*. It is, as it were, taken for granted by the Apostle, that if the jailer should himself believe on Christ, and be faithful in duty, his family also would share in his faith and in his salvation. The result of their preaching was that the jailer “was baptized, he and all his, straightway.” It may be that “all his” were of a suitable age to profess faith individually; but whether they were or not, they were all baptized. Had this Gentile jailer embraced Judaism, or joined the Church before baptism took the place of circumcision, he and all his would have been *circumcised* straightway. As it was, *if* there was a babe in the family, it was baptized. The *family* went together.

See again, Acts xvi. 14, 15: “And a certain woman named Lydia—heard us; whose heart the Lord opened, that she attended unto the things which were spoken of Paul. And when she was baptized, *and her household*,” &c. In this case there is not a particle of evidence that any member of her household except herself had ever heard the Gospel preached. Lydia heard us—the Lord opened *her* heart—*she* attended. Yet not only *she* was baptized, but *her household* also. Were they baptized each one on his or her own individual profession of faith in Christ? And will any one *prove* it from the record? It reads certainly just as it would be likely to do, *if* her household, however composed, were baptized simply on *her* profession of faith—even as Abraham’s household were circumcised on the profession of *his* faith. See once more 1 Cor. i. 16: “And I baptized also the household of Stephanas.” Did any of our Baptist brethren ever make such a record: “At such a time I baptized the household—or family—of such a one?” If the family be regarded as a unit, or, more properly, as an organic whole—to be treated, in their church relation, according to the profession of the *head* of the family, we need not be surprised to see such entries repeatedly made. But if the entire family arrangement, which existed from Abraham to Christ, was then suddenly and violently disrupted and de-

stroyed, it seems strange and inexplicable that such records should be made.

We have thus considered the unity of the Church from the days of Abraham to the present time. God's call to Abraham was, "Get thee out of thy country, and from thy kindred, and from thy father's house—and in thee shall all families of the earth be blessed." (Gen. xii. 1, 3). And his voice to the Church in all ages has been, "Come out from among them, and be ye separate—and I will receive you, and will be a Father unto you, and ye shall be my sons and daughters, saith the Lord Almighty." (2 Cor. vi. 17, 18). The Apostle makes the Church, whether composed of Jews or Gentiles, Abrahamic or Christian, One Church, having the same root and the same stock, though with different branches.

We have examined the Covenant which God made with Abraham, and find its terms identical with those of the new Covenant, under the Gospel dispensation. We have found two leading ordinances under the old dispensation, Circumcision and the Passover, *the* feast of the Jews. The paschal lamb, as the first offering enjoined by God for the Israelites, was the germ of all other offerings, and combined in itself collectively their peculiarities. In this combination arises its typicality of the offering of Christ, in the most impressive manner. (Olshausen on Mat. xxvi. 17). It prefigured Christ our Passover, sacrificed for us. (1 Cor. v. 7); and the Lord's Supper now serves in its stead, a memorial ordinance of the death of Christ. The other of these ordinances, Circumcision, was the rite initiatory into the Church; a seal of the righteousness of faith; teaching the native impurity of the heart, and emblematical of the sanctifying grace of God. Precisely the same ends are now effected by the Christian rite of Baptism. The Church is the same, the Eucharist takes the place of the Passover, and Baptism the place of Circumcision. The Lord's Supper is coextensive with the Passover—not more restricted. Neither is Baptism more restricted than Circumcision. It is applied to females as well as males, and should, like Circumcision, be applied to believers and their infant children. We have as much authority—and of the same kind—for infant

baptism, as for observing the first day of the week as a holy day, and as for admitting females to the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper. The Lord has commanded that his people should be *marked*—children as well as adults; and on changing the mark, he has not forbidden it to be applied to the lambs of his flock. He ever deals with men largely by families, and we see traces of the same method under the Gospel dispensation. Wherefore we conclude that baptism should be administered to believers and to their infant seed.

## ARTICLE IV.—HANNAH THURSTON.

*Hannah Thurston.* A Story of American Life. By BAYARD TAYLOR. New York: G. P. Putnam. 1864. 12mo. pp. 464.

BAYARD TAYLOR has acquired a world-wide reputation, as an enterprising traveler, and a writer of sprightly narratives, all the more acceptable to many, because he is never profound, and exacts no thought from his reader, but only requires him to be a good listener to one who is fond of talking, and wants hearers. The books of travels which he has published, possessing this merit—no more—have been eagerly read by thousands, and brought wealth and fame to their author. They have been far more successful with the public than they could have been, if their author had been a profound observer of men, and of social institutions.

But in the work, the title of which stands at the head of this Article, he has attempted a department of literature, which requires very different and far higher mental endowments. It is not merely because, in the department of fiction, he has such men as Thackeray and Dickens and Bulwer for competitors, but because a "story of American life" cannot be successfully done, without such habits of analysis and philosophical insight, as we find few traces of in his previous writings. He tells us himself, in his prefatory letter, that he does not "rest the interest of the book on its slender plot, but on the fidelity with which it represents certain types of character and phases of society." That is to say, this book is to be approved or condemned by the critic and by the public, according as it depicts truly or not such peculiarities of American society, as Women's rights, Total abstinence, Revivals, Spirit-rappings, and Socialism; for these are the leading peculiarities of development in "American life," of which the author treats, and for the faithful portraiture of which he thus acknowledges himself responsible. No superficial observer, no man who is

not in thorough sympathy with that profound religious earnestness, which has been a most striking American characteristic from the landing of the Pilgrims to the present time, can do justice to the themes thus indicated. He must appreciate such religious earnestness as a moral force acting, not upon a single isolated individual, but upon seven successive generations of men, enjoying to an extent never before permitted to any people, freedom of thought, speech, and action. It is surely quite obvious that, to succeed in such an undertaking, the author needs far other intellectual and moral endowments, than those which fitted him to write a sprightly and highly entertaining narrative of the scenes and incidents of his world-wide travels in foreign lands.

We must also confess to our fears, that there is much in our author's life, spent to so great an extent in foreign countries, to disqualify him for a true insight of the social condition of this his native land. With that religious earnestness which forms so prominent a feature in American character, we suspect Bayard Taylor never had much sympathy, and we are not sure that he has even learned to this day, that in this respect he is not a true American. And in that old world, in which so large a portion of his mature life has been spent, and with which he has united himself by the strong ties of family alliance, he everywhere finds the names, and forms, and language of the Christian religion, but the religious zeal and fervor of his own country, nowhere. A man with truly American ideas of religion finds the religious aspects of his own country wanting, quite as much as the peculiarities of its climate, and natural scenery. Instead, he finds a religion, called Christian indeed, but which Dr. Paley has most truly characterized by saying, "a Christian's chief care being to pass quietly through this world to a better." This is very much the impression which the religion of the old world makes on the mind of a devout American traveler. It is a religion which is quite satisfied with such frames of mind, and such religious emotions as may be naturally enough excited by the liturgy, the high ceremonial and the artistic decorations, which are so liberally employed in the Roman Catholic Church, and the English Establish-

ment, but which makes no earnest and imperative claim to an entire control of the life of the individual man, and to subjugate to its laws all civil and political institutions, and all the rules and usages of social and practical life. It is just such a religion as the English Establishment will nurture wherever it thrives; and it and all its offshoots will thrive, just as long as they continue to be surrounded only by this easy, quiet, unpractical religion of the emotions and of poetic sentiment.

When an American, who is without sympathy with the intenser religious development of his own country, falls in with the religious aspects of the old world, he readily accepts them, and comes to estimate the more practical religion of his own country, just as it is estimated by a large class of foreign travelers in the United States, who find nothing so much amiss in America, as its religion. Very many Americans are drawn by taste or business, or the pursuit of pleasure, while yet in their youth, to Europe, and after many years spent in foreign lands return quite divested of the most striking characteristic of an American. They are just such men as Mr. Woodbury of the story before us. With religion, as it manifests itself here for the most part, they have no sympathy. Our author says in his prefatory letter, that he is neither "Mr. Woodbury, nor Mr. Waldo, nor Seth Wattles." And yet in respect to religion, we are forced to believe he is Mr. Woodbury. His whole life is exactly suited to make him just such a man; and we are compelled to accept the portrait as genuine, though he denies that he sat for it. We must add that no Mr. Woodbury can fairly represent these "certain types of character and phases of society." Precisely to this extent we believe Bayard Taylor is disqualified for the task he has undertaken.

In the execution of his work, we find but too abundant proof of this disqualification. Throughout the book "total abstinence from intoxicating drinks," from conscientious motives, is treated as an absurd and contemptible fanaticism, the offspring and the characteristic mark of narrow and illiberal minds. We cannot call to mind a single instance, in which it is treated as worthy of the smallest respect. Its advocates are made the most intolerant of bigots, and sourest of fanatics. It is as

sumed that a liberal mind will of course be emancipated from so vulgar a prejudice. 'This is the light in which Bayard Taylor chooses to exhibit this great movement of the American mind in behalf of universal temperance. Whether the doctrines of the American Temperance Societies are true or false, we can feel no hesitation in pronouncing this exhibition of this great national phenomenon quite contemptible. It would be contemptible in a Dickens or a Thackeray; in an American author, who ought to understand the subject, it is almost beneath contempt.

Does not Mr. Bayard Taylor know, that the great American Temperance Reform was not originated in the minds of such narrow minded bigots as Seth Wattles and Mr. Grindle? And that such men have never been its leading representatives and advocates before the people? Does he not know, that it has been cordially accepted, and very earnestly and powerfully advocated by a host of men, occupying the foremost positions in church and in state, as well as in professional and social life? Men, the liberality of whose minds, and the generosity of whose culture would render them ornaments to any nation on earth, and with whom our author cannot presume to compare himself, without being chargeable with a very obvious lack of modesty.

The American Temperance Reform may possibly be argued down, but it cannot be sneered down and laughed down, after the method of this book. It is a sincere and earnest effort of enlarged, enlightened, and religious minds, to stay the progress of a great national vice, by influences addressed to the understandings and the consciences of the people. It may be that in their zeal against a national evil so grievous and so alarming, they have sometimes assumed positions, which cannot be defended on sound philosophical principles: it may be that the reform will never achieve all the good which its friends and advocates have hoped; but whatever its future history may be, sober and enlightened men will see in this part of our moral development much to respect and honor, and nothing to despise and ridicule; and if our author chooses to hold it up to contempt and derision, he betrays, most manifestly, his ignorance



of what an intelligent man will be sure to understand—his own country. He may, we think he will, meet applause from thousands on the other side of the Atlantic, whose religious characters are as devoid of earnestness, and whose views of our country are as superficial as his own; but in his own country, the wise and good, if they read his book at all, will read it with sorrow, and lay it aside with a lowered estimate of its author.

There are reasons why such a reform as this should be attempted, and gain a wide influence in this country, which do not exist in other lands. The doctrine of the equal rights of man is not confined to our political system: it pervades our religion also, and exerts a controlling influence over all our modes of religious action. It is not difficult for the higher classes in Britain to regard the besotting vices which prevail in the lower strata of society, with regret and sorrow indeed, and yet with the feeling that they are inevitable, and a thing to be expected. The drunkenness which occurs in the higher ranks is veiled over with decencies and elegant concealments, and occasions very little shock to the moral sense of the nation. The different ranks are so far removed from each other in all their social relations and modes of life, that the thought would not be entertained for a moment, of practising total abstinence in the dwellings of the rich, the great, and the noble born, for the sake of setting an example of temperance to the poor and the lowly. To this there are indeed exceptions: there are noble examples in England, of men in the most affluent circumstances, who practice the strictest total abstinence. But they are rare exceptions.

But in our country we admit, we earnestly contend, that all the forces of culture are to be applied to men as men, with no question about rank or class. Neither as republicans nor as Christians, do we admit that there is any class in society, that is to be given over to the degradation of vice. We acknowledge that we are our brother's keeper, and that every man of every class is our brother. Hence we easily admit that the rule of moral action by which we are bound is one which is not only safe in the palaces of wealth, but safe also in dwellings of poverty and toil. And it is not a reproach but an

honor to the religion of our country, that tens of thousands of the wealthy have been found willing to banish intoxicating drinks from their tables and their sideboards, not only as a security to the virtue of their own children, but from a serious regard to the influence of their example in the dwellings of the poor. This is practical democracy.

In dealing with American "sects" and "revivals," our "story of American Life" is, if possible, still more unfortunate. We are entirely unable to give our readers any adequate idea of his mode of handling this subject, except by extracting the following paragraphs into our pages. We grudge the space they will occupy, but were we to attempt to represent the author's view of this subject in our own language, we should be suspected by many of our readers of having done him injustice. He must be permitted to speak for himself as follows:

"The churches in the village undertook their periodical 'revivals' which absorbed the interest of the community while they lasted. It was not the usual season in Ptolemy for such agitations of the religious atmosphere, but the Methodist clergyman, a very zealous and impassioned speaker, having initiated the movement with great success, the other sects became alarmed lest he should sweep all the repentant sinners of the place into his own fold. As soon as they could obtain help from Tiberius, the Baptists followed, and the Rev. Lemuel Styles was constrained to do likewise. For a few days the latter regained the ground he had lost, and seemed about to distance his competitors. Luckily for him, the Rev. Jehiel Preeks accompanied his wife on her farewell visit, and was immediately impressed into the service. His account of his sufferings at Tristan d'Acunha, embracing a description of the sickness and triumphant death of his first wife, melted the auditors to tears, and the exhortation which followed was like seed planted in well-ploughed ground. The material for conversion, drawn upon from so many different quarters, was soon exhausted, but the rival churches stoutly held out, until convinced that neither had any further advantage to gain over the other.

"Mr. Waldo, of course, was not exempt from the general necessity, although conscious of the disadvantage under which he labored in representing so unimportant a sect. Its founder had been a man of marked character, whose strong, peculiar intellect, combined with his earnestness of heart, wrought powerfully upon those with whom he came in personal contact, but his views were not broad enough to meet the wants of a large class. After his death, many of his disciples, released from the influence of his personality, saw how slight a difference separated them from their brethren, and yearned to be included in a more extensive fold. Among these was Mr. Waldo, whose native good sense taught him that minor differences in interpretation and observances do not justify Christians in dividing their strength by a multitude of separate organizations.

His congregation, however, was very slowly brought to view the matter in the same light, and he was too sincerely attached to its members to give up his charge of them while any prospect of success remained.

"On this occasion, nevertheless—thanks to the zeal of some of his flock, rather than his own power of wielding the thunder-bolts of Terror—Mr. Waldo gained three or four solitary fish out of the threescore, who were hauled up from the deeps by the various nets. The Cimmerian rite of baptism had this advantage, that it was not performed in public, and its solemnity was not therefore disturbed by the presence of a crowd of curious spectators, such as are especially wont to be on hand when the water is cold. Mr. Waldo even disregarded the peculiar form of initiation which characterized his sect, affirming that it added no sanctity to the rite.

"During the period of the revivals, there was a temporary suspension of the social life of Ptolemy. Even kindred families rarely assembled at tea except to discuss the absorbing topic and compare the results obtained by the various churches. There was a great demand for Baxter's 'Saint's Rest,' 'Alleine's Alarm,' Young's 'Night Thoughts,' and Pollok's 'Course of Time,' at the little bookstore. Two feathers disappeared from the Sunday bonnet of Mrs. Hamilton Bue, and the Misses Smith exchanged their red ribbons for slate-colored. Still, it was not the habit of the little place to be sombre; its gayety was never excessive, and hence its serious moods never assumed a penitential character, and soon wore off. In this respect it presented a strong contrast to Mulliganville and Anacreon, both of which communities retained a severe and mournful expression for a long time after their revivals had closed." pp. 169-171.

This is familiar ground to the readers of the *New Englander*, and they can judge of the truth and fidelity of this representation of the case as well as we, and what chance "American sects" and "revivals" have of being appreciated, wherever Bayard Taylor is likely to be accepted as a witness. That his testimony will be taken by vast multitudes we are well aware. He is just such a witness as will find a most ready and delighted credence, wherever the governing aristocracy and church establishment of England cast their shadow. And under that dark eclipse a large portion of the English speaking population of the world, outside our own country, are at this time living.

Nor is the influence of such representations confined to England and her colonies in different parts of the world. In matters pertaining to our country, England, or to speak more accurately, the *London Times*, forms the public opinion of Europe and of Christendom. Even in our own country such views are most eagerly embraced by thousands. The notion

of these matters entertained by our author is not original, it is even vulgar; it is the notion which is zealously propagated by the whole American branch of Episcopacy, with a few choice exceptions, and which is embraced by multitudes of the worldly, unthinking, and undevout.

Yet let no man that holds it make any pretension to any real insight of religion in our country. Any man who sees in American revivals, and in the efforts which are made to promote them, nothing deeper, nothing more respectable, than an annual scramble of the sects to make as many proselytes as possible, each for itself, may be assured that his own view of the subject is so superficial as to be quite unworthy the serious consideration of any thoughtful, devout man. We know something of the evils of that multiplication of sects, which is American, only because in America alone has the human mind ever had freedom of development in respect to religion. We feel far more than on this occasion we shall attempt to express, the weakness, the scandal, and the shame which are brought on the Christian cause, by the unnatural relations to each other, into which devout men are thrown by these sad divisions. It is a subject we can never approach without being ready to exclaim, "O, that mine head were waters, and mine eyes a fountain of tears, that I might weep day and night for the slain of the daughter of my people."

But we know, too, that when with a worldly mind and an undevout heart, an author stands at a cold and unsympathizing distance from this scene, and forms and utters such opinions respecting it, as those quoted above, he does but uncover the superficial shallowness of his own thought; so far as this subject is concerned he forfeits all claim to philosophical insight. While we are writing, a friend, whose attention we have called to the passage we have quoted above, says of it, that it is simply the utterance of half-truths. This is just what we think of it, and only add, that, as often happens in such cases, it is such an utterance of half-truths, as constitutes the most mischievous of falsehoods. To ascribe these phenomena to mere sectarian zeal is to give no adequate account of them. If, underlying all, there were not an earnest faith in the great

verities of the Christian religion, as involving the everlasting destinies of the soul, there would be nothing to keep these fires burning, or to rekindle them when they had become temporarily inactive. Zeal for sect would die out. Such men as Bayard Taylor do not become proselyting sectarians, not because they are incapable of party spirit, or at all slow to manifest it when some question arises in which they think their own interests are at stake, but because they do not regard religion as any serious practical reality. And if other men were as indifferent to it as they are, they, too, would become incapable of sympathy with sectarian zeal. Men do not become zealous for religion, for the sake of their sects, but they are zealous for their sects, because they think them necessary to the prosperity of religion.

Three considerations are needful to be taken into the account in order to explain, and the three taken together do fully explain that development of sect which is in some sort peculiar to our country. These considerations are—first, that a very large portion of the people with us, are in serious practical earnest about religion—second, that here the human mind has opportunity for entire freedom of development,—and third, that very few of the sects of the United States are of American origin. They are the products of the controversies of all Christendom, through all the ages of Christian history, transplanted to American soil by the process of colonization, and here brought into collision with each other in a manner which is quite impossible on the soil of Europe;—all protected by the State in their efforts to realize their own systems of religious organization, and yet no one of them favored or supported by any partiality of the government;—each left to its own resources, its own logic, its own inherent power of swaying the beliefs of the people. It is the order of God's providence, that systems shall originate in the Eastern Hemisphere, and be tested in the Western. The errors, the follies, the wrongs which have for ages been fostered under the religious despotisms of Europe are here brought into open collision with each other, and with free mind and a free Bible. And that man who, in circumstances such as these, only stands at a

distance, and gives utterance to his ignorant disgust at these sectarian conflicts, need make no farther pretensions to any understanding of the religion of this country. We, at least, are not prepared to treat any such pretensions with respect. As well uncage all the wild beasts of a menagerie, and then stand at a safe distance outside the ring, to express our disgust at the scene of conflict and confusion which would ensue.

This consideration also suggests the thought that the present condition of religious sects in our country can by no means be accepted as the ultimate condition of religion under absolute religious freedom. It is not the result simply of such freedom, but of the mingling together of many rival and opposing systems, which were the products not of religious freedom, but of the various forms of spiritual despotism, each enjoying the unrestrained use of all its moral and intellectual forces in the struggle for existence and ascendancy. It may be affirmed without any hesitation, that several of the most prevalent religious denominations of this country could never have existed, had not either the Church wielded the power of physical coercion, or the State controlled the Church. Religious freedom never would have produced them; and whether they can maintain a permanent existence under religious freedom is one of the great problems of our future. We cannot then regard our present sectarian conflicts as a permanent order of things, but as a state of transition to a future of which no one can perhaps form any adequate conception.

The reader will of course have noticed the aspect in which, in the passage quoted, the author chooses to present Christian missions to the heathen. To those who have not read the book it may be necessary to remark that Rev. Jehiel Preeks is a returned missionary from India, who, having lost his wife in that country, has just married another from among the spinsters of Rev. Lemuel Styles's congregation at Ptolemy. Other allusions to the same subject are made in other parts of the work, but always in the same spirit, always with the evident intention of exciting and expressing contempt both for the missionary and those who support him. If any man were to take his notions of American missionary efforts from this book,

he would suppose them to be the offspring of the narrowest and most contemptible fanaticism. This, from a man whose only claim to be regarded with honor rests on his enterprise as a world-wide traveler, is certainly contemptible. It is well to remind such a man that it is time he should travel in his own country. When he does so, and informs himself on this matter, we shall be happy to hear from him again. We shall then hear him acknowledging that one of the last things to be expected from a returned missionary is to hear him whine over his sufferings in heathen lands, or to make any effort to excite other people's sympathy for his self-denials and sacrifices. He will find them narrating their experiences in those pagan lands in quite as cheerful a spirit as Mr. Bayard Taylor narrates his adventures in Egypt or Lapland. And if he is a candid man, he will acknowledge that among the missionaries who have gone out from the American churches, are found many men, who, in every quality of the accomplished traveler, especially in the analysis of national character, of institutions, of society, are at least the equals of the author of *Hannah Thurston*.

There is, we are happy to admit, one phase of American character which our author has exhibited with much more truth and fidelity; and it should also be stated, in justice, that the book derives all its interest from that one topic. We refer to that dissatisfaction which has existed for many years with the social and even the political relations of women. The characters under which our author has chosen to represent total abstinence, zeal for the abolition of slavery, sects and revivals, and Christian missions, are almost without exception revolting and disgusting, either stiff, formal and Pharisaical, like Rev. Lemuel Styles, or intensely narrow-minded, bigoted, and fanatical, like Seth Wattles and Mr. Grindle, to say nothing of several female specimens. Mrs. Waldo may be taken as an exception, perhaps, but not really so; for though the wife of the pastor of a very small and narrow sect, she has really no sympathy with her sect, and figures in the story in the midst of all these disgusting developments as a noble and true woman, whose social tact and womanly power over the hearts of those in the midst of whom she lived, a queen or a duchess

might well envy. We had the feeling, all the time we were reading the book, that it is a gross violation of the proprieties of the plot to represent so fair a flower, implying so generous a culture, as growing in such a soil and under such a climate. If American society matures such women as Mrs. Waldo, then ought the author to show something of the social forces by which results so beautiful are produced; and it is a just and most damaging criticism that he utterly fails to do this.

Mr. Waldo is also to a certain extent another exception, and yet only apparently, for he is greatly too good to be in sympathy with his sect; and the author, in delineating his character, invests him with certain disagreeable peculiarities, which are not at all demanded by the proprieties of the plot, and have no other effect than to render the reader's conception of the sects of Ptolemy more revolting and disgusting.

But the doctrine of "Woman's Rights" is represented by Hannah Thurston, the heroine of the story. And of her we may say, as of Mrs. Waldo, that we are constantly wondering how such a character should have been produced amid such surroundings. The author enlists the reader's sympathy in her in every part of the story, and that however much he may dissent from her opinions. We think in her character the author has truly represented the best specimens of the class which he intended to describe. He is likely perhaps to make on the foreign reader the impression that this class is much more numerous among us than it is. It is a very small class, and yet in our whole country a considerable number of specimens may be found, and we heartily thank the author for this truthful portrait.

The philanthropy of these women, their love of universal humanity, is sincere and very earnest. They are ready to endure any sufferings and self-sacrifices in vindicating the rights of all who are suffering wrong, and in taking the side of the oppressed against the oppressor, however powerful. But they are in rebellion against the divinely constituted relations of the sexes. With the queenly sceptre which woman in her own native right wields, they are not satisfied. We have never indeed known one who was willing to resign it, but they aspire



to add to this natural and inalienable dominion an equal participation in man's royal prerogatives also. They scorn and repudiate the natural, and, as we think, the inevitable dependence of woman on man, as humiliating and degrading. It is worthy of our serious consideration what has caused this peculiar mental development in our country. We repeat it, that the American people are religiously in earnest, and in nothing more in earnest, than in their purpose to apply the great foundation doctrine of our republic to all classes and conditions of our common humanity. Previous to the outbreak of the great American conflict, men of other lands might have been excused for doubting the truth of this assertion. But the sanguinary conflict of the last three years affords, we should think, an overwhelming and certainly a terrible attestation of it. What wonder then if in our zeal for this great truth we should sometimes exaggerate and distort it? Chiefly from such exaggeration and distortion this agitation (if indeed it is extensive enough to be called an agitation) has resulted. There are exaggerations of the doctrine of equal rights, which are widely prevalent and exert a mighty influence over a very large portion of the English speaking population of the globe, which to admit is to lay ourselves under a logical necessity of admitting that many of our laws and social usages in respect to women are unjust and in flagrant violation of natural right. For example, millions, not only in this country, but even in England, believe that the right of voting at all elections is a natural, inherent, and therefore inalienable right, and that to deny it to any portion of the population of a country is a violation of natural justice. So also of the right to be eligible to all offices and places of trust and emolument under the Government. If this assumption is true, it is utterly vain to argue against the right of a woman to vote and to be a candidate for election to any office in the gift of the people. If the right to vote and to be eligible to office exists in virtue of one's belonging to the human race, why should not women enjoy it as well as men? And why should we wonder that men and women are found clamorously crying out against the disfranchisement of woman? Why this cruel injustice to our mothers, wives, sis-

ters, and daughters? And then if woman is to vote, and to hold office, and to sit in the legislature, why not bear her full equal part in efforts to sway public opinion? Why not mount the rostrum and engage in all the conflicts of the political canvas? And if she is to do these things, why not be educated and trained to do them as men are? Why not be subjected to the same discipline and the same culture? Not one of us can answer why not.

We do not so understand the doctrine of equal rights, and we are satisfied that such an understanding of it, if logically carried out, (which we are sure in this country it never will be,) can result in nothing but anarchy. My birth as a member of the human race gives me no right to be a voter. The voter is more properly an office-holder, than a simple citizen exercising a natural right of humanity. The elective franchise should be extended or contracted from considerations of public expediency alone. If our country is likely to be governed better by the votes of immigrant foreigners than without them, then let them have the right of suffrage; if not, then for the sake of themselves and their children after them let it be withheld. And in like manner, if the prosperity, the freedom, the virtue of this nation will be increased by enlarging the arena of political strife so as to embrace the whole female sex, then let it be done. But if on the other hand it would be destructive of the peace, the order, the harmony, and the virtue of society, then let no theory about equal rights disturb the harmony of social life. Let us understand the doctrine of equal rights to be the right of every man to be a man, and every woman to be a woman, and let woman be content with her natural and peaceful dominion over domestic and social life, and leave to the stronger sex these sterner and less amiable conflicts.

We have no fear at all that in American or in any free society this controversy will not be adjusted on precisely the principles just indicated. On such a question as the relation of the sexes to each other, the voices of nature will be heard and regarded; the yearnings of the heart will be more powerful than any logic or any theory. In this respect we think our author quite true to nature in restoring his heroine

to the position of true womanhood by the promptings of her heart and not of her head; and by that process we think a true woman will generally find her right place in the social system, whatever theoretical opinions she may have adopted. We might indeed be disposed to call in question the naturalness of some of the love scenes in this book. Perhaps we are not good judges of such a matter, but the author reminded us of the words of the wise man—"There be three things which are too wonderful for me, yea four which I know not: the way of an eagle in the air, the way of a serpent upon a rock, the way of a ship in the midst of the sea, and the way of a man with a maid." The first three of these wonders science has explained, Bayard Taylor has tried his hand at the fourth, but we think without much success. He would have done as well to leave it where the wise man did. At least we would advise any one who wishes to have a good opinion of the book to leave off at the marriage. True, Hannah's conversion was not then completed, but we can feel assured that the work was at that point well begun, and would in due time be quite accomplished.

But though we have no apprehension that the relations of the sexes can ever be to any considerable extent changed, we are still of the opinion that the agitation of this question has done a good deal of injury to American society. It has produced and is producing morbid developments which imperatively require our earnest attention. We have no fears that the occupations and the ordinary routine of female life will undergo any considerable change, or at least any undesirable change, for to changes we are not opposed, provided they are for the better. But we think erroneous, though very crude and indefinite views of this subject are exerting a disastrous influence on our whole system of female education. There are thousands who could never be made to believe that a life-career which is appropriate for a man, is therefore equally appropriate for a woman, who would yet receive without hesitation the proposition that an education which is good for a man is equally good for a woman, and could easily be made to feel that woman is injured in the fact that a similar education is

not provided for her. Precisely this impression has been made on a great number of minds of both sexes. For the last quarter of a century, enterprises have been greatly multiplied, which have had for their central idea the necessity of providing a collegiate education for our daughters as well as for our sons. Several colleges have been founded, which open their classes to the youth of both sexes indiscriminately. A large number of female seminaries have been established, and have come into a high degree of public favor, which have a four years curriculum, intended to be in some degree equivalent to that of our colleges, and that curriculum terminates in a regular graduation. And into the system of most of these seminaries, female colleges, publicity enters largely, public examinations, public exhibitions before large promiscuous assemblies, and the public conferring of diplomas. You shall often witness a boarding school miss of eighteen standing before a vast promiscuous assembly, to read or speak her essay, and playing the orator to the best advantage that her feminine voice will permit. Let no reader question the accuracy of our representation. We speak what we do know, and testify what we have seen.

Meanwhile the young misses of every Female College in the land, are stimulated to the highest zeal for these oratorical performances, by the splendid reception given to Miss Anna E. Dickinson, in the Capital at Washington, the President of the United States and his Cabinet, and the gravest Senators and Representatives sitting spell-bound by her eloquence. These vast changes in our system of female education have grown up within a quarter of a century, and have been accepted by the nation as good almost without any questioning; at least without public questioning; for thousands have questioned them, who have given no public expression to their doubts. For our own part, we have always doubted, and on all favorable opportunities have given utterance to our doubts. We are doubters still.

Does any one in his senses believe that our conceptions of the highest perfection in male and in female life are identical? Are they not quite as different as our conception of beauty in

male and female attire? Is it then reasonable to believe, that the system of education which is best fitted to qualify man for his stern life-task, is also best fitted to qualify woman for her softer and gentler mission? Does it follow that the machinery which is good for manufacturing steam engines, is also good for manufacturing lace? Does it follow as a matter of course, because our colleges are good for preparing men for professional and public life, that, therefore, it will be a kindness to our daughters to provide for them all the virile discipline we can? There is not a female seminary in the country, which has been constructed for the purpose of furnishing a collegiate education for girls, which does not contain in its very structure ample confession of the impracticability of the attempt, and of the soundness of the views we have just intimated. Why do they not take the curriculum of Yale or Cambridge, and rigidly adhere to it, requiring three years of preparatory discipline in the Latin and Greek languages, and then four years more of rigid and stern application to pure and mixed mathematics, the natural sciences, classical literature and general philosophy? The answer is obvious enough. There is no man or woman who has not sober sense enough left to know, that such a curriculum for a female seminary is absurd and impracticable, though we have seen one statement of a course of study for a female seminary, in which the Septuagint was embraced as a text-book. Why then all this talk about a collegiate education for girls, when every man of us knows that it is not a collegiate education which is intended? Why deceive ourselves and the public with this parade of female colleges and universities, when we are all the time compelled to carry before us the admission, that they are institutions of entirely a different grade and character.

We have no fears that all our efforts can transform American women into men; but it does not hence follow that no harm is done by the attempt. It is unnecessary perhaps to say, that most American parents feel, whether wisely or not, the necessity of completing the education of their daughters at an age much earlier than that of their sons. We cannot set the limit higher than from eighteen to twenty years. Before the girl reaches that limit, she must have completed her whole curriculum,

and be in readiness for what is, and in spite of all our logic always must be, the great event of woman's life. Hence, the absolute necessity in all those seminaries, which make a show of a collegiate education, of an exceedingly crowded course. To look over the course of study of many of our female seminaries, and see what tasks they propose to lay upon girls between the years of fourteen and eighteen, is quite astounding. The consequence often is, we fear, that the girl is harrassed by a variety and multiplicity of studies, incompatible with the healthful action of either mind or body. Bodily health is impaired. Irritability and excitability, rather than the ornament of a meek and quiet spirit, are cultivated, and the whole system tends more to female pedantry, than to that beautiful and tasteful culture which becomes a woman. To all of which add those morbid outlooks so often occurring towards public exhibition and public life, and you have an outline view of the mischief of which we complain.

We are after all chiefly concerned for the bearing of this state of things on health. Much has been said of the feeble health of American women, as compared with those of other lands, much more we are inclined to think than is true. But that a state of things exists in many of our larger seminaries which is incompatible with health we certainly fear. We believe that the voice of nature suggests, that some leisure should enter into the daily life of every woman. There is no man who does not feel that any woman who has no leisure is overtaxed. When we see a man called to exert strength to the utmost, we never think of pitying him; he glories in it. But when we see a woman put to the same necessity, the voice of nature within us bids us rush to her relief. Every considerate man feels that he ought to allow some daily leisure to his female domestics. And we never see this law violated in the case of any woman, whatever her condition, without feeling that the teachings of nature are disregarded. We fear that in our great female seminaries this law is by no means properly regarded. And in no period of the life of a woman is its violation so sure to be followed with disastrous consequences, as between the years of fourteen and eighteen. We think this

subject requires the serious consideration of American parents and educators. We cannot altogether like the public education which is now offered to our daughters. We fear American society will receive damage from it.

We were attracted to this book (we do not spend much time upon books of this class) by its title, and the name of its author. "A story of American Life, by Bayard Taylor." There is not at this moment a more interesting question engaging the attention of the civilized world, than the influence of the peculiar political system of this country, in the formation of character. It is the question of our whole future. On its decision will depend the estimate which the world and future ages will set on our political system. It will be of no avail for us to talk of our freedom, and our equal rights, unless it is found, as the result of our experiment, that our institutions tend to elevate, and purify individual character, and make man a stronger, purer, nobler being than he has ever been under the monarchies, aristocracies, and theocracies of the old world. If it shall appear in the ultimate result, that the influence of our institutions is to degrade, materialize, and sensitize man, then shall we demand in vain that our political system shall bear sway over the destinies of the world. It may still be true that the systems of Europe are a sad failure, and the philanthropist may be forced to sit down and weep for humanity; but in that case he will be forced to the conclusion, that the best hope of the future still lies in combining, as favorably as possible, the elements of monarchy, aristocracy, and theocracy.

It is very difficult for an American at home to conceive of the intense interest with which this question is regarded in other lands. Anything which seems to afford evidence that American character is degraded and depraved, is seized on with more avidity by the London Times and the Saturday Review, than a story of a "Confederate" victory, or a Federal defeat. No time is lost in giving it the most effective utterance, and sowing it broadcast, not only over Britain but over Europe.

In this state of the case, we deeply regret that Bayard Tay-

lor has given such a testimony of "American Life" as this. This regret springs not only from the infelicities of the picture which we have pointed out, but from others of minor magnitude to which we have not alluded. There is a disposition to depreciate and represent in unfavorable lights, which really indicates, that in his present feelings and tastes he is more European than American. We will furnish an example or two. Arbutus Wilson, or Bute, as he is familiarly called, is the head farmer of Mr. Woodbury, who, after Hannah Thurston, is the leading character of the story. Bute is a man of robust and vigorous frame, strong common sense and kindly feeling, but in respect to education, refinement, and especially moral and religious culture, far below that class in American society to which he would naturally belong. But our author says, "he was a very good specimen of the American countryman." This we affirm is not true. The noblest characteristics of an American countryman are wanting. To have made him such, he should have received a good English education, he should have been immeasurably higher in the scale of intelligence, and he should have been united to his age, and to all ages, by an earnest faith in the Christian religion, sanctifying his home and his private life, and making him an earnest patriot and philanthropist. Bute is in love, and in a conversation with the object of his affection, the author introduces the following very significant comment on his character: "for the latter (Bute) had such a strong sense of propriety about matters of this kind, (speaking freely of the affairs of his employer), as might have inspired doubts of his being a native-born American." A man has lost much of a just feeling of nationality, when he will speak thus of his own country.

There are other instances in the book where the author manifests a similar spirit. It excites no surprise that Russell, formerly of the London Times, should speak thus; we expect it; it is his nature, and his occupation; but such a remark from a "native-born" American astonishes us. It is but a stroke of the pen, but it reveals much of the author's taste and spirit.

Bayard Taylor has produced a book which in many of its features will be quite acceptable to all persons abroad who de-



precate the influence of our institutions. It will leave on all minds, who know us only through books, a false and erroneous impression, an impression in which certain vices and follies of American society, with which few only are infected, stand out prominently in the foreground, while its substantial advantages and real excellencies find no place in the picture. We cannot accept this portrait of "American Life" as in any sense true or faithful. It is such a picture as his American readers will generally reject as false and slanderous, while the enemies of democratic freedom will eagerly accept it, and earnestly wish to believe it true.

## ARTICLE V.—THE KEY OF THE CONTINENT.

It was a brilliant conception that could only have occurred to true genius, which led to the construction of the chart of the world on Mercator's projection, with the American continent placed in the middle of the map, between Europe and Africa on the right, and Asia and Australia on the left, showing both the Atlantic and Pacific oceans in their undivided entireness, as the great thoroughfare of nations. We have failed to discover the original projector of this improvement, which is of quite a modern date. It was first published, so far as we can ascertain, in Colton's atlas of the world, about a dozen years ago, but Mr. Colton does not claim the credit of the invention. It must have been an American idea, for we cannot imagine a European geographer so oblivious of the past, so unbiassed by the prejudices of the present, and so alive to the inevitable developments of the future, as to have accepted and perfected by study an improvement so powerfully suggestive of what is to be in the ensuing ages, so far transcending the consciousness of what is and has been. Though the author may remain unknown, his work will remain for ages as the chart of the future, and the tablet on which are to be delineated the triumphs of advancing civilization as successive centuries roll along their course. Let any man of ordinary intelligence place this chart before him and contemplate awhile the suggestions that may arise in his mind, as his eye wanders from land to land, and continent to continent, across either ocean, and in various directions, where trade, and science, and religion, and war have left their invisible footprints, and consider all the great transactions, and all the wonderful changes, from the day that Columbus first set foot upon the soil of the New World,—all more or less directly connected with that great discovery. Whole atlases of scenes, whole Iliads of events, whole encyclopedias of knowledge, rise up and pass in review before the mind, until thought is lost in bewilderment, and

the eye is at last turned to the throne of the Supreme Arbiter, before whom all this tangled net-work is plain, and by whose supreme decree it all receives at once its unity and its boundary.

But it is when we turn the glass forward, and contemplate our chart in the light of the certain or probable developments of the future, that it becomes overwhelmingly vast and sublimely impressive. With the vast plains of Asia and Africa permeated by the light of Christianity; with the map of Europe finally settled, by the conviction of its people that it is of more consequence for each to enjoy the blessings of peace and the protection of a good government, than to know that an imaginary boundary line passes to the right or left of his dwelling; with our own glorious UNION redeemed and disenthralled and unified in the affections and the character of the whole people; and with the southern portions of the continent at length lifted up into the heavenly light of the Bible; when the last and subtlest of the devices of Rome are baffled and put to open shame; the world will witness results which the imagination may delineate on this chart, that shall compensate both the nations and their dread Sovereign for the agitations and agonies through which we are now about to be carried.

It is impossible to know whether any of these thoughts passed through the mind of him who first devised this presentation of continents and oceans, with the New World in the place of honor; nor is it known that many persons of a philosophical turn have been led into speculations of this sort, by the study of the chart as Mr. Colton has presented it. We are a busy, eager people, intent upon doing what is in hand rather than looking far into the future, and inclined to an easy confidence as to what may be before us, that the energy and ingenuity which have served us so long will not fail to be sufficient for any possible emergency in time to come. And if any Americans have studied the chart for its suggestions in forming plans or learning prospects of future good, it would be only what might naturally be expected from Americans that they should love to look upon their own country as standing central among the con-

tinents, and all other nations ranging themselves on the right and left, and looking towards the New World for the supply of their wants and the guidance of their enterprises. But what should lead the minds of European rulers to place America in the middle of their charts? We must inquire after such a phenomenon, and see whence it comes and what it forebodes.

There hangs in the hall of the New York Chamber of Commerce an elegant map, sixty-seven inches by forty-eight, published in Paris, in the year 1863, with the title following :

WORLD'S STEAM AND ELECTRIC MAP.

"A Chart of the Roadways of Communication established throughout the whole World, by means of steam and electricity. With an indication of the Consular Ports of France on the Globe. Prepared under the auspices of Count Walewski, Minister of State, according to the latest official documents, by Anatole Chatillain, Ex-Chief of the Statistical Bureau of the office of Foreign Affairs, and dedicated to His Majesty, the Emperor, 1863. Lanéc, successor to Longuet, Geographical Publisher, 8 Rue de la Paix, Paris."

We know of a second copy in this country, and are not aware of any others that have been imported. It is not likely to have been designed for the American market. It is drawn on the plan of Colton's chart, with the American continent in the middle, and there are added, in colored lines, the courses of all the principal lines of steam packets, railways, and telegraphs, that represent the present and future currents of trade from Europe to eastern and western Asia, Africa, Australia, North and South and Central America, and the West Indies. These lines of commerce and intelligence are vastly suggestive and instructive, and they carry the mind forward with great impressiveness to the contemplation of the stupendous changes, that are just about to be developed in the intercourse and connection of nations all over the world. They also foreshow the important part which the New World is destined to bear in these future developments, and call upon the American statesman and merchant to enlarge his ideas and stir up the utmost energies of his mind to meet the responsibilities of the new relation which our country is to

occupy. A glance at the chart is sufficient to teach the thoughtful mind that the arrangement itself, though of so recent discovery, is normal and natural. It is putting things in their right order. In the commercial intercourse of the future, among the nations as they are and will be, the American continent is central, and the map which places it so, simply represents things as they are. The interchange of products between Western Europe and Eastern Asia, is to be but a part of the great traffic of the world, which is hereafter to travel in great circles. It is not to be supposed that the main centre of exchanges will be away at one extremity of the world. It will rather be between Eastern Asia and Western Europe, between Northern Russia and Southern Australia; at whatever point the future course of trade shall settle upon. Whether New York, or New Orleans, or Mexico, or Panama be the point, the commercial metropolis of this continent will be the centre of exchanges for the commercial world. It is evident, however, that New York cannot be the place, if it is to remain restricted to one railroad with a single track for its intercourse southward.

If we now look at the map of the Central Continent as a whole, we observe a remarkable balancing of the two parts, North and South, with a singular conformation of the connecting neck or isthmus. We see the Northern half represented by one leading power, reaching from ocean to ocean, occupying nearly the whole of the temperate latitudes, and possessing such advantages of wealth, and intelligence, and free political institutions, as to preclude for many ages the idea of any successful competition in the race for national greatness. The vast empire of Brazil, with a territory still larger than that of the United States, although otherwise less favorably situated, and with advantages greatly inferior, yet, by its compactness and unity, sure to maintain the predominance in South America. And then we have between these the countries of Mexico, Central America, and New Granada, all smaller in extent, but each possessing one or more of the great thoroughfares by which the intercourse is to be carried on between the two great oceans. It is a disputed point, which experience

alone can decide, which of the three routes, that of Tehuantepec in Mexico, that of Nicaragua in Central-America, or that of Panama in New Granada, possesses the greatest advantages on the whole, or whether there may not be other routes discovered hereafter, superior to them all. In any event, it is obvious that this central region is the key of the Continent. And it is equally obvious that the future interests of commerce and of civilization will be greatly injured, should this "key of the Continent" be allowed to pass under the control of any of the so-called Great Powers of either hemisphere. By processes sufficiently remarkable, but not to be detailed here, Providence has kept this series of thoroughfares from coming under the control of any one government, and has given them to be the national heritage of minor states, that are never likely to possess the power of closing them up against the interests of commerce and civilization. The danger lies in another direction. The "key of the Continent" has attracted the observation and awakened the cupidity of European dynasties. This is the point to which the present paper would direct the attention of the statesmen and merchants of America, under the conviction that if any Great Power is permitted to hold this "key," that Power will be able to exercise an injurious control over the future commerce of the world. That such a chart as has been described should have been prepared and published under the auspices and by the agents of the *government of France*, is of itself a circumstance sufficiently suggestive to awaken suspicion and authorize the present inquiry. We may be sure that it was not ordered without an object, or for the curiosity of the thing, to see how a chart would look with America in the middle, and how many lines of steamers and telegraphs could be laid down upon it. For the solution of this problem we must look to the invasion of Mexico, its objects, and its effects. The Emperor, Napoleon III., has told the people of France that he designed the Mexican affair to be the great event of his reign. To answer to such anticipations, it must have great relations, widespread bearings, and far-reaching consequences. The Mexican invasion was at one time exceedingly unpopular in France. It was

begun in a halting and half earnest way, with inadequate force, hampered by the London coalition with Spain and England, almost exploded by the dissatisfaction of the allies, effectually blocked for almost a twelve month at Puebla, and involved a vast expenditure of men and money, without any present object of sufficient importance to justify the enterprise or compensate for the cost. English and American writers ridiculed the scheme, and reiterated the report until it became a general belief that the Emperor himself was heartily sick of his project, and would be glad enough to abandon it, if he could only get out of it without dishonor, or find a plausible pretext for giving it up. But he never talked of giving it up, nor even faltered in the prosecution of it for a moment. It is worthy of observation, that he has never promulgated any programme as to his ulterior designs, nor put forth any force beyond what was wanted for the object immediately in view, but has left his plans to develop themselves from his proceedings, and reserved his greater resources for greater needs. And it is obvious now, that if he had made known at the beginning only as much of his designs as has already become apparent, the disclosure would have embarrassed him in many ways, and probably have defeated him altogether. Lord Palmerston and Earl Russell would never have ventured to enlist the coöperation of England, nor would the people of the United States have endured the quiet connivance and almost approval of the scheme by Mr. Seward. Both the steady persistence and the ominous reticence, illustrate the depth of the design and the earnestness with which it was undertaken.

There are other things worthy of being remarked. While the ulterior purposes of the Emperor, as they are now disclosed, were apparently disclaimed by the Emperor or his representatives in the early stages of the affair, the point blank denials were mostly put into the case by those who ought to have discovered and exposed the cheat. And when we look back over the whole transaction, so flimsy were the pretexts, so thin the coverings, that we are not only surprised that any one should have been deceived, but we may well wonder whether any one ever was actually deceived thereby. But we find that

this is generally the way with deceivers, and seducers, and swindlers. From the first tempter to the present day, men, and women, and nations have yielded to arts and influences so slight and shallow, that it seems to others incredible they should not see the trick. And no victim was ever deceived to ruin, who did not on looking back perceive that nothing short of unutterable folly allowed of such a betrayal by means so transparent. Solomon tells us that "In vain is the net spread in the sight of any bird." But men are caught and destroyed by being first induced to shut their eyes upon what everybody else can see plainly enough. Louis Napoleon is an adept in this sort of game. By it he seduced England into the Crimean war, and afterwards into the treaty for the spoliation of Mexico. And it is not to be supposed that he has now done with playing it, when he has found it so serviceable thus far. Such beings succeed by the very shallowness of their tricks, which throw the victim off his guard, because it seems incredible that any sinister design should be undertaken with means so scanty, or that a schemer should ever expect to succeed when he took so little pains for it. As we now see that the security of the Jecker bonds was the pretext, not the object, of the invasion, and that the subversion of the republic and the establishment of a monarchy in Mexico was in his thoughts from the first, we may be equally sure that he has not yet disclosed his final purposes. He has not been at all this expense just for the sake of providing a throne and a living for a bankrupt Austrian with whom he had no sort of relation whatsoever. The Hapsburg emperor is a blind and a decoy, as every preceding step has been. It is to turn off attention, to put suspicion on a false scent, to allay apprehension, that he has gone through this elaborate and costly farce, which, of itself, can have no value to him. The needy archduke is willing to be used, for a consideration, and, when he has served his turn, his master can find plenty of ways for getting rid of him after he can be no longer useful for his purposes.

Louis Napoleon has come to Mexico to stay! Many facts show that he has taken the country into his possession to keep



it—if he can. And he understands that there is only one obstacle to his plans—the United States. By the treaty of coalition, he has got England and Spain so fully implicated in the villainy that they cannot have the 'face to oppose him. By instigating Prussia and Austria to the invasion of Denmark, he has involved them so deeply in the same sort of crime, and for a temptation so far inferior, that they can say nothing. By giving the throne to Maximilian, he has thrown a coloring of disinterestedness over his proceedings. And by the pretension of zeal for the interests of the Church of Rome, he has humbugged the poor old Pope to spread around the whole transaction such a halo of religion as is calculated to dazzle the minds of bigots and devotees, and secure the hearty support of the Priests' party, not only in France, but over Europe and America, wherever that party has power. All these pretexts are either covers or helps to his own designs, which are known well enough by all who choose to think on the subject, but which are strangely kept out of view by most persons who attempt to reason or speculate about these extraordinary transactions.

The Emperor Napoleon III., as Louis Napoleon Bonaparte is officially designated, holds his position as the heir and successor of the great Napoleon, and in that relation considers himself charged with the fulfillment of certain great objects, or "Napoleonic Ideas," which are to him the tests of his failure or success in his life work, and to determine the place he shall occupy in history. These objects he has deeply pondered, and has profoundly considered the system and general course of measures by which he hopes to succeed where his great pattern failed. He flatters himself that he has comprehended and can avoid the mistakes to which Napoleon owed his failure, and that he has matured a more subtle policy, and brought to his service a far greater variety of influences, and has even brought into his service many of the principal forces which finally overthrew the first empire, and drove its wonderful leader to exile and death. It must be confessed that the progress which he has made thus far, and his present position and prospects, are sufficient to demand the most seri-

ous consideration, and to summon to the most united and strenuous action, all who deem the success of his schemes detrimental to the progress of liberty and to the general welfare of mankind. He has an advantage over the first Napoleon in having enjoyed a long period of preparation for his high destiny, enabling him to study his plans and settle his policy before he was plunged into the whirl of events. He has, therefore, relied upon policy and contrivance where the other trusted only to hard fighting. Both the bent of his talents and the civilization of the age, have inclined him to prefer the arts and the glory of peace to those of war, in all cases where the former could be made to answer his purposes; while the massacre of December in Paris, the siege of Sebastopol, and the battle of Solferino, evince that he has cherished no scruples or sentiments which would make him less unrelenting or terrible in war. He has moulded to his purposes two powers in particular, which are enough to change the whole aspect of the field, and change the entire fortunes of the struggle. He has secured the cordial support of the Pope of Rome, and the good will and countenance, and, to a degree, the coöperation of the government of England. Those who remember that the first Napoleon seized the Pope as a prisoner, and extorted from his fears such merely formal offices as he deemed important, and that the English government of those days was irrevocably determined to destroy Bonaparte or be itself destroyed in the attempt, can estimate the difference in the aspects of the case.

Whether the realization of the "Napoleonic Ideas" be deemed an idle dream or a practical reality, is not necessary to be considered, since they all hinge upon a point which is sufficiently practical to be comprehended by the humblest capacity. All center in the one object of the establishment and perpetuation of the Napoleonic Dynasty on the throne of France, to govern according to its own convictions in all cases. Every other object and interest, national or general, civil or religious, is subordinate to this, and virtually included in it, as means to the end, or results incidental and cumulative. This

includes and necessitates all schemes for the advancement of France in riches and glory, all means of popularity among the French people, all precautions for allaying the jealousies and conciliating the good will of the various classes into which the population is divided. He has thus far been able to harmonize the two great factions into which the nominal adherents of the Church of Rome have for centuries been divided—the Ultramontanists, who conform implicitly to all the decrees of the Pope, and the Gallicans, who contend for the right of self-government in many particulars for the French National Church. His masterly method has been to stand immovably on the prerogatives of the Gallican Church, in France, on the one hand; and then to placate the Pope and his partisans, by the most unhesitating adherence and the most efficient support to all his wishes and demands outside of France. Hence the French army in Rome, under whose protection alone the Pope keeps his head on his shoulders and even sleeps quietly in the sacred city. Hence the war against Russia for the keys of the holy places in Jerusalem; and the war in Cochin China, to establish the dominion of the Romish missionaries over the territory against the authority of the native government. Hence the invasion of Mexico, at the instance of the Romish Archbishop of Mexico, and to put down the constitutional government of the country, because it had sequestered the immense domains heretofore accumulated in the possession of the ecclesiastical corporations and authorities. It is not needful to extend this enumeration. So important is it to the success of the Emperor's designs that he should retain the countenance of the Pope, that we may lay it down as an axiom of his feeling, that nothing outside of France is too valuable to be sacrificed or destroyed, if it stands in the way of the Church of Rome, or is displeasing or obstructive to the Pope.

The result has been a complete identification of interests between the Emperor and the Pope—so perfect, indeed, that to human view the question cannot arise whether it is the Pope that uses the Emperor as a convenient instrument, or the Emperor that is making the papal permanency the stable foun-

dation of his dynasty—Charlemagne over again. So far as the present duty and interest of nations is concerned, the difference is of no account, because for all present and practical purposes, they appear to be absolutely one and indivisible. They work in absolute unison, and whatever strengthens one benefits the other equally. The union of the Beast and False Prophet is at length consummated. The Emperor supplies the military power and the political cunning, adapted to the spirit of the age and the exigencies of the last half of the nineteenth century, and the Pope puts in the entire stock of religious traditions and hereditary superstitions accumulated in twelve hundred years, with the addition of the personal and social influence of the ubiquitous Jesuits working everywhere and always unseen. The work of Jesuitry is seen in the paralysis of the forces that ought to stand in the way of the grand conspiracy. Thus far its success has been marvelous. England, which from Cromwell's day had been looked to by all Protestants as "the bulwark of our holy religion," seems to have been almost subsidized to the help of the Pope. English statesmen have long been accustomed to regard foreign nations mainly as customers for English trade. The English traditionary dread of France has been quieted by the Cobden treaty of free trade, while the *entente cordiale* is confirmed by the readiness of French coöperation with the schemes of English greed in China, Japan, and Mexico. And, in the meantime, Cardinal Wiseman is entangling the English government in an extricable net-work of complications for the countenance and support of the priesthood and its schemes at home. And the Queen's obstinacy, Palmerston's proclivity to absolutism, and Russell's equal cowardice and self-sufficiency, are ingeniously combined and operated with, to make England's diplomacy a laughing-stock to her enemies, a snare to her allies, and a nightmare upon her national sense of honor. Unfortunately for us, there are too many facts which go to show that a process very similar in its results has been wrought upon the government of the United States under all administrations, the present not excepted. The coincidence is

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too extraordinary to be regarded as accidental, that at the very time when the invasion of Mexico was planned in the united interest of English trade, French ambition, and Papal restoration, and to gratify the European desire for the dismemberment of this republic, Archbishop Hughes should have found himself in Rome and Paris, in the two-fold capacity of member of a council of bishops to devise measures for the recovery of the temporal rights of the Church of Rome, and a confidential agent of our government to secure the good will of the Emperor in favor of the preservation of the Union, and that the only visible results have been the extinction of the Mexican Republic without a word of remonstrance or disapproval on our part, and with the oft-repeated assurances of the Secretary of State, that we were satisfied the Emperor did not mean anything wrong, and was doing only what he had a clear right to do, if he thought proper. Dr. Hughes came home and proclaimed his anxious desire to be for peace, by the speedy success of *one party or the other*. Presently after, the Pope of Rome, to whom as a temporal monarch the United States sends ambassadors, had the impertinence to exemplify his assumed sovereignty over the law of nations, by sending an encyclical letter to two of our citizens, the Archbishops of New York and New Orleans, enjoining upon them by his authority to set themselves at work to procure a speedy peace—all the world knowing that the only possible peace included the dissolution of the Union and the recognition of Southern independence. In plain terms, it was virtually an injunction that those prelates should make themselves traitors, on penalty of damnation. We do not learn that the ruler of Rome has ever been rebuked or remonstrated with for this impertinence. Neither has any member of Congress moved an inquiry into the matter, or raised a question as to the continuance of the appropriation for the support of a minister at a court thus regardless of the ordinary comity of nations. On the contrary, it is said in the newspapers, that when the Secretary of State endeavored, by a respectful application to the Pope, to secure the occupancy of certain important stations in this country by

bishops well known to be of loyal sentiments and unblemished character, the request was treated with signal contempt. The old story of crow and turkey.\*

It would appear that neither the scope of the Napoleonic ideas, nor the nature and comprehension of the Roman policy, have been fully appreciated by our government, which would otherwise have entrusted its interests to safer agencies, and taken more pains to give force to what it knows to be the feeling of the American people, in regard to the base invasion and usurpation carried on in Mexico. Mr. Romero, the able minister of the Mexican republic, has clearly shown that the invasion of his country was brought about by the solicitations of the Archbishop of Mexico, who sought by treason against his own natural allegiance to obtain the restoration of the temporal possessions of the church—the very object for which the council of bishops was held at Rome. It is a matter of history that the church of Rome acknowledges no interests or obligations of nations or governments, as being sacred enough to stand in the way of its aspirations. The subjugation of an innocent nation, and the forcible extinction of its constitutional government, is of no account in comparison with the recovery of sequestered estates, to saddle the country with the support of a few thousand lazy ecclesiastics. The title to all those sequestered properties vests ultimately in the popedom, which never dies, and its claims are never extinguished by lapse of time, or set aside by any act of human legislation.

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\* "Mr. Seward instructed our minister, Mr. Rufus King, to represent to his holiness Pius IX. that the appointment of Bishop Timon to the archdiocese of New York would be acceptable to the American 'government,' and urged the transfer of Archbishop Purcell, or the appointment of Bishop Rosecrans, to Baltimore.

"The response to the flippant secretary is made in the appointments we have announced. Mr. Seward's diplomacy had already made us the derision of the temporal powers of Europe, and he might have spared us the disgrace of a rebuff from Rome. He supposed, doubtless, that he could with impunity meddle with the keys of St. Peter; the rap over the fingers with which the sovereign pontiff has given—with his blessing—has doubtless bewildered the pert secretary. May it prove an admonition to him."—*New York World*, June 17th, 1864.

From age to age the purpose is cherished, to recover as a matter of vested right all that the Church has ever been dispossessed of, and to re-subjugate all countries that have ever submitted to its sway. It is idle to suppose that so responsible a servant of the Pope, visiting Europe on such an errand, would sacrifice his main object, which he was taught to consider of more value than all interests of temporal governments. Where the actual results harmonize so with the nature of things, it requires but little direct evidence to make out a sufficient case on which people will believe, and governments may safely act. The interest which the Pope has manifested in favor of the Mexican invasion, his early congratulations to the Emperor on his success, the prompt demand by the Mexican ecclesiastics upon the usurping French authorities for the immediate restoration of the sequestered church properties, and the anathemas fulminated by the archbishop when his demand was delayed, abundantly prove that this invasion has objects far deeper than the recovery of the Jecker bonds, which were the original pretext of the French claim. The Emperor may well look to his zeal in this behalf as the basis of great claims for favor from the Head of the Church. Should he be successful in restoring the priests to the vast possessions of property which they have lost, and thus enabling them to recover that ascendancy over the government, and that irresponsible control over all social interests, by which they have kept the country in darkness for fifty years, (which is what is really meant by restoring the ascendancy of the Latin race), the name of Louis Napoleon will stand in the front rank, among the princes who have sacrificed honor and patriotism on the altar of the Church, and it is possible that he might even secure the election of his cousin to the papal throne, as the successor of Pius IX. So much more powerful is the deep policy of the nephew, than the bullying force of the uncle, in making the popedom subservient to the establishment of the Bonapartean dynasty on a permanent basis.

But the acquisition of Mexico as a political and commercial dependency of France, has a value to the Emperor beyond the favor of the Pope. With a territory three times as large

as all France, and a climate embracing all diversities but the polar and the equatorial, and a fertility of soil far transcending anything that France can boast of, lying between and commanding two oceans, as France lies between two seas, it possesses a value in itself, as the abode of men, which far transcends that of France. To this is to be added the immeasurable riches of the Mexican mines, and the military value of the possession as the "key of the continent," and the central thoroughfare of the future commerce of the world. Travelers familiar with both countries speak in the strongest terms as to the superior natural adaptations of the Mexican territory for the home of a great nation, exulting in its wealth and ambitions of holding sway among the nations. Could the population of France be taken up and planted in Mexico, what a grand nation it would be, and what a splendid country it would be, and what a command it could exert over the whole world! This cannot be; but the next thing to it, in the estimation of the Emperor, as a popular gift to France, and a rich inheritance to transmit to his dynasty, would be the holding of it as a dependency of his crown, a trophy of his reign, a nursery for his army and navy, an instrument of his power in the councils of nations. He knew what he meant when he said that the conquest of Mexico was to be the great event of his reign. The experiments and failures of three hundred years, in Canada, Louisiana, the West Indies, South America, India and Africa, have not taught France that her people are not natural colonizers. With Algeria staring her in the face as virtually given back to the culture of the Moslem inhabitants, she longs to make another trial in Mexico, with some new schemes of subjugation and colonization, in which the blunders of past attempts are to be avoided by the superior sagacity of Napoleon III. It is easy enough to predict the inevitable ultimate failure of the scheme, because Frenchmen have not the power of self-control and self-government necessary for success in creating new nations by colonization. But at what a cost to Mexico, to America and to humanity, is the experiment to be made! As to the creation of an American empire, it will prove a costly blunder. With characteristic sagacity, the French



dictator has contrived to make the responsibility of the failure in this regard fall upon the Church of Rome and the House of Hapsburg. Maximilian will fail, and the Pope will fail to make anything great or stable in Mexico, as an empire dominated by a hierarchy. But Napoleon means to see to it that the hold acquired by France upon the military and commercial "key of the continent" shall not be lost. He will keep a French army in Mexico, he will establish French forms and rules in the courts, he will have Frenchmen enough in every branch of the government to control every position, and every resource and interest of the nation; he will build a French railroad to the capital, and thence to the Pacific ports, and another, for international commerce, across the Isthmus of Tehuantepec, and he means in this way to secure the ulterior objects of strengthening his dynasty by the aggrandizement of France, whatever may be the result to the welfare of the people of Mexico, whom he has undertaken to subjugate. He will not stop here, but his plans extend to the States of Central America, if not the whole of Spanish America. A letter in the *Evening Post* of June 10, said to be "from a responsible and trustworthy source," dated at Punta Arenas, Costa Rica, May 10, 1864, affirms, as a fact "familiar to the very children in the streets, in these enlightened districts," that Estrada, the originator of the Mexican monarchy, has a perfect understanding with bishops and other leaders of the "conservative," or priests' party, in Central America, that all those States will be brought under the Mexican empire as soon as Maximilian is firmly seated on his throne.\* Why not? He has quietly

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"Aycuana, the foreign minister at Guatemala, his brother Pedro, the bishop, and Pedro Zeledon, the foreign minister of Nicaragua, have perfected an arrangement, through the intervention of Gutierrez de Estrada, the originator of the Mexican monarchy, by which a movement for annexation will be set on foot immediately upon the arrival of Max the First in his dominions. The scheme is the result of an uninterrupted series of intrigues, partly of a date anterior to your civil war, and indeed to the machinations of the notorious Belly and his predecessors, for the acquisition of rights of transit and other immunities. In some respects the Mexican revolution itself is to be regarded as auxiliary only to those designs, for it is here that the conspirators desire to reap the fruit of their toils, by the construction of the lines of intercommunication from which they ex-

taken possession of the most populous States of Mexico, and assumes to have made the whole country subject to his arms, and has constituted it into an empire, and sent an appointee and dependent of his own to assume the throne; while the Government of the great Republic of the North, which forty years ago staked its national honor on the "Monroe Doctrine," has not dared to utter a word of remonstrance, through fear, forsooth, that the Emperor of France will be offended, and do us some terrible harm. Why should he stop with Mexico, and Vera Cruz, and Acapulco, and the Isthmus of Tehuantepec? To be able to throttle the whole continent he needs Nicaragua as well, and then Panama afterwards. The charter of the Panama railroad has a few years longer to run, and then it falls under the control of whatever power may at the time control the State of New Granada. Those few years, which pass so quickly in the lifetime of a nation, may afford time enough to enable the banished Jesuits, the recusant bishops and the Pope's nuncio, with the malcontent politicians, the blind bigots, the loafers and scoundrels, to get up another pronunciamiento against the present constitutional Government of Colombia, and invoke the intervention of the Emperor of France or of Mexico for the help of the "Conservative(!)" party, or to restore the ascendancy of the "Latin race," or to confer upon a distracted country the blessings of a stable government. Or it may be that the Jecker family will have some bonds issued

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pect to derive their profits. The speculators in monarchy throughout the continent, though inconsiderable in point of numbers, are active and shrewd. What they do they do quickly. The sun under which they are making hay will not shine forever, and they know it."

From the following it may be seen what were the views of the ruler of France just after his liberation from the fortress of Ham. Shortly after his arrival in London, in 1847, he published a pamphlet, from which, among other items equally interesting, we extract the following, which at this time should be read carefully, and be well thought over by the American people, viz :

"England will see with pleasure Central America become a flourishing and powerful State, which will establish a balance of power by creating in Spanish America a new centre of active enterprise, powerful enough to give rise to a great feeling of nationality, and to prevent, by backing Mexico, any further encroachments from the North."

by the usurper Obispo, in the name of the government of New Granada, for which they paid at the rate of half a cent on the dollar, and by a judicious distribution in the right quarter at Paris the Emperor may be induced to undertake the collection of the whole amount, and to hold the country till it is paid. These stockholders will then find that the combined interests of France and Rome cannot be managed as easily as the feebler governments of former days. It has been complained in years past, that the influence of the railroad has been used in favor of the Priests' party and against the constitutional or liberal government. They may be assured that their interests will be of no account if the Priests' party in New Granada is ever restored by the help of France. Then the "key of the continent" will be fully in hand, and will be likely to be held for the benefit of the joint concern, until both Popes and Bonapartes have run out their race and disappeared.

This writing will not have been in vain, if it shall have any effect in calling the attention of the American people to the grounds for believing that the various national movements of the time possess a substantial unity of object and direction that magnifies immensely their importance in relation to our own interests and duties. The moral impulse is the perpetuation of the power of the Church of Rome, and the executive rule is the establishment of the Napoleonic dynasty and the political ascendancy of France. The Polish insurrection, the invasion of Mexico, the dismemberment of Denmark, the American rebellion, and a hundred, yea, a thousand minor movements, while possessing each its own importance, may all be seen to have taken place when they did and as they did, from their bearings on this one end,—constituted one out of two,—the advancement of the Church of Rome and the Empire of France. With consummate skill, the arch manager has subsidized to his uses all the interests of absolutism and all the prejudices of the privileged classes, and has conciliated in its favor most of the religious and scientific influences, throughout Europe. And the whole scheme, with all its parts and ramifications, hinges for its success upon the possession of the "key of the continent," for the purpose of crippling the power and hedging the advancement of the United States. So long as

this country remained peaceful and prosperous, united and free, the star of hope to nations and the refuge of oppressed humanity in all Europe, with a government quick to apprehend national responsibilities, and resolute to repel all encroachments, it would be impossible to carry out the grand design, or to secure the acquiescence and coöperation of all the governments of Europe. Who can believe that the Emperor of France would have received the congratulations of every government of Europe on the conquest of Mexico, had the government of the United States been untrammelled by the rebellion, and boldly planted itself at the beginning upon the line of the Monroe doctrine? Even as it was, there are multitudes who believe that it would have been both better and safer, had our government disregarded the subterfuges of diplomatic deception, and acted upon the known facts of the case rather than the formal pretences, by telling the parties to the London coalition that we could not look upon their proposed invasion of Mexico in any other light than as an act of unfriendliness and wrong to ourselves.

It is always unfortunate for statesmen to fall below their opportunities, and always dangerous when they underestimate their enemies. The questions which are now about to be settled are such as affect the whole future of the civilized world. England, formerly the guardian of oppressed nations, is now the waterbearer for France, and quietly assents or assists in the subjugation of independent states for the sake of French aggrandizement and the extension of her own interests. And French aggrandizement involves the extension and consolidation of the power of the Church of Rome. There are no more wanton deeds of national greed in the pages of history than the twin invasions of Mexico and Denmark. And there is abundant evidence of a community of interest of these and the slaveholders' rebellion, to make it the duty of American statesmen to watch them all as parts of one grand conspiracy against the light of the gospel and the rights of human nature, of which we bear the heaviest brunt only because we constitute the advanced column.

One of the devices by which this scheme is sought to be

shielded from the reprobation of mankind, consists in holding out the expectation that Mexico, as a nation, is sure ultimately to derive vast benefits from her subjugation, because it is to result in the creation of a stable government, from which permanent tranquillity and general prosperity are sure to follow. Even at the very time when the British and the American embassies were so fully satisfied with the assurance that the invasion was not *going* to interfere with the rights of the Mexican people as to their government, the idea was propagated everywhere, that this subjection of the country to military force was *going* to result in the institution of a stable government in that long afflicted and glorious country. British, French, and Spanish diplomatists and writers dwelt with fondness on this anticipation, although Lord Russell and Mr. Seward were satisfied that there was no intention to interfere with the existing constitutional government of Mexico. And that idea prevails to this day. Not only do the merchants of England believe that the invasion is going to make a good time for selling goods and collecting debts; the aristocracy naturally look with satisfaction to this result, both because it will increase the wealth of the kingdom, (of which they will get the lion's share), and especially because it will be, as they think, a fatal blow at republicanism in America, and, coupled with our disasters, will help to allay the longing desire of their own masses for the extension of popular rights. The religious press, even the organs of dissent, in a spirit which is certainly much more English than Christian, multiply reasons for foreboding good to Mexico from her subjugation to France. They never tire of vilifying Louis Napoleon, his character, policy, and dynasty, as displayed in France, while they seem to think that the same will be transformed to benefactions when carried to America. They regard the dominion of Rome, and especially the Pope's supremacy in temporal matters, the greatest of evils everywhere else, and then affirm that the reëstablishment of the church power in Mexico by the force of the French army is to be the dawn of a new era of light to Spanish America.

The inconsistency of all this is even less flagrant than its foolishness. What has been the one source of the manifold

revolutions and the progressive deterioration through which Mexico has passed in forty years? Why has a free republic, with all the advantages of country and position, gone backward instead of forward? The one cause of causes that itself originates and gives force to all other causes, has been Romanism. This has controlled the press and fettered free discussion; ~~has~~ obstructed the circulation of the Bible, the charter of popular liberty; ~~has~~ prevented all systematic provision for general education, and left the mass of the people in as profound ignorance of the progress of knowledge as they were forty years ago; and has been the instigator of all the cruelty and oppression, all the intrigue and disorder, all the internal weakness and disorganization, which have made the name of Mexico a by-word over the world.\* This detrimental influence had for the first time been fully subjugated to the laws under the constitutional government of President Juarez, and deprived of its power of future mischief, so that the way was open for the introduction of Bibles, schools, general intelligence, and all the means of social advancement, which were about to be put in full operation. It was just at this juncture, and just at the point of national exhaustion consequent upon the final suppression of the usurping government, that British greed came in and took the sick man by the throat, the moment the poison was ejected, and bade him "Pay me that thou owest." Of course payment was impossible at that time, and the Mexican government, with honest and manly frankness, said so, and said truly, that they had as much as they could do for several years in restoring and regulating their internal affairs, without

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\* Mr. Romero, the Mexican Minister, in his speech at New York, in December last, closes with these words:

"In conclusion, there is one remark that cannot be withheld. It is regarding the striking similarity which exists between the Church party of Mexico and the slavery party in the United States. The Church was there a power stronger than the State: so was slavery in this country. The Church had there been the only cause of our civil wars; so now is slavery here. The Church party in Mexico, after being conquered by the people, solicited foreign intervention, in order to be re-established in power: so slavery in this country, as I understand, has sought foreign aid even before being conquered by the Government of the United States."

attempting to pay up their outstanding bonds. For this they were first visited with a torrent of abuse by Lord Russell and his agents, the equal of which not even English officials ever heaped upon any barbarous or reckless king of Naples or Dahomy. And then came the deliberate treaty of invasion, for the suppression of the constitutional government, and the restoration of the church locusts, to eat out what remains of substance in the country. When history comes to investigate the springs of action of this unexampled period, it will lay the chief responsibility for the invasion and subjugation of Mexico at the door of England.\* (On this whole class of national rights and interests the passion for trade, and especially its eagerness for speedy returns, has led the English mind into the adoption of a fallacious theory, which is as unphilosophical as it is unchristian. It calculates what may be done from what has been done, and looks for increased profits only from increased coercion both of production and of payment, overlooking, in its shortsightedness, the productive value, in the long run, of increased intelligence, morality, and liberty among the people of a country. The truth is, that commerce based upon the old theory has about reached its limits of growth. The whole world has been skimmed over, its wealth produced under uncivilized institutions has been gathered, and its productive capacity with existing conditions has been fully reached. The resources of colonization, which many rely on, are limited by

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\* Our own authorities are by no means clear of this guilt and folly of anticipating benefits to Mexico from the French conquest. The *National Intelligencer*, referring to the recent return of Minister Corwin from Mexico, makes the following statement, which, by its studied phraseology, authorizes us to believe all that is not explicitly denied:

"We have seen some conjectures in various quarters, to the effect that Mr. Corwin, our present esteemed minister to Mexico, was favorable to the success of imperial government in that country. We have Governor Corwin's authority for saying that he never entertained nor expressed an opinion favorable to the principle of forcible foreign intervention in Mexico. He has thought, and has so expressed himself often, that Maximilian, or any other power to which the Mexican people would submit, who could give them good and stable government and restore domestic tranquillity, would be a great benefactor to Mexico. His official position and that of his government has been and is one of perfect neutrality between the contending powers in Mexico."

the very small numbers of people that are qualified and can be had for colonizing in new fields. Africa, Asia, South America, are now to be regenerated, and made agreeable as neighbors and productive as to trade, mainly by the regeneration of their own populations, and not by the colonization of those who call themselves "the superior races." And for this the almost sole dependence is upon the power of the Gospel, to the extension of which the present system of English diplomacy is one of the chief obstructions.

The subject grows upon us as we advance. But time and space now permit only a bare statement of the conclusion of the whole matter. It is, that the people of the United States are right in looking upon the occupancy of the "key of the continent," or any part thereof, from the Rio Grande to the Orinoco, by any European power or coalition, as *utterly and forever inadmissible*, as a wrong to be repelled, and resisted and removed, by all means, through exertions never remitted, as the conditions of our national peace and independence, if not of our existence as a free people. And it follows that the Austro-Gallic empire in Mexico should be regarded and treated, by all the lawful governments of America, as an unendurable nuisance, to be abated as speedily as possible, by separate or joint efforts, at whatever hazard or cost. It is a pure and unmitigated evil, a wrong done to us all, an insult in its motive, a foul conspiracy in its contrivance, and an outrage in its deed.

There ought not, there cannot be any settled peace on this continent, there can be no permanent pacific relations between America and Europe, until this indignity is done away, until the Monroe Doctrine is recognized as the law of nations between the two continents. We desire that this may be accomplished solely by pacific measures, and chief among them we regard a firm and manly statement of our rights, while a shilly-shally policy, of equivocal claims and concessions, and timid apprehensions of rebuff and displeasure from those who are bent upon crowding us to the wall, are sure to be unavailing, and only tend to make more inevitable the terrible alternative of a general war, which may God avert, in mercy to mankind!



## ARTICLE VI.—NOTICES OF NEW BOOKS.

## THEOLOGICAL AND RELIGIOUS.

ELLICOTT ON THESSALONIANS.\*—Ellicott's Commentaries on the Epistles to the Ephesians and the Galatians have been so long known to the American public, through the editions issued by Mr. Draper of Andover, that it seems scarcely necessary to say anything concerning them at this late day. We are sure that very many of our readers will share the pleasure with which we receive the announcement that another volume has been reprinted, and thus placed within the reach of all students of the New Testament among our people. The character of the present volume on the Thessalonians is very similar to that of the earlier volumes; and the continued use of the author's works only leads us to express, with more earnestness, what we have said of them on the pages of this Quarterly, on former occasions. It is really refreshing—in the midst of the large amount of uninteresting and uninformative writing on the Scriptures, which is given forth not only from the American, but, perhaps, in an especial degree, from the English press, to find such thorough scholarly works as those of Bishop Ellicott;—and to those who do not have access to the writings of German authors, these volumes offer what has long been desired, and what cannot fail to be fully appreciated. We are happily getting beyond the days of Scott, and Matthew Henry, and even Barnes; and we trust that the young men of the present day, who are pursuing theological studies, are prepared, in some measure, to follow the most careful scholars in their searchings into the Scriptures, and to make their own "practical observations."

If Bishop Ellicott has any fault in his writings on the Pauline Epistles—and we think he has some—perhaps the most striking one is, that he is, if we may so express it, too intensely grammat-

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\* *A Critical and Grammatical Commentary on St. Paul's Epistles to the Thessalonians*, with a revised translation. By CHARLES J. ELLICOTT, B. D., Dean of Exeter, and Professor of Divinity, Kings College, London. Andover: W. F. Draper. 1864. 8vo. pp. 171. New Haven: T. H. Pease. Price 1.75.

ical. He dwells too entirely upon the exact meaning of words and phrases, and never suffers himself to enter into anything of the glory of the Pauline thought and feeling. He does nothing to inspire in the student a love for the author; nor does he, as it seems to us, trace out, with sufficient fullness, the progress of the discourse—except, indeed, as it passes on from verse to verse. He appears to limit himself, of set purpose, to the “critical and grammatical” of his title page, as if anything beyond this would have violated his promise to his readers, and so he becomes dry beyond what is needful; he almost prevents the reader from reading a word more than what is necessary for the explanation of the single passage concerning which he is in doubt. But it is infinitely better to be dry than prosy; and we do not expect a scholastic and critical commentary to be as exciting as a novel, or as interesting as *some* sermons.

We trust we may be pardoned if we add, that we do not quite like the manner of the author, in all his works, in expressing his feelings toward persons who do not accept his position on certain subjects. Without expressing any sympathy with the views of Professor Jowett and writers of his class, we question whether anything is gained, either for them or for the cause, by assuming such a style as is found in the passage, which follows the author's remarks on Jowett's Commentary on these same Epistles: “After having thus performed a very painful duty, I trust I may be permitted to express my full recognition of the genius that pervades his writings, the ease, finish, and, alas! persuasiveness of the style, the kindly though self-conscious spirit that animates his teaching, and the love of truth that, however sadly and deeply wounded by paradoxes and polemics, still seems to be ever both felt and cultivated. May these good gifts be dedicated anew to the service of Divine Truth, and be overruled to more happy and more chastened issues.” Perhaps it is a matter of taste only, but we doubt whether Professor Jowett's “good gifts” are any more likely to “be overruled to more happy and more chastened issues,” because these words were printed, than if they had been omitted; and we are even led to doubt whether, in general, it does a great deal of good to tell a man, who happens to disagree with us respecting the strictness of some of our views, that we are “pained” to see how rapidly his looseness is carrying him downward. Nay, more—we have sometimes thought, that such a style was espe-

cially out of place, in the case of one who would comment upon the words of this Apostle. But we speak with becoming hesitation, and we are willing, if it be desired, to put an emphatic interrogative at the close of this paragraph.

The author of the recently published "Letters to a Theological Student" expresses his regret that Olshausen's Commentaries have ever been translated and thus opened to American readers—because they are so much more dangerous than Scott. Without giving any opinion as to the reasonableness of this regret—(the present is not the proper place for such an opinion)—we may say that the works of Ellicott are eminently safe, as indeed, his remarks already quoted would seem to indicate. He combines a high order of scholarship with very strict views; and we may cheerfully commend the present volume as one that every clergyman, however alarmed at the danger of modern learning or scepticism, might well make his own both by purchase and by careful study. That even the most rigid in their views of inspiration, &c. can find no fault with him, we think will be plain from the following passage, which is found in his note on 1 Thess. v. 23.

"Your body and soul and spirit;" distinct enunciation of *three component parts* of the nature of man. . . . . To assert that enumerations like the present are rhetorical, (as De Wette), or worse, that the apostle probably attached 'no distinct thought to each of these words,' (as Jowett), is plainly to set aside all sound rules of scriptural exegesis. Again, to admit the distinctions, but to refer them to Platonism, (as Lünemann), is equally unsatisfactory and equally calculated to throw doubt on the whole of the teaching. If St. Paul's words do here *imply* the trichotomy above described, then such a trichotomy is *infallibly real and true*. And if Plato or Philo have maintained (as appears demonstrable) substantially the same views, then God has permitted a heathen and a Jewish philosopher to advance conjectural opinions, which have been since confirmed by the independent teaching of an inspired apostle."

But we are extending this notice beyond the proper limits, and we can only close, as we began, with the expression of our sincere gratification at the reception of this new volume. The author's faults,—if, indeed, others agree with us, that he has any,—are nothing in comparison with his excellencies, and the earnest Christian feeling, which shines out here and there, in the midst of his grammatical annotations, will make many a reader follow him with the more satisfaction, and with the larger confidence. That he is an earnest seeker after truth no one can doubt;—that he is a patient and faithful investigator, and a believing, devoted Christian

scholar, is the highest praise which he would ask for himself, and this praise will be readily given him by all.

**LANGE'S COMMENTARY.**—A Theological and Homiletical Commentary has been for some time in course of preparation in Germany, under the editorial supervision of the Rev. Prof. Dr. JOHN PETER LANGE of the University of Bonn, in connection with a number of distinguished divines of Continental Europe. The New Testament is nearly finished and the Old Testament has been commenced. It promises to be a complete and useful Commentary, and will prove especially valuable to ministers. It contains critical annotations of the text and its translation, and a threefold commentary, *exegetical*, *doctrinal*, and *homiletical*. Under these three heads the text is viewed under every aspect. It forms almost an exegetical library by itself. The spirit of the Commentary is eminently genial and reverential, thoroughly evangelical, and yet truly catholic and liberal.

An English translation of this work, with a considerable amount of original additions, is now preparing for the use of the American public, under the editorial management of Dr. Philip Schaff, assisted by the Rev. Drs. Shedd, Schäffer, Yeomans, Kendrick, and other eminent divines of various evangelical denominations. The first volume, containing the General Introduction and Commentary on the Gospel of St. Matthew, prepared by Dr. Lange in German, and by Dr. Schaff in English, will appear in a few months from the press of Mr. Charles Scribner of New York.

**DR. NAST'S COMMENTARY.\***—Dr. William Nast is a German by birth, a graduate of the University of Tübingen, where he was for several years a room-mate of Strauss, the author of the *Life of Christ*. After coming to this country, which was many years ago, he "was brought," to use his own language in the dedication of this volume, "into the liberty of the Gospel," and engaged in the service of the Methodist Episcopal Church, as their pioneer missionary among the Germans of the Western States. He has prepared, with great painstaking, this elaborate commen-

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\* *A Commentary on the Gospels of Matthew and Mark, critical, doctrinal, homiletical, &c. &c.* By WILLIAM NAST, D. D. Cincinnati: Poe & Hitchcock, 1864. 4to. pp. 760.

tary on the first two Gospels. It is designed for popular use, as well as for the benefit of ministers. Superadded to a critical interpretation of the text, which is stripped, as far as possible, of abstruse learning, are found doctrinal remarks and brief suggestions for the assistance of preachers and teachers. Prefixed to the work is a thoroughly written introduction of one hundred and fifty pages, in vindication of the authenticity and verity of the Gospel records, against the assaults of modern skepticism, in the course of which the author's old associate, Strauss, is ably answered. Dr. Nast has not only made use of approved German commentators, but has, also, availed himself of the aid to be gained from Norton, Andrews, and other English writers of merit.

We are able to speak of this commentary in terms of high commendation. For the classes for whom it is specially designed, it will prove a most instructive and improving guide in the study of the first two Gospels. We congratulate the excellent author on the completion of this monument of his industry, scholarship, and piety. May he be rewarded with the generous patronage of the public!

RENAN'S "RELIGIOUS HISTORY AND CRITICISM." \*—This volume contains a laudatory sketch of M. Renan's career, from the pen of one of his countrymen; Renan's preface to his essays; and, finally, the essays themselves, on the following subjects: the Religions of Antiquity; History of the People of Israel; the part of the Semitic people in the History of Civilization; the Critical Historians of Christ; Mahomet and the Origins of Islamism; John Calvin; Channing; Feuerbach and the New Hegelian school; the Future of Religion in Modern Society.

In these disquisitions, M. Renan shows himself to be a lively, bright-minded writer, learned in oriental philology, but of a hasty and superficial judgment. His philosophy is a sort of Pantheism, which is commended to the reader by effusions of maudlin sentiment. He shows a better understanding of the philosophy of mythology and of the nature of paganism than is displayed by most Frenchmen. This he acquires from his German masters.

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\* *Studies of Religious History and Criticism.* By M. ERNEST RENAN. Translated by O. B. FROTHINGHAM, Pastor of the Third Unitarian Church in New York. With a biographical introduction. New York: Carleton, 1864. New Haven: Judd and White. 8vo., pp. 394. Price \$2.50.

The *furor* about so unscientific and self-contradicting a writer as Renan, is not very creditable to the skeptical class. Mr. Frothingham, who stands as sponsor for this volume, is *Pastor* of a *Church* in New York!

ALGER'S "DOCTRINE OF A FUTURE LIFE."\*—The Rev. Mr. Alger, a Unitarian clergyman of Boston, well known by his published addresses and essays, has written a work of near seven hundred octavo pages upon that interesting and momentous theme,—the Future Life. The book has been for sometime before the public; but our notice of it has been delayed so long, that we shall now attempt to do no more than sketch the headings of its five parts. At a future time we may devote to the work some more extended criticism. The first Part gives, in four chapters, historical and critical Introductory Notes of the subject, treating of the various theories held respecting the soul's origin and destiny, of the history of death, and of the grounds of belief in a future life. The second Part is entitled *Ethnic Thoughts concerning a Future Life*, and fills one hundred and fifty pages, with a full synopsis of the views held by different non-Christian races respecting the life beyond the grave. It evinces extensive and penetrating study, with acute apprehension and well-considered reasoning, and is, we think, the portion of the work which will be most enjoyed by the greatest number, with fewest drawbacks. The third Part sets forth the New Testament Teachings concerning a Future Life, distinguishing the varying views represented in its different books, and closing with a statement of what, in the author's opinion, is the essential part of Christian doctrine on the subject. Next follow *Christian Thoughts concerning a Future Life*, in three chapters, which represent respectively the doctrine of the Fathers, of the Middle Ages, and of modern times. Finally, the Fifth Part is made up of sundry Historical and Critical Dissertations on the ancient Mysteries, metempsychosis, the resurrection of the body, hell, modes of salvation, recognition of friends, the local fate of man, the history of disbelief in immortality, and the morality of the doctrine of a future life. An Index of Topics and Authors follow, and then the volume is closed by an Appendix of two hundred and thirty pages, con-

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\* *A Critical History of the Doctrine of a Future Life.* With a complete Bibliography of the Subject. By WILLIAM ROUNSEVILLE ALGER. Philadelphia: George W. Childs. 1864. 8vo. pp. x., 914.

taining an exceedingly rich and complete account of the literature of the subject, or a Catalogue of Works relating to the Nature, Origin, and Destiny of the Soul, prepared by Mr. Ezra Abbot, of the Harvard University Library at Cambridge.

This abstract of the contents of the book will show that it fulfills the promise of its title: it is mainly historical, yet by no means exclusively so; it is nearly as much critical and dogmatical. Its author's own very decided views not only show through, but are made conspicuous, in every page; they govern the presentation of every portion of the subject. Mr. Alger belongs to the advanced wing of Unitarian Christianity, and is one of those "liberals" who are a little wanting in liberality toward those whose opinions are less "liberal" than their own. The work, however, contains an immense amount of information and of speculation, which cannot but be valuable to every one, whatever his creed, and which any candid man may enjoy and profit by, without allowing himself to be disturbed by its mixture with doctrine which he rejects.

Mr. Abbot's Appendix is a work by itself, and deserves an independent notice. It gives us, in an order partly chronological, partly depending on their subject, the titles of more than five thousand books, treating of the soul and of its future existence; being thus incomparably more full than any preceding catalogue of the same character. For its entire faithfulness and accuracy, the name of the author is a sufficient voucher. The student who is led by Mr. Alger's views to independent investigations into this most attractive theme, will find here the best possible guide and help to his researches.

**ROBERTSON'S SERMONS.\***—The name of Robertson is honored by thousands on both sides of the Atlantic, to whom, before his death, it was wholly unknown. The same originality of thought and mingled precision and felicity of utterance, which have marked his previously published sermons, characterize the present collection. The same penetration into the core of the text and of the subject, the same vigorous yet delicate thinking, meet the reader on every page. Robertson was surely a marvelously gifted man.

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\* *Sermons.* By the late Rev. F. W. ROBERTSON. Fifth Series. Boston: Ticknor and Fields. 1864. 12mo., pp. 271. New Haven: Judd and White. Price \$1.25.

It is to be lamented that he could not have been spared to revise his productions before they were committed to the press. It would seem that his theological views had not attained to a mature and systematic form. Along with profound and edifying exhibitions of truth, there is often mingled error, from which we imagine that the author would have escaped, had he lived to carry out his processes of inquiry and perfect his writings. As an example, we may advert to his sermon on Prayer, (p. 20); a sermon indicative of a very high order of mind and containing deep truth. From the text "If it be possible, let this cup pass from me; nevertheless not as I will, but as thou wilt," he draws the lesson that the end and aim of prayer is self-resignation to the Divine will. Prayer is the struggle which terminates in restful submission. This is a truth, and a truth nobly told. But the preacher commits the error of limiting the function of prayer to the obtaining of this solitary good. Prayer, he says, does not move God: this would be to deny His immutability. But here he falls into an error. The essential thing in prayer is the humble desire directed upward to God. In this desire, is the soul of the petition. But who can deny that the existence of such a temper of feeling in man is, literally speaking, influential with God? Would not God cease to be immutable, if the presence or absence of such a state of feeling and of character in man nowise affected his administration? Another instance of a falling short of what we conceive to be the truth is found in the sermon on reconciliation by Christ, (p. 177). The self-condemnation of the sinner and his inward alienation from God are strongly and faithfully depicted; but for fear of anthropomorphism and of impinging upon the Divine love, the preacher shrinks from finding in the sinner's feeling the reflection of an objective displeasure and condemnation in the mind of God. Hence, as a doctrinal structure, the sermon is seriously defective, and even misleading. Notwithstanding these drawbacks, we commend the sermons of Robertson to the attention of all thoughtful people.

DR. GOULBURN'S THOUGHTS ON PERSONAL RELIGION.\*—The

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\* *Thoughts on Personal Religion.* Being a Treatise on the Christian Life in its two chief elements, Devotion and Practice. By EDWARD MEYRICK GOULBURN, D. D., Prebendary of St Paul's etc. First American from the Fifth London Edition. With a Prefatory Note, by GEORGE H. HOUGHTON, D. D., Rector of the Church of the Transfiguration, New York. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1864. 12mo. pp. 398. New Haven: H. C. Peck. Price \$1.75



spirit of Dr. Goulburn's work is excellent, and one cannot read it without being drawn toward the author as a personal friend, whose society it would be a privilege to enjoy. The phraseology of the book occasionally may displease "Dissenters," but it is a work so practical and edifying and uncontroversial, that a few expressions which we might prefer to have unuttered, can readily be overlooked. Dr. Houghton, of New York, in his brief prefatory note, says that he has read the work to his parishioners in place of a weekly lecture, and to their lasting benefit; and a book which an audience is willing to hear *read*, must surely have some peculiar merit and interest.

We believe that works of this character need to be studied by our ministry, and that it will be a good thing for the church universal if they are led by such study to greater efforts to promote the divine life in regenerate hearts, both in private intercourse and in public discourse. And we agree with Dr. Goulburn in the belief that "where conversion is considered everything and edification nothing; where quiet instruction in the lessons of holiness is sacrificed to exciting addresses which stimulate the understanding and arouse the feelings; and where religion is apt to resolve itself into a religious emotion every Sunday, just stirring the torpor of a worldly life with a pleasurable sensation,"—there will be many whose experience and destiny will be like that of the foolish virgins.

**SATAN'S DEVICES AND THE BELIEVER'S VICTORY.\***—The object of Mr. Parsons in this book, as is indicated in the title, is to give prominence to the thought that life is a perpetual conflict with an unseen and mighty adversary, crafty, unscrupulous, and malignant, who works upon the human mind, in full accordance with the laws of its mental and moral constitution, and whose devices can be thwarted only by the personal apprehension of Christ as an all-sufficient aid. Thus the attempt is made to set forth clearly the opposing forces as a preliminary to success in "the good fight of faith." The author assigns a larger sphere and greater influence to Satan than is commonly done in the theological literature of our day; but discusses the subject with a practical aim, and strives to make

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\* *Satan's Devices and the Believer's Victory.* By the Rev. WILLIAM M. PARSONS, A. M., Pastor of the Congregational Church, Mattapoisett, Mass. Boston: Gould & Lincoln. 1864. 12mo. pp. 312.

his teachings as important to those who deny as to those who admit the personal existence of the devil. It is evidently the work of one who has more than usual experience in guiding inquirers and aiding the desponding in times of religious awakening; and it is illustrated with "Pastor's Sketches," somewhat after the style of the well known "Sketches" of the late Dr. Spencer. The book would be more to our mind if it had less of a sensational character, but it appears to be adapted to give aid to souls that are struggling against temptations and desirous of becoming better servants of Christ.

**LIGHT IN DARKNESS.\***—We have read this little volume with intense interest, and can recommend it as worthy the perusal of all our readers. It is from the pen of the author of "Trinitarian Sermons to a Unitarian Congregation," whose name is well known to many in all our religious communities. The present volume is a record of the religious experience of one who began his public career as a Unitarian clergyman, and who was led by the development of his own religious wants first to a conscious dissatisfaction with the views which he had first received, and secondly to the adoption of those which are more nearly scriptural, till finally he emerged into a condition in which he consciously and distinctly accepted the orthodox faith. The circumstances which impart a peculiar interest to the experience of the writer are the following: He was not approached by any believer in the orthodox faith during the period of gradual transition, but he was moved from within by the necessities of his own spiritual life—his transition to a more scriptural faith was step by step upon single points of doctrine, and not to the orthodox scheme as a whole. He was not aware that his own creed coincided with that accepted by many orthodox Christians, until sometime after he had found rest in a consistent system of belief.

But the book cannot be characterized or described. It must be read to be appreciated. Its publication is very timely, and the spirit in which it is written must be approved by all as eminently catholic and kindly, while it is faithful and earnest.

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\* *Light in Darkness; or Christ discovered in his true character by a Unitarian.*  
Boston: Gould & Lincoln. 24mo. pp. 123. 1864.

**THE MEMORIAL HOUR.\***—This is a devotional work, which may be used with advantage by those who wish assistance in preparing themselves to engage in the great Memorial Ordinance of our Lord.

**SERMONS BY REV. GEO. W. PERKINS.†**—This is a new edition of a volume of sermons which was first published soon after the death of the lamented author, which occurred in 1856. In 1859, we noticed, at some length, the Sermons, and the very interesting Memoir which is prefixed. Geo. W. Perkins will long be remembered as one of the most earnest, conscientious, practical, and laborious of the Congregational clergymen of his day. Few ministers have accomplished as much as he in every department of pastoral and philanthropic labor. We are glad that his friends have been encouraged to publish a second edition of the book, and that they have taken the occasion to insert one of the latest sermons that he prepared, which was preached amid the excitement of the Presidential campaign of 1856. Mr. Perkins, it will be recollected, was thought by some to hold views on the subject of slavery of too radical a description. This sermon, to which the title has been given "Facts and Duties of the Times," is a complete vindication of his position, and proves, as now is everywhere conceded, that his was the only true *conservative* ground on which to stand in relation to the great national curse—slavery.

**DRUMMOND'S THOUGHTS FOR THE CHRISTIAN LIFE.‡**—The author of the sermons published under this title, closed his last brief but most effective ministry in the gospel at Springfield, Mass., in the year 1861. The striking sermons which the volume contains are prefaced by an interesting introduction from the pen of his parishioner and ardent friend, Dr. J. G. Holland. The discourses themselves explain both the warm but not indiscrimina-

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\* *The Memorial Hour*; or, the Lord's Supper, in its relation to Doctrine and Life. By JEREMIAH CHAPLIN, D. D. Boston: Gould & Lincoln. 1864. 16mo. pp. 283. New Haven: F. T. Jarman. Price \$1.25.

† *Sermons*. By GEO. W. PERKINS. With a Memoir. Second edition, with additions. New York: A. D. F. Randolph. 1863. 12mo. pp. 331.

‡ *Thoughts for the Christian Life*. By Rev. JAMES DRUMMOND. With an Introduction by J. G. HOLLAND. New York: Charles Scribner. 1864. pp. 371. New Haven: T. H. Pease. Price \$1.50.

ting eulogy of the Introduction, and the marked success and effect which attended his ministry. They are brief; shorter than the average of pulpit discourses. They are simple, also, to some minds, seeming to contain less than the proper amount of original or weighty thought, but they are the author's own, giving the results of his own practical reflections, and colored and warmed by his own earnest Christian feeling. They are energetic, going directly and urgently to the hearts of the reader; earnest, uttered as every sermon should be, because they are thus believed and therefore spoke. They are, therefore, interesting, elevated altogether above the common-place repetitions and the swelling rhetoric of the majority of printed discourses. For these reasons they are worthy to be read and studied by both clergymen and laymen.

#### PHILOSOPHICAL AND METAPHYSICAL.

HERBERT SPENCER'S NEW SYSTEM OF PHILOSOPHY.\*—The Messrs. Appleton have begun in earnest the work of re-publishing the writings of Mr. Herbert Spencer, and his New System of Philosophy is likely to become familiar to American readers. They have already given to us his *Essays upon Education*, and some kindred subjects, and more recently his "Illustrations of Universal Progress" in a series of *Miscellaneous Discussions*. Both of these were put forth to serve as *avant couriers* to his more formal and elaborate treatises.

Of these the *First Principles* is the most important and interesting to the philosopher and the theologian. Our readers have already been favored with a very able exhibition and review of this work, especially in its relation to Theology, and we need do no more than call attention to the American edition, which, in its external features, is in every respect more attractive than the original.

Our first interest in anything which claims to be a new system of philosophy, is concerned with its relations to Christian truth, and to those principles which the Christian system embodies or implies. The system of Mr. Spencer, as our readers scarcely need to be in-

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\* *First Principles of a New System of Philosophy*. By HERBERT SPENCER. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1864. 12mo. pp. 508. New Haven: H. C. Peck. Price \$2.00.

formed, is, in its fundamental principles, exclusive of and therefore antagonistic to the Christian philosophy. Its doctrine of evolution is materialistic in its affinities and tendencies. If, by any possibility, this doctrine could be reconciled with the Christian psychology and the Christian doctrine of creation, its assumptions with respect to the Divine Being, if it be proper to designate by such an appellation the inscrutable Absolute, is distinctively and positively Anti-Christian and Anti-Theistic. As a philosophical doctrine, and as growing out of philosophical assumptions, it must of course be discussed upon its appropriate grounds, and stand or fall by its own merits. It ought not, however, to be concealed from those who are inclined to study the system of Spencer, that what he teaches is incompatible with Theism, as this term is commonly understood, and of course is exclusive of and antagonistic to Christianity.

It claims, at the same time, to be not irreligious in its sympathies, and not irreverent in its tone. It recognizes religion in some form of doctrine and of sentiment as essential to Human Nature, and as the most potent element in Human Society. It argues that there must be some reality in that which all humanity believes in and recognizes, and which the human soul requires, and yet it insists, in the same breath, that what this reality is we are forever excluded from knowing, and, of course, that every form of positive religious conception and earnest religious belief, must of necessity be defective and false.

For our part we wonder that the philosopher who can find in the data assigned by Mr. Spencer as grounds for faith in "the Absolute somewhat," should not, by the same data, find himself so compelled to accept an Absolute as manifested in and through the Relative. We can see nothing but the caprice of the inquirer which holds him back from Theism, as the only possible solution of the system of the universe of facts, and the only rational foundation for the inductive philosophy. It seems to be only an irrational *bizarrierie* of intellect which forces him to concede or rather to assert so much, and which forbids or prevents him from believing no more.

We have been both surprised and amused to observe in the occasional notices of these volumes, which have appeared in some influential religious newspapers, how utterly unconscious their authors seemed to be of the theological doctrines which these books incul-

cate. While they do not dare commend the author without reserve, yet they do not distinctly understand why they should not. Inasmuch as there is force in the author's style, and his friends assert for him extraordinary claims, they do not like to condemn him. That they do not understand the reach and bearing of his system is most obvious.

Meanwhile, Mr. Spencer has in this country a band of intelligent and devoted admirers, who are ready to avail themselves of every concession in his praise which his discriminating critics will make and who eagerly cite the wholesale laudations or vague recommendations which indiscriminating reviewers furnish for their use. It would seem that the editors of religious newspapers ought to know whether the books which they recommend teach Theism or Atheism, on principle.

WHEDON ON THE WILL.\*—The Methodist Book Concern gives to the public an able discussion of the Will by a prominent Methodist divine. The scope and object of the work could be conjectured by the source from which it comes, were they not so fully expressed in the title. The volume aims to exhaust the doctrine of the Will by treating it in all possible relations, positively, in its psychological, speculative, and theological aspects, and controversially, by a critical examination of necessitarian and Calvinistic arguments.

It is divided as follows: Part First. The Issue stated (in eight chapters). Part Second. The Necessitarian Argument considered. Section I. The Causational Argument. Section II. The Psychological Argument. Section III. The Theological Argument. Part Third. The Positive Argument stated. These parts, with their subordinate sections, are divided into a large number of brief chapters, each with its appropriate title, indicating a special topic. By this minute subdivision, the whole subject seems to be brought more readily within the comprehension of the reader, and to be placed more at his command for review.

The criticisms of Edwards and other writers are boldly and un-

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\* *The Freedom of the Will*, as a basis of Human Responsibility, and a Divine Government, elucidated and maintained in its issue with the necessitarian theories of Hobbes, Edwards, The Princeton Essayists and other leading advocates. By D. D. WHEDON, D. D. New York: Carlton & Porter. 1864. pp. 438. New Haven: T. H. Pease.

sparingly applied, and the author, in the management of this part of his treatise, shows no disposition to evade any arguments of his opponents or to avoid a trial of strength with the ablest antagonists. While we concede acuteness and ability to Dr. Whedon, we cannot so highly commend his use of language or certain literary features of the treatise. He asserts the utmost freedom in making new terms, some of which are supported by no analogies whatever, and others are positively barbarous. His phrases are very often inexcusably familiar and uncouth, and the tone of discussion is quite undignified.

We do not offer a single stricture upon the positions of the author, or his criticisms of Edwards and others. Our object is simply to call the attention of our clerical and other readers to a work of marked ability, which will task their energies, and reward their study in a field of discussion which can never be outworn or exhausted to the lover of speculative discussion or of moral and religious truth.

**HAZARD ON THE WILL.\***—The Messrs. Appleton of New York offer to us another able treatise upon the Will, of an entirely different character, as might be expected, from the training and associations of the author. Dr. Whedon's work is exclusively theological in its bearings and in the general treatment of the subject. Mr. Hazard enters upon the field from the side of Psychology, and confines himself with scrupulous fidelity to the psychological relations of his subject. His work abounds in many fine and ingenious observations in respect to the operations of the soul. These observations evince an earnest love of truth, a mind trained to patient and refined self-observation, an experience enriched by a large and varied intercourse with human life and human society. Besides these, he brings to his task the most decided and even passionate fondness for psychical investigations, and a fervid faith in the elevating influence of philosophical studies, as contrasted with material interests and occupations. The testimony and example of the author is of singular interest to those who know that he is a successful manufacturer, whose best energies have

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\* *Freedom of Mind in Willing*; or, every being that wills a creative First Cause. By ROWLAND G. HAZARD. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1864. 12mo. pp. 454. New Haven: H. C. Peck. Price \$2.00.

been chiefly expended in the management of an important business, and who knows by experience and observation the excitements and the rewards which are connected with the keen and absorbing pursuits of an adventurous and busy life. That he has found both relaxation and strength for his spirit in psychical pursuits, indicates the refined and elevated nature of his own aspirations, and also invests the results of his studies with singular interest and authority. We cannot, indeed, accept all his conclusions as exhaustive or just. But we find in all that he says the reflex of some important truth. Whatever he writes is the result of pains-taking thought, and never fails to furnish some suggestion or stimulus to the thoughtful reader. For all these reasons the book deserves to be welcomed and highly esteemed as an original contribution to our as yet scanty philosophical literature.

The particular direction of opinion taken by Mr. Hazard is indicated by the title of his work. His object is to vindicate the activity and creative power of the soul. This is illustrated not only by the activity of will, but in all the subordinate energies of man's spiritual nature. The author is the farthest possible from holding that the soul is a passive recipient of impressions, whether from the world of sense or from the associative power. It is eminently an actor—distinguishing between its activities and their products, and creating by its own activity a world of objects for itself. This activity it manifests preëminently in the acts of will. For asserting and defending this view of the soul's capacities he deserves the esteem and gratitude of the philosophers of his time, and whatever untenable assertions he may have made, or whatever points he may have left unguarded or unexplained, there is so much that is true and elevating in his views and in his manner of presenting them, that his work will exert an elevating, and we hope a permanent influence upon the thoughtful men of the country.

**BOWEN'S TREATISE ON LOGIC.\***—Professor Bowen of Harvard University, has essayed to furnish what has hitherto been a desideratum in the English language, a complete Philosophical Treatise

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\* *A Treatise on Logic*: or the Laws of Pure Thought; comprising both the Aristotelic and Hamiltonian Analyses of Logical Forms, and some chapters of Applied Logic. By FRANCIS BOWEN, Alford Professor of Moral Philosophy in Harvard College. Cambridge: Sever & Francis. 12mo. pp. 450. New Haven: Judd & White. Price \$1.50.



on Logic from the modern stand point. We say such a treatise has hitherto been wanting in our language, notwithstanding the unsurpassed excellencies of some portions of the works of Archbishop Thomson, of Sir William Hamilton, and of Prof. Wilson in our country. But each of these treatises is, in some points, incomplete, and no one of them is fitted for the purposes of a College text-book, and of a manual for the advanced student. The plan of Professor Bowen is more comprehensive than that of any of the works which we have named. The execution is in many respects deserving of high commendation, as we should expect it would be from the well-known ability, thoroughness, and industry of the author.

The most serious defects of the treatise are the diffuseness and repetitiousness of the style, the introduction of too many comments upon the opinions of other writers, as well as of topics which are not required for the elucidation and enforcement of the author's own doctrines.

Had the author written less in the manner of a reviewer, and more rigidly in the style appropriate to a text-book, he would not have diminished the value of his work for the general reader or the advanced student, while he would have greatly increased its worth and interest for the beginner.

#### BELLES LETTRES.

POEMS BY JEAN INGELow.\*—No one can look into this book without being impressed with the power of its author. Whatever its faults may be, it cannot be charged with want of strength or vigor. It shows on every page the stamp of an original and independent mind,—a mind that thinks for itself, and in the modest consciousness of its own resources is raised above all affectation and pretension. Honesty, simplicity, earnestness, and thoughtfulness are among the most prominent qualities of this remarkable book. Its character and style may be shown by a few specimens more clearly than by any description. We give first some graceful stanzas from "Light and Shade."

She stept upon Sicilian grass,  
Demeter's daughter fresh and fair,  
A child of light, a radiant lass,  
And gamesome as the morning air.

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\* *Poems*. By JEAN INGELow. Boston: Roberts Brothers. 1864. 12mo. pp. 256. New Haven: Judd & White. Price \$1.25.

The daffodils were fair to see,  
They nodded lightly on the lea,  
Persephone—Persephone !

Lo ! one she marked of rarer growth  
Than orchis or anemone ;  
For it the maiden left them both,  
And parted from her company.  
Drawn nigh she deemed it fairer still,  
And stooped to gather by the rill  
The daffodil, the daffodil.

What ailed the meadow that it shook ?  
What ailed the air of Sicily ?  
She wondered by the brattling brook,  
And trembled with the trembling lea.  
"The coal-black horses rise—they rise :  
O mother, mother !" low she cries—  
Persephone—Persephone !

"O light, light, light !" she cries, "farewell ;  
The coal-black horses wait for me.  
O shade of shades, where I must dwell,  
Demeter, mother, far from thee !  
Ah, fated doom that I fulfill !  
Ah, fateful flower beside the rill !  
The daffodil, the daffodil !"

What ails her that she comes not home ?  
Demeter seeks her far and wide,  
And gloomy-browed doth ceaseless roam  
From many a morn till eventide.  
"My life, immortal though it be,  
Is nought," she cries, "for want of thee,  
Persephone, Persephone !"

"Meadows of Enna, let the rain  
No longer drop to feed your rills,  
Nor dew refresh the hills again,  
With all their nodding daffodils !  
Fade, fade and droop, O lilled lea,  
Where thou, dear heart, wert reft from me—  
Persephone, Persephone !"

The following lines are taken from what we regard as, on the whole, the best poem in the volume, "Brothers and a Sermon." A poor minister is preaching to a congregation of humble fishermen ; his text the words, "Behold, I stand at the door and knock." Among other illustrations he introduces an old man, lonely and

infirm, bewailing the discomforts of his daily lot, and closing with these words:—

“ And I am lonesome, and the nights are few  
That any think to come and draw a chair,  
And sit in my poor place and talk a while.  
Why should they come, forsooth? Only the wind  
Knocks at my door, O long and loud it knocks,  
The only thing God made that has a mind  
To enter in.”

Yea, thus the old man spake,  
These were the last words of his aged mouth—  
BUT ONE DID KNOCK. One came to sup with him,  
That humble, weak, old man; knocked at his door  
In the rough pauses of the laboring wind.  
I tell you that One knocked while it was dark,  
Save where their foaming passion had made white  
Those livid, seething billows. What He said,  
In that poor place where He did talk awhile,  
I cannot tell: but this I am assured,  
That when the neighbors came the morrow morn,  
What time the wind had bated, and the sun  
Shone on the old man's floor, they saw the smile  
He passed away in, and they said, “ He looks  
As he had woke and seen the face of Christ,  
And with that rapturous smile held out his arms  
To come to him!

The more subtle reflection which pervades many pieces in the volume, may be illustrated by quoting a few stanzas from the “ Scholar and Carpenter.”

If the Celestials daily fly  
With messages on missions high,  
And float, our masts and turrets nigh,  
Conversing on heaven's great intents;  
What wonder hints of coming things,  
Whereto man's hope and yearning clings,  
Should drop like feathers from their wings  
And give us vague presentiments?

And as the waxing moon can take  
The tidal waters in her wake,  
And lead them round and round, to break  
Obedient to her drawings dim;  
So may the movements of His mind,  
The first Great Father of mankind,  
Affect with answering movements blind,  
And draw the souls that breathe by Him.

We had a message long ago  
That like a river peace should flow,  
And Eden bloom again below.  
We heard, and we began to wait:  
Full soon that message men forgot;  
Yet waiting is their destined lot,  
And, waiting for they know not what,  
They strive with yearnings passionate.

Regret and faith alike enchain;  
There was a loss, there comes a gain;  
We stand at fault betwixt the twain,  
And that is veiled for which we pant.  
Our lives are short, our ten times seven;  
We think the counsels held in heaven  
Sit long, ere yet that blessed leaven  
Work peace amongst the militant.

Then we blame God that sin should be:  
Adam began it at the tree,  
"The woman whom THOU gavest me;"  
And we adopt his dark device.  
O long Thou tarriest! come and reign,  
And bring forgiveness in thy train,  
And give us in our hands again  
The apples of Thy Paradise."

The subtlety of thought, which we have spoken of as characteristic of the book, is too often connected with more or less obscurity of expression. There is much less, indeed, to complain of on this score than in the poems of Elizabeth Barrett and Robert Browning. In a large part of their writings the meaning is rather hinted at than expressed; the reader finds at every step a new task in exegesis; and the piece is not to be enjoyed as a poem until it has first been solved as a problem. The work before us, though far more intelligible, has not all the clearness that could fairly be demanded. It sometimes compels the reader to study out with uncertainty and weariness that which should have been made distinct and unequivocal in the expression of the writer. It is to be hoped that an author, who in this trial-book has given such evidence of genius, will see that a perfectly luminous and transparent style is one of the highest attainments of genius, and that her future works, which will be looked for with high expectations, will show conscientious self-criticism and constant improvement.

WORK AND PLAY.\*—This is a republication in a substantial volume of many of the orations, and literary discourses of Dr. Bushnell, which have been published before in pamphlet form; thus giving a resurrection body, as it were, to productions that have outlived their temporal forms and uses, and are here raised again "to a life beyond life," as Milton says of a good book. Two or three have been added, not before published, which we are especially glad to see in this collection; though we miss some Articles that formerly appeared in the *New Englander*, and other literary recreations of the author, which right worthily claim companionship with these.

The title of the book is felicitous; being named from its first Article, as the author tells us, "partly because it must have a name, and partly because the matter of it represents the spontaneous overplus and literary by-play of a laborious profession.

The mental exertion of the book is literally both *work* and *play*, yet both are so skillfully and vitally blended under the inspiration of genius that one would find it as difficult to distinguish the one from the other, or to tell what was labor and what recreation, as in looking at a painting by Claude, or a poem of Tennyson, to say where the spontaneity ended and the labor began.

We here see the distinguished theologian taking off his coat, not as we have seen him, to wrestle with some giant theological dogma, nor yet, as some might conjecture, to have a round of cricket with the boys, but to don the academic gown, and discourse with attic grace and eloquence on themes such as Plato and Cicero would have rejoiced to discuss before listening senates, or among the shades of Academus; and, again descending from these high places into the dust and bustle of common life he "cracks o'horses, pleughs and kye" before the agricultural society of Hartford, or pictures with the fidelity of a Rembrandt "the Age of Homespun" for the Centennial Celebration of Litchfield County.

It will be seen from this that many of the Articles in this volume are anniversary addresses delivered at literary or historical festivals; and they partake largely of the festive spirit, as distinguished from the solemn or didactic. The feast of reason and the flow of soul is most rich and abundant. The reader will here find

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\* *Work and Play; or Literary Varieties.* By HORACE BUSHNELL. New York: Charles Scribner. 1864. 12mo. pp. 464. New Haven: T. H. Pease. Price \$1.50.

not less of truth or more of genius, perhaps, than abounds in the author's other writings; but the truth is from a wider and more varied field, and the genius is more free and sportive in its creations. Those who are acquainted with Dr. Bushnell only through his theological writings will do well to read this volume of literary varieties, and fill out their conception of the theologian and divine, with that of the philosopher, the scholar, and the man of letters.

We have not space to review these manifold productions as they deserve, or do much more than indicate their titles. A great deal of profound philosophy, disguised under the most charming eloquence, is presented in the oration before the Phi Beta Kappa Society of Cambridge, the subject of which gives its name to the volume. The gem-thought of this scholarly production is perhaps to be found in Schiller's Letters upon *Æsthetic Culture*, where he speaks of the "Play-impulse," as the essential condition and producer of Art and Beauty. The deep and world-wide significance of this element is indicated by the remark that "in every condition of man, it is play that makes him complete, and unfolds at once his twofold nature." And again, "man only plays when in the full signification of the word he *is* a man, and *he is only entirely a man when he plays.*" But Schiller develops this principle only in its relation to art and *Æsthetic culture*, and this in the most abstract form. Dr. Bushnell takes the hint here offered, and unfolds it in its manifold applications to life and character, to literature, science, and religion. After setting forth with discriminative insight the philosophic distinction between Work and Play, defining the former as activity *for* an end, the latter activity *as* an end, he exhibits their relation to each other by showing how work in all its departments precedes and prepares and passes into play, as the end and perfection of human activity, of which the sport of children and the animal races is the natural type and prophecy; also how these two elements enter into and constitute the lower and higher forms or stages of activity, intellectual, moral, and spiritual. So long as the activity is constrained, imperfect, and unsatisfying, it is *work*; when it is free, spontaneous, and joyful, or as we say, inspired, when it passes into the sphere of the ideal and divine, it is *play*. This explains the universal passion of the race for the drama, where human life is represented in its ideal and impassioned moments, as a play and not a drudgery. The passion for war is accounted for on the same principle. "Mere

ends and uses do not satisfy us. We must get above prudence and economy, into something that partakes of inspiration, be the cost what it may. Hence war, another and yet more magnificent counterfeit of play." Not a counterfeit, however, in our present national struggle, nor yet altogether a pastime, but involving, with all its grand inspirations, the most terribly stern and arduous *work* ever laid upon a people, the working out of our own salvation with fear and trembling.

Our author applies this principle to illustrate several important distinctions not always clearly understood; as that between courage and bravery, genius and talent, wit and humor, prose and poetry; between the religion of works or legal obedience and the religion of the Spirit; between the inductive method of scientific discovery, or rather the abuse of this method in mere plodding, and the dry classification of facts, and the method of imaginative insight as employed by Kepler.

These distinctions are unfolded with great force and beauty of illustration that sheds light not only upon the subject but into the very heart of the matter. This is often done with a single stroke of the pen, or a single flash of imagination, laying bare the etymological and radical meaning of a word. As an instance take the author's definition of humor, as distinguished from wit:

"Wit is work, humor is play. One is the dry labor of intention or design, ambition eager to provoke applause, malignity biting at an adversary, envy letting down the good or the exalted. The other, however, is *the soul recking with its own moisture*, laughing because it is full of laughter, as ready to weep as to laugh or the copious shower it holds is good for either. And then when it has set the trees a dripping,

'And hung a pearl in every cowslip's ear,'

the pure sun shining after will reveal no color of intention in the sparkling drop, but will leave you doubting still whether it be a drop let fall by laughter, or—a tear."

The oration on *The Growth of Law*, delivered before the Society of Alumni in Yale College, we have ever considered one of the best productions of the author, both for its profound and comprehensive grasp of principles, and its grand assertion of the great law of human progress, which, under one interpretation or another, is the leading thought in modern literature. It is interesting to compare this masterly discourse with the later speculations of Buckle and other writers of the materialistic school, and

to see how much profounder is the Christian philosophy of the former than the shallow reasonings of the latter. Both assert a law of progress working in all history; but the one enthrones the moral element, making the law of conscience supreme, to which all the historic forces—science, art, philosophy, religion—are subordinate, contributing of their strength and beauty to invigorate and perfect it, and so to perfect humanity. The other exalts physical science and its organ, the mere understanding, which man shares in kind with the brute, as the chief end of man, making the laws of nature ultimate and supreme; and ranking all other powers—conscience, moral ideas, philosophy in the only true sense, and even Christianity,—among the childish things which are to be put away as the world grows older; thus reversing the true order of human progress, and making that first which is spiritual, and afterwards that which is natural. We need not add how much more inspiring is the doctrine here taught, of a divine Providence or Law, reigning in human history, and making all its events and forces tributary to the great end for which man was created, than the atheistic theory which makes the race inherently and blindly progressive, or the narrow dogmatism which sees no good or anything but evil in systems and influences outside of Christianity and the Gospel.

Very admirable is the author's exposition of the two-fold nature of Law,—the ideal law of *Right* and *Love*, and the outward code of virtue, or the modes and practices in which this moral and spiritual law is expressed; the former eternal and immutable as it exists in God or the Divine Reason, the latter progressive with the intelligence, the moral and spiritual culture of the race. This distinction, one of the most important ones in morals, explains and justifies the toleration, under the Old Testament code of morality, of practices which now are outlawed as wrong. The ideal law was too high and perfect for that raw physical age, with its crude moral ideas, to attain or even comprehend. Therefore the statute or outward code was limited to the prohibition of a few palpable and fundamental wrongs, leaving others unforbidden, or, at most, regulating and restricting them, as in the case of polygamy and divorce, till the world should be ripe for the more spiritual code of Christianity. Whether slavery was tolerated among other wrongs, as Dr. Bushnell seems to suppose, or was not permitted under the Mosaic law, as other scholars attempt to show, is a



question not so fundamentally important as many deem, since the new age of Christianity has brought with it a new and improved code of morality, while the eternal law of right and love remains the same.

The three great moral forces of history which have contributed to the growth of law, Dr. Bushnell shows, are the Greek Art, the Roman Law, and the Christian Faith. "These three being indestructible, incapable of death, must roll on down the whole future of man, and work their effects in his history. And if we are sure of this, we are scarcely less sure of an age of law, or of the final ascendancy of the intellectual and moral life of the race." We know of no finer or more eloquent passage in modern oratory than that with which this oration closes. It has the majesty and rhythm of one of Milton's prose lyrics:

"Have faith in truth, never in numbers. The great surge of numbers rolls up noisily and imposingly, but flats out on the shore, and slides back into the mud of oblivion. But a true opinion is the ocean itself, calm in its rest, eternal in its power. The storms of tumultuous thunders of popular rage and bigoted wrong will sometime pause in their travel round the sphere, and listen to its powerful voice. And if the night comes down to veil it for a time, it is still there, beating on with the same victorious pulse and waiting for the day. A right opinion cannot die, for its life is in moral ideas, which is the life of God. Have patience, and it shall come to pass, in due time, that what you rested in the tranquillity of reason, has been crowned with the majesty of law."

"The Founders great in their Unconsciousness," is the suggestive title of an oration before the New England Society of New York, in which the true greatness and glory of the Pilgrim Fathers is, for the first time, adequately set forth. The idea of this truly admirable production is, that a latent wisdom was present in these founders, concealed in their principles and faith, which guided them instinctively in their migration and in all their political acts. "They had in their religious faith a high constructive instinct, raising them above their age, and above themselves; creating in them fountains of wisdom deeper than they consciously knew, and preparing in them powers of benefaction that were to be discovered only by degrees, and slowly, to the coming ages. If you will show them forth as social projectors, or architects of a new democracy, they stubbornly refuse to say or

do anything in that fashion. They are found protesting rather against your panegyric itself. . . . Their greatness is the unconscious greatness of their simple fidelity to God—the divine instinct of good and of wisdom by which God, as a reward upon duty, made them authors and founders of a social state under forms appointed by Himself.”

Another filial service is rendered by this true son of New England, in the “Speech for Connecticut,” delivered before the Legislature of the State, which here reappears under the modest title of “Historical Estimate.” The many sons of Connecticut, scattered throughout the land, will thank the author for this noble vindication of the true character and rank of their noble State, which is “not the least among the princes of Judah,” for more reasons than are here enumerated.

In consideration of this service, those who have migrated from Connecticut to the West, will read with indulgence the next Article on “Agriculture at the East,” and pardon the somewhat over-drawn picture of the folly they have been guilty of in exchanging so rich and noble an inheritance for the barbarism, and agues, and dreary platitudes of the western swamps and prairies! There is some truth in the contrast here so graphically drawn between the moral and social advantages in the land of steady habits, and pioneer life in the woods of Michigan, or the prairies of Iowa, twenty years ago; but the institutions and *homes* of New England have now traveled westward, as well as her sons and daughters, and the wilderness is fast becoming a garden.

“Life, or the Lives,” is the title of a lecture never before published, which, for the union of scientific research and philosophic penetration, is one of the best articles in the book. The question discussed is the central one, “What is Life?” whose forms and manifestations are everywhere around us; and the theory or definition propounded is “that lives are immaterial, soul-like powers, organizing and conserving the bodies they inhabit.” This proposition is argued and established against the materialistic theory which confounds life with organization, cause with mere conditions, real substances with phenomena, laws of nature with bare classifications of facts, and which admits the existence of nothing that is not cognizable by the senses or the understanding, judging according to sense. The bearing of this question and of the due understanding of “lives,” not only upon the true interpretation

of nature, but upon the true culture of the higher powers of the mind, imagination and faith, and so upon religion itself, is admirably shown, and *per contra* the tendency to conceit, unbelief, and a hard mechanical way of thinking, generated by the habit of accounting for all things by the laws and calculable forces of dead matter.

The remaining articles—"City Plans," "The True Wealth or Weal of Nations," "The Doctrine of Loyalty," "The Age of Homespun," "The Day of Roads," and "Religious Music"—we must leave unnoticed, not because they are less worthy of notice, or less full of thought and wisdom, but purely for want of space, and because we have already transcended our limits. With this bare summary, which may serve as a bill of fare, we commend the volume to our readers as a rich and rare intellectual feast, assured that they will need no condiments to stimulate their appetite, save what the book itself contains, and that those to whom it is twice served will relish it the best.

AMERICA AND HER COMMENTATORS.\*—This work is an attempt to reduce the literature of foreign travel in America to a sizable compass. Its object is two-fold,—“to present a general view of the traits and transitions of our country, as recorded at different periods and by writers of various nationalities; and to afford those desirous of authentic information in regard to the United States a guide to the sources thereof. Incidental to and naturally growing out of this purpose, is the discussion of the comparative value and interest of the principal critics of our civilization.” It thus covers a broad and hitherto unoccupied field. It is the gist of many old folios and rare pamphlets. It presents in one volume both the brief personal history of our foreign critics and a digest of all the salient points in their works. Hence, in such a time as this, when we are compelled to give ear in some degree to foreign opinions and are naturally vexed that European writers should be so ignorant and willful in their criticisms, such a volume is both welcome and useful. Its direct influence is to exalt the nation, even upon the testimony of foreigners; and its weight in England

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\* *America and her Commentators*. With a critical sketch of travel in the United States. By H. T. TUCKERMAN. New York: Charles Scribner. 1864. 8vo. pp. vii., 460. New Haven: Judd & White. Price \$2.50.

and on the Continent can hardly be less than here in helping to the formation of an intelligent opinion of the extent, power, and recognized importance of the United States. The works here so happily epitomized give us all a chance "to see ourself as others see us;" and they are the very books which are going or have gone far to shape public opinion in the civilized world.

No more timely book could have been published. Bearing the familiar marks of one of our most accomplished literary men, elegant in style, refined in tone, authentic in all the details of the subject, often glowing with personal reminiscences, suggestive constantly of new points in our country's history, liberal in its spirit, and impartial as such a work can be, it is not only pleasant reading but it carries an argument along with it. It shows that the leading minds in Europe have always been directed toward our own country as a land of promise, and it brings out the features which have attracted their attention. It takes up those points which the general and cultivated reader would most care to see dwelt upon. Mr. Tuckerman has gleaned so thoroughly that nothing more can be said upon this subject. His treatment is authentic and exhaustive. The contents of the volume are briefly these: an Introduction, presenting a clear synopsis of the ground to be traveled over; an Account of the Early Discoverers and Explorers; an extended and valuable Sketch of French Missionary Exploration; a Résumé of French Travelers and Writers, including notices of Volney, Dr. Tocqueville, Chateaubriand, Lafayette, DeGasparin, Laboulaye, and many besides; and a catalogue of British Travelers and Writers, excluding none, and presenting in one sketch the many varieties of opinion into which these authors have been led. Then follows a chapter on English Abuse of America, at once racy and pat to these times. The Northern European Writers are next brought forward, and here are sketches of Miss Bremer, the infallible Gurowski, Dr. Lieber, I. G. Kohl, Talvi, (Mrs. Edward Robinson), and Dr. Schaff; the Italian Travelers are not so numerous or well known. Perhaps the most interesting portion to an American reader is the chapter on American Travelers and Writers, a topic apparently most congenial to Mr. Tuckerman, and the truth of which every one can feel; besides, we are rather fond of what our own countrymen have said. The concluding chapter briefly sums up the leading characters and resources of the nation, and closes a volume of singular interest and value.

This is Mr. Tuckerman's largest work. It also best illustrates his position as a literary man. His mind is essentially critical and works best when it deals with prepared materials. And this is especially a book-made book; yet the careful finish, the spicy quotations, the great variety of information, the apt and suggestive comment, impart to these half forgotten books a fresh meaning. They live again in Mr. Tuckerman's hands; and they bear witness, like a *census*, to the rapid changes in the condition of our country, and to the truer appreciation which we now receive at the hands of foreigners.

SEVEN STORIES WITH BASEMENT AND ATTIC.\*—This somewhat quaint title pleasantly introduces the reader to several "stories" of foreign travel and adventure, which are all characterized by that indescribable charm which Mr. Mitchell throws around all his writings. We are glad to find reprinted among them—and thus made easily accessible—one of the very best of Mr. Mitchell's fugitive papers—his account of his Consulate at Venice!

#### HISTORICAL AND BIOGRAPHICAL.

MÉRIVALE'S HISTORY OF THE ROMANS. Vols. III. and IV.—Two additional volumes of the reprint of Merivale, by the Appletons, have appeared since our notice of the work. In typographical excellence, they are exact mates of the volumes which preceded them. The demand for standard works of history in our country, for works like this of Merivale, is an auspicious omen. It is a practical refutation of the calumnious observations which English writers, who ought to know better, have not yet ceased to make respecting the intelligence of the American people. We should like to see a comparison of the sales made in America and England, respectively, of the works of the best historical writers, during the last twenty years. It would afford food for reflection to some of our censorious kinsmen across the water.

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\* *Seven Stories, with Basement and Attic.* By the Author of "My Farm of Edgewood." New York: Charles Scribner. 1864. 12mo. pp. 314. New Haven: T. H. Pease. Price \$1.75.

PRESIDENT WAYLAND'S MEMOIR OF DR. CHALMERS.\*—The simple object of President Wayland in this little Memoir, is to make a connected exhibition of the "parochial and philanthropic labors" for which the great Scotch Divine found time in the midst of his other multifarious duties;—"his modes of doing good," and the "general principles by which all his efforts were directed." There was danger that the story of the great work done by Dr. Chalmers, in his own parish, and for the neglected masses of Scotland, might be in a great measure forgotten, and its influence lost, if it could be studied only in the extended Memoir of Dr. Hanna. President Wayland has done a valuable service for many of our American pastors, by furnishing us in this convenient form with a well digested account of his labors and success as a pastor and visitor among the poor and degraded.

LIFE OF NATHAN BANGS.†—Our limits will allow us to give only the title of this life of an eminent Methodist Clergyman, which has been prepared by Dr. Abel Stevens, and is a very valuable contribution to the history of Methodism in this country.

#### POLITICAL AND LEGAL.

POMEROY'S INTRODUCTION TO MUNICIPAL LAW.‡—This elegantly printed volume is a very valuable contribution to American literature, and ought to find a place in the library of every well educated citizen. After an introductory chapter, the author considers, first, the law in its modal character; its means, methods, and laws of development. Here in successive chapters he discusses, first, statute law; next, unwritten law,—under which latter head comes in the separation of fact from law in judicial trials; the origin, history, and jurisdiction of the English and American courts, compared with those of other countries; the manner of bringing a controversy before the courts and of deciding it there;

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\* *A Memoir of the Christian Labors, Pastoral and Philanthropic, of Thomas Chalmers, D. D., J.L. D.* By FRANCIS WAYLAND. Boston: Gould & Lincoln. 1864. 16mo. pp. 218. New Haven: Judd & White. Price 90 cents.

† *Life and Times of Nathan Bangs, D. D.* By ABEL STEVENS, D. D. New York: Carlton & Porter. 12mo. pp. 426.

‡ *An Introduction to Municipal Law*, designed for general readers, and for students of colleges and higher schools. By JOHN MORTON POMEROY. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 8vo. pp. 544. New Haven: H. C. Peck. Price \$3.

and finally, the law-evolving power of the judges, or the doctrine of precedent. The second part is devoted to the sources of English law, and here the Anglo-Saxon law and institutions, the feudal system, and the Roman law, pass successively under review. The third part embraces outlines of municipal law, which fall into the natural divisions of person, property, and contract, with a short chapter on legal maxims following at the close.

We have examined this work with care and interest. It is written by an accomplished man, and a lawyer who shows not only a judgment improved by professional practice and study, but also familiarity with the best sources. It is well fitted for the purpose for which it is designed, which is not the superficial one of making every one a lawyer for himself, but that of revealing to the reader what the principles of the law of our race are, what is the course which we have taken in order to apply these principles to the questions that arise in human life, and from what source our system of laws has been gathered. In a country like ours, where any man of education may be called on to perform the work of a legislator, such a book cannot fail to be of great use. We commend especially the second or historical part, and the somewhat extended remarks on the development of law through the decisions of judges in the first part, as favorable specimens of the work.

REVOLUTION NOT A RIGHT BUT A CRIME.\*—These times are fruitful in discussions and speculations concerning all the great principles on which society and government rest. Not a small portion of the rich harvest which will be reaped in our country, after the time of labor shall be over, will be the corrected opinions of thoughtful men in respect to all these most important topics, concerning which vague traditions have hitherto held the place of well considered principles. In respect to no one subject, have the notions of thinking been more loosely and carelessly formed and held, than in respect to the right of revolution.

Dr. Thompson has attempted in the address before us to subject these doctrines to a thorough examination, and has conducted this

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\* *Revolution against Free Government not a Right but a Crime.* An Address by JOSEPH P. THOMPSON, D. D. Delivered before the Union League Club, and published at their request. Club-House, Union Square, New York. 8vo. pp. 46.

examination with great ability, as well as stated and defended his conclusions with more than his usual eloquence and force. These conclusions are indicated in the motto of the address. They may be thus expanded;—given what is properly called a free government, *i. e.* a government which is organized to defend the rights of men as distinguished from the interests of classes—let it be organized with free institutions, as distinguished from conceded privileges—let it also represent the interests of the whole people as contrasted with those of separate races and nationalities—let it, moreover, be provided with a free constitution which can itself be amended,—and it can never be a rightful act, but must always be a crime to inaugurate a revolution against such a government. In other words, revolution is not to be regarded as an occasional necessity, and a periodical returning necessity, but when revolution has attained the end to which it points, it must then forever after forego the right to be.

Such is the doctrine of this very able and eloquent discourse, which, as applied to the present revolt, against such a government as our own, shows, in a novel and most convincing manner, that so far from resting on any ground of right, it deserves only to be judged and condemned as an enormous crime.

#### MISCELLANEOUS.

**THE NEW PATH.**—The editors of the "NEW PATH," (a monthly 8vo. Magazine published in New York, and devoted to the advancement of truth in art), by their fearless criticism, manifest earnestness, and fresh, untrammelled comments on the Fine Arts, are doing much to awaken the attention of the public to the principles which should guide all departments of artistic study. As lovers of the Real, as students of Nature in her various forms, and as advocates of the True, they are of course at continual variance with what is hackneyed and conventional. They often disparage the works of men, departed as well as living, whose names are held in high honor by the lovers of the beautiful. Their principles are sometimes enunciated with a dogmatic tone which tends to awaken opposition. But notwithstanding this, they show so much honest endeavor to establish the true principles of art, such persistent and enthusiastic devotion to the study of the natural world, even in its most minute phases, such praiseworthy advocacy of labor and care, and such hatred of the sham arts, the artifice of



the day, that we are confident good will flow from their discussions. A more detailed criticism would be necessary to show how we agree with and how we differ from them. At the present we are only desirous of calling attention to their journal, and of expressing the hope that the number of their readers may constantly increase.

**TEN ACRES ENOUGH.\***—This little book has much of the charm about it of the best works of Defoe,—though it is a story of real life. It contains the results of an experience of “life in the country;”—that fruitful subject of day dreams! The author introduces himself as a small manufacturer with a large family living in his native city of Philadelphia; able to command, at the age of forty, only a few hundred dollars as the pecuniary results of years of hard work. He buys a farm of ten acres in New Jersey—and, after a few years’ trial, he finds himself in better health than ever before; in better spirits; and better able to provide for his family all the necessaries and even luxuries of life;—and, above all, he finds that he is actually laying up money, every year! The account is given very much in the style in which Robinson Crusoe is made to tell his strange story, and has had very much the same effect upon every one of the half dozen readers of whom we had the testimony. It is a book that the reader is not likely to lay down till the last page is reached. There can be no better book for hot weather for those who have a taste for the country.

**ANNUAL OF SCIENTIFIC DISCOVERY, 1864.†**—The general student

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\* *Ten Acres Enough*; A Practical experience, showing how a very small farm may be made to keep a very large family. With extensive and profitable experience in the cultivation of the smaller fruits. New York: James Miller. 1864. 16mo. pp. 255. For sale by Judd & White. Price \$1.25.

† *Annual of Scientific Discovery*; or Year Book of Facts in Science and Art for 1864. Exhibiting the most important Discoveries and Improvements in Mechanics, Useful Arts, Natural Philosophy, Chemistry, Astronomy, Geology, Zoology, Botany, Mineralogy, Meteorology, Geography, Antiquities, &c. Together with notes of the Progress of Science during the year 1863; a list of recent scientific publications, obituaries of eminent scientific men, etc. Edited by DAVID A. WELLS, A. M., M. D. Boston: Gould & Lincoln. 1864. 12mo. pp. 351. New Haven: Judd & White. Price \$1.50.

who wishes to be kept informed of the progress of scientific discovery, and the new applications of science to the practical affairs of life, will find this "Year Book," edited by Dr. David A. Wells, and published by Messrs. Gould & Lincoln, of very great service. The present volume is embellished with a portrait of General Gillmore.

PROF. HACKETT'S MEMORIALS OF THE WAR.\*—The design of the compiler of this book has been to illustrate, by the simple narration of facts which have come to his knowledge, the "Christian principle and heroism" which have been displayed by the men who have made up our armies. The incidents narrated are nearly one hundred and fifty in number; and none have been inserted which have not with reason been supposed to be "strictly true." The book is one of deep interest, which is enhanced by the fact that it marks the sympathy in the objects of the war of one of the first of our American biblical scholars.

THE NATURAL HISTORY OF SECESSION.†—This very fruitful theme is treated by the author with great boldness of speech and with no little force of conception. The Principle of Secession, Slavery, The Democratic Party, The Romish Church, and other topics, are all discussed in the most energetic fashion. If it were possible for any deliverances to be too strongly expressed—perhaps exception might be taken to some in this volume, especially to the free use of personalities. But the sincerity of the author, and the truthfulness of the most of his representations, are fitted to reconcile the loyal reader to what would otherwise be deemed offenses against good taste. The author writes in a religious spirit, and with the earnestness and energy of strong convictions.

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\* *Christian Memorials of the War*; or, scenes and incidents illustrative of Religious Faith and Principle, Patriotism and Bravery, in our Army. With Historical Notes. By HORATIO B. HACKETT. Boston: Gould & Lincoln. 1864. 12mo. pp. 252. New Haven: Judd & White. Price \$1.25.

† *The Natural History of Secession*; or Despotism and Democracy at Necessary, Eternal, Exterminating War. By THOMAS SHEPARD GOODWIN, A. M. New York: John Bradburn. 1864. pp. 328.

**MRS. KIRKLAND'S SCHOOL GIRL'S GARLAND.**—A second volume of poetical selections, by the lamented Mrs. C. M. KIRKLAND, bearing the title which we give above, had just been published by *Charles Scribner, Esq.*, of New York, when the announcement was made of her sudden death. It is an unusually choice selection. (24mo. pp. 360).

**WORKS OF LORD BACON.**—The last volume of the new complete edition of *Lord Bacon's Works*, published by Taggard & Thompson, of Boston, has just been issued. We shall speak of it more at length in the next Number.

#### BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS RECEIVED.

*Orlean Lamar*, and other Poems. By SARAH E. KNOWLES. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1864.

*The Mystery of the Trinity Paralleled in Nature.* An Analogical Argument By W. R. HUNTINGTON. Boston: E. P. Dutton & Co. 1864. 24mo. pp. 24.

*Our State Militia*: being a series of Articles originally contributed to the "Connecticut War Record." By FRANCIS WAYLAND, Esq. New Haven. 8vo. pp. 24.

*Certainty Concerning Christ, as the Divine Lord.* A Sermon preached in the Church of the Pilgrims, Brooklyn, N. Y. By RICHARD S. STORRS, Jr., D. D. 1864. 8vo. pp. 32.

*One who laid down his Life for his Brethren.* A Sermon in Memory of ROBERT SEDGWICK EDWARDS; preached in the Church of the Pilgrims, Brooklyn, N. Y. By Rev. R. S. STORRS, Jr., D. D. 1864. 8vo. pp. 21.

*Review by Rev. Dr. H. P. Tappan of his Connection with the University of Michigan.* 1864. 8vo. pp. 52.

*The Anglo-American Sabbath.* By the Rev. Philip Schaff, D. D. Read before the National Sabbath Convention, Saratoga, August 11th, 1863. American Tract Society. 1864. 32mo. pp. 88.

*In Memory of Albert Wilson Janvier.* 1863. 8vo. pp. 11.

*The Christian Element essential to the truest Patriotism*; or, the Preservation of our Free Institutions impossible without the Gospel. By ABELIAN P. MARTIN, of Winchendon, Mass. 8vo. pp. 15.

*The Throne of Iniquity.* The Moral Contrasts developed by the existing war, in its Origin, Objects, and Prosecution. A Discourse delivered on the Day of National Thanksgiving, November 26th, 1863, at the Central Presbyterian Church, Buffalo. By JOHN C. LORD, D. D. 1864. 8vo. pp. 32.

*A Plea for equity in Church Maintenance.* By MOUNTAINEER. Buffalo: 1864. 8vo. pp. 36.

# STANDARD AND POPULAR BOOKS,

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**TICKNOR & FIELDS, Boston.**

**COUNSEL AND COMFORT, SPOKEN FROM A CITY PULPIT.** By the "COUNTRY PARSON." 1 vol. 16mo., handsomely bound in muslin, gilt top, and beveled boards. Price \$1.75.

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VOL. XXIII.—NUMBER IV.

OCTOBER, 1864.

The New Englander will be published in the months of January, April, July, and October.

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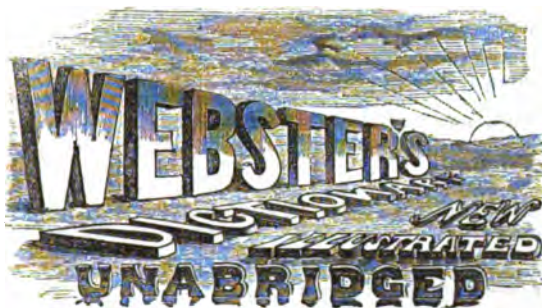
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[See next page.]



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THE  
NEW ENGLANDER.

No. LXXXIX.

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OCTOBER, 1864.

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ARTICLE I.—THE CONFLICT WITH SKEPTICISM AND UNBELIEF. FOURTH ARTICLE:—RECENT DISCUSSIONS UPON THE ORIGIN OF THE FIRST THREE GOSPELS.

THE characteristics which belong in common to the first three gospels, and distinguish them from the Gospel of John, we suppose to be familiar to the reader. The first three Gospels—the Synoptics—dwell chiefly upon the Galilean ministry of Jesus. Compared with John, they are less heedful of the chronological order. In truth, the chronological outline of the Saviour's ministry can be gathered from the Fourth Gospel alone. The Synoptics not only have a large amount of matter in common, but their consonance in phraseology extends too far to be the result of accident; at the same time that the divergences, existing side by side with this resemblance, equally demand an explanation. This mingled divergence and coincidence have put to the test the ingenuity of critics. One general theory is that of an original Gospel, existing prior to the three, but revised or enlarged by each historian independently.

But this theory has two branches, there being some who hold that the original Gospel was a written work, whilst others consider it a mass of oral tradition which had acquired a fixed form. The other general theory is that of a priority on the part of one of the Evangelists, the use of whose work by a successor gives occasion to the peculiarity in question. But the various hypotheses which have been brought forward under this theory, or the different views as to the order in which the Gospels were written, exhaust the possibilities of supposition. They form, in fact, an example in permutation. Matthew, Luke, and Mark, was the series in the hypothesis of Griesbach, which has been extensively followed. Another set of critics are equally confident that the precedence in age belongs to Mark.\* Others again, are satisfied with neither of these views. The long continued diversity of opinion on the subject is a sign of the difficulty of the problem. This problem we do not propose to discuss in the present essay. We might even waive the question whether these three narratives were composed by the persons to whom they are respectively ascribed, were it not that this question cannot be wholly disconnected from the proposition which we deem to be of prime importance. Could it be shown, as is maintained by some critics who accept the narrative as substantially historical and credible, that the First Gospel was not written by Matthew, the proposition with which we are at present concerned, would not be seriously affected. What, then, is the question of fundamental importance, on which the credibility of the Gospel history turns?

The main thing which the skeptical school seeks to accomplish, as far as the first three Gospels are concerned, is to bring down their date into the post-apostolic age. History is testimony. The credibility of testimony depends—supposing that those who give it wish to tell the truth—on their means of information. The credibility of the Gospels is conditioned on the fact that they emanate either from actual witnesses of the

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\* For a full classification of critical opinions on this subject, see Meyer's *Einführung* to the first volume of his commentary on the N. T.

events recorded, or from well-informed contemporaries. If it could be established that these narratives were drawn up long after the actors in the events, and the generation contemporaneous with them, had passed away—that they comprise floating stories and traditions which were gathered up at or after the end of the century in which Christ and his immediate disciples, and those who heard their teaching, lived,—their historical value might well be called in question. To support some hypothesis of this kind, or at least to throw a mist of uncertainty over the whole question of the origin and date of the Gospels, is the end and aim of skeptical criticism. We, on our part, maintain that nothing has been brought forward in behalf of the skeptical cause, which tends to weaken the established view that the Gospels belong to the Apostolic age, embody the testimony of the eye-witnesses and ear-witnesses of the life of Christ, and come down to us with the seal and sanction of the Apostolic Church.

We are not required to review in detail the proofs of the early date of these histories. It will be sufficient to examine the grounds on which the received view is sought to be impugned. It may be well, however, to remind the reader in a few words, of the nature of the proof which has been relied on for establishing the early origin of the first three Gospels—as it is these which we are now to consider. Every fair and discerning reader must feel how well the whole tone and style of these writings comport with the belief that they emanate from the first age of Christianity. Galilee is reflected in them in a thousand indefinable touches. *Christ*—to mention a single peculiarity—has not come to be an habitual name of the Saviour, as it begins to be even in the Epistles and in John, but is purely an official title. In these gospels he is simply called Jesus. For the early date of the first three gospels, we have the unanimous voice of Christian antiquity. They are considered and declared by the early church to be authoritative productions handed down from the apostolic age. We find in the writers of the post-apostolic period no other conception of the life and ministry of Christ than is presented in the canonical gospels. We meet here and there with a saying

of Christ or an incident in his life which they would seem to have derived from some other source of knowledge; but these exceptions are so very few and unimportant as to render the prevailing fact of the coincidence between the representation of the fathers and that of the Gospels, the more striking. The Apostolic fathers do not formally state the sources whence their quotations are drawn. They commonly bring forward a fact of the Saviour's life or a passage of his teaching, without formal reference to the authority from which they derived it. Nor do they evince any care for verbal accuracy. But the Apostolic fathers, the contemporaries and survivors of the Apostles, contain many passages which are unmistakably drawn from the Synoptical Gospels. Sometimes, a written source is expressly referred to; as when Barnabas\* remarks: "Let us therefore beware, lest it should happen to us *as it is written*: there are many called, few chosen.'" This quotation, which is found in Matt. xx. 16, and xxii. 14, is introduced by the same phrase which the Jews made use of in citing from their sacred books. Barnabas referred to some book having authority among Christians, and to what other book did he refer except our Matthew? The result of the long scrutiny which has been directed to the quotations in Justin Martyr, has been to establish, beyond all reasonable doubt, the fact of a use by him of all of our canonical Gospels. From Matthew and Luke especially, his citations are very numerous.

#### MATTHEW.

I. We begin with an examination of the testimony of Papias, which, in respect to both Matthew and Mark, is most valuable, and has properly attracted the earnest attention of modern critics. Renan builds upon this testimony, or rather upon his misconception of it, his theory respecting the origin of the Gospels. Scholars of every school unite in their estimate of the importance to be attached to this piece of evidence.

Papias was bishop of Hierapolis, in Phrygia, in the first

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\* c. iv. Whether the Epistle of Barnabas be genuine or not, it is certainly very early.

half of the second century. He is described by Irenæus\* as "an ancient man," a contemporary and friend of Polycarp, who was a disciple of John, the Evangelist. Irenæus also states that Papias had himself heard the Apostle John, but Eusebius considers that Irenæus errs in this particular by wrongly interpreting the language of Papias. But Papias says of himself that he made inquiries of many persons who had been familiar with the Apostles, and he was certainly acquainted with John the Presbyter, who was a contemporary of John the Apostle at Ephesus. Partly, but not wholly, on account of his millenarian views so offensive to Eusebius, Papias is pronounced by the latter a man of inferior talents. But however moderate his intellectual powers, he was justly regarded as an honest witness or reporter of what he had seen and heard. He reports what he had received from companions of the Apostles. He busied himself with gathering up from oral tradition, the declarations of the Apostles, which he published, with comments of his own, in a work consisting of five books. From this work, Eusebius presents us with the following extract:

"And John the Presbyter said this: 'Mark being the interpreter of Peter wrote accurately whatever he remembered, though indeed not [setting down] in order what was said or done by Christ, for he did not hear the Lord, nor did he follow him: but afterwards, as I said, [he followed] Peter, who adapted his discourses to the necessities of the occasion, but not so as to furnish a systematic account of the oracles of the Lord (*κριακῶν λόγων* or *λέγων*); so that Mark committed no fault when he wrote some things as he recollected them. For of one thing he took care—to pass by nothing which he heard, and not to falsify in anything.'" "Such," adds Eusebius, "is the relation in Papias concerning Mark. But of Matthew this is said: 'Matthew wrote the oracles (*τὰ λέγια*) in the Hebrew tongue; and every one interpreted them as he was able.'"

The passage has always been considered, up to a recent date, as referring to our Gospels of Matthew and Mark. It was suggested, however, by Schleiermacher that the *logia*, which we have rendered oracles, signifies only *discourses*; and hence a number of critics, including the distinguished commentator, Meyer, have founded upon this testimony of Papias the opinion

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\* Quoted in Euseb. H. E. iii. 39.



that at the basis of our First Gospel, and prior to it, was a collection by Matthew of the teachings of Christ, and that the canonical Gospel was the product of a subsequent addition of narrative matter to that earlier work.

We believe this restriction of the sense of *logia*, in the passage, to be unauthorized and erroneous, and that the old interpretation of Papias, the interpretation which Eusebius evidently gave the passage, is the true one. It is well, however, to see how the case stands, provided the term receives the limited meaning which these critics affix to it. Papias, in what he says of Matthew, does not quote the Presbyter; yet it may safely be concluded that he derived this information from the same earlier authorities whence the rest of his work was drawn.

The principal remark we have to make here is, that even supposing *logia* to mean *discourses* simply, yet Papias is speaking, as Meyer concedes and maintains, aoristically—of something that had occurred at a former time, but was no longer the fact. That is, when he says that “every one interpreted the Hebrew Matthew, as he could”—ἡμῶντες δ’ αὐτὰ ὡς ἴδμεν ἱκανότες—he means, and implies in his language, that the necessity of rendering the Hebrew into the Greek *had* once existed, to be sure, but existed no longer. Why not? Evidently because the *Greek* Matthew was now in the hands of Christians. This Greek Matthew which Papias and his contemporaries used, was unquestionably our First Gospel in the present form. Our Greek Matthew is represented by the fathers to be a *translation* of a Hebrew Gospel. If we admit the correctness of the tradition, then, as Meyer shows, the Hebrew Matthew must have received its supplement of narrative matter, and in its complete form been generally connected with the name of this Apostle, before the Greek version was made. The hypothesis that this Gospel received essential changes or additions of matter, subsequent to the time of Papias, is excluded by an overwhelming weight of evidence. There is, indeed, other and sufficient proof that our Matthew existed in its present form within thirty or forty years of the Saviour’s death. But independently of this proof, and even when the sense of *logia* is lim-

ited, the testimony of Papias himself—still more, if that testimony emanates, as is probably the fact, from pupils of Apostles whom he had consulted—carries back the date of our Matthew, in its present form, into the Apostolic age.

But if *logia* cover the narrative matter as well as the discourses, and if Papias thus refers to the Gospel of Matthew as we have it, the early origin of the Gospel is explicitly attested.

That such is the real purport of the *logia* is apparent from the following considerations:

1. The word is capable of this more extended import. It denotes *sacred words—oracles*; and with its kindred terms, has this meaning, not only in ecclesiastical writers, but also in the New Testament. It is probably used in Heb. v. 12 as an equivalent for the whole *Christian revelation*. The restriction of its meaning by Meyer, in this place, is opposed by other good critics, including Bleek.\* We have a clear example in Luke i. 4: “that thou mightest know the certainty of those things—*λόγων*—wherein thou hast been instructed.” Luke writes a consecutive history of the life and ministry of Jesus in order to assure Theophilus of the certainty of the things which were believed among Christians, and had been taught him. The contents of the Gospel of Luke which follows, constitute the *logoi*. Even Meyer allows that the narrative matter is included in the word, though indirectly. The objection of Credner that the application of the term *logia*, in the sense of divine words, to the New Testament writings, presupposes a view of their inspiration which was not prevalent so early as the time of Papias, has, in our judgment, no validity. The reverence of Papias for the declarations of the Apostles, which

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\* *λόγια* is used for the Old Testament—the whole revelation of God—in Romans iii. 2. Other passages where the word is found, are Wisdom xvi. 11, (comp. v. 5), Acts vii. 38, 1 Peter iv. 11. For the sense of the word in ecclesiastical writers see Suidas *sub voce*; also Wettstein, T. ii. p. 36. Important illustrative passages are Ignatius ad Smyr. iii, and the classification of the Scriptures by Ephraem Syrus (in Photius). In this last place, *τὰ κυριακά λόγια* seems to be plainly a designation of the Gospels. We may observe here, that even if the sense of *logia* in Papias were, philologically considered, doubtful, the existence of another work than our Matthew, for which there is not a particle of evidence from any other source, could not be inferred from a single doubtful expression.

breathes through the whole passage in Eusebius, accords well with such a mode of characterizing them. The whole of the Apostles' testimony in regard to the teachings and works of Christ, constituted the *logia*—the oracles of the Lord, or the oracles pertaining to the Lord.\*

2. It is well-nigh certain that in the account which Papias gives of *Mark's* Gospel, the *logia* includes the works as well as words of Christ. Papias attributes a want of order to Mark's record of the words and works of Christ—the things "said or done" by Him. He then proceeds to explain the reason of this peculiarity. Mark had derived his information from listening to the discourses of Peter. But Peter was in the habit of selecting his matter to suit the occasion, and therefore did not furnish a systematic statement of the *logia* of the Lord.† How can the *logia* here denote anything less than "the things said or done?" Papias adds that in writing some things according to his recollection, Mark committed no fault. Even here Meyer's lexical scrupulosity would fain limit the *logia* to the discourses of Christ, and then make the "some things," which Mark set down without following the chronological order, relate only to this part of his reports. But this interpretation is obviously strained, and appears to be directly overthrown by the circumstance that Papias attributes the absence of order to Mark's reports of the *deeds* as well as the words of Christ. Why should Peter observe the chronological order more carefully in referring to incidents in the life of Christ, than in recalling his discourses? That *logia* has the comprehensive meaning in the description of Matthew, is thus proved by the extended sense which we are under the necessity of attributing to it in the passage that follows respecting Mark.

3. If the *logia* do not embrace the whole of Matthew, then

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\* It has been thought by some that the works and words of Christ were termed the "*logia* of the Lord," as being the total expression which He made of Himself. But this is less natural. Nor do we think that other critics are right in referring the *logia* to the discourses, as being the *predominant feature* of the Gospel, or the feature with which Papias was chiefly concerned.

† The reading of Heinichen here is *λεγεν*; but *λογισιν* seems to be the generally adopted reading among critics. So Meyer and Bleek.

Papias furnishes no account of the origin of the Gospel, with the exception of that part of it which includes the discourses of Christ. He had in his hands, as Meyer and all sound critics admit, our complete Gospel of Matthew. It would be natural for him, if he began to give an account of its origin, to explain how the *narrative* portions of the Gospel were brought into it. Eusebius takes it for granted that Papias is explaining the origin of the canonical Gospel of Matthew, and for this reason cites the passage. Neither Eusebius nor any writer before him, nor any writer for fifteen centuries after him, knew anything of a collection of discourses of Matthew, or of any work of Matthew, save the entire canonical Gospel which bears his name.

4. Irenæus, whom Meyer elsewhere\* pronounces an independent witness on the subject, says that Matthew wrote his Gospel in the Hebrew. Irenæus gives the same tradition which is given by Papias, who was an old man when Irenæus was a youth. Irenæus knows nothing of a composition of a report of the Saviour's discourses by the Apostle Matthew, which received a narrative supplement from some later hand. The other writers of the second century are equally ignorant of a fact which, if it be contained in the testimony of Papias, must have been generally known.

5. The work of Papias himself was entitled an Exposition of the Oracles (*λογίων*) of the Lord. But, as we know from the fragments that remain, it was partly made up of narrative matter. Incidents in the life of Christ, and teachings of Christ, equally found a place in this work. Meyer, unjustifiably as we think, would make the narrative matter in Papias a part, not of the *logia*, but of the Exposition attached to the *logia*. The truth seems to be that Papias gathered up all that he could hear of what the disciples of Christ had reported of him, and accompanied this record with observations of his own.

We are persuaded, and we trust that the considerations above presented will convince our readers, that this restriction of the sense of *logia*, which goes no farther back than Schleiermacher,

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\* Meyer's *Einl. z. Matthäus*, S. 5.

and is a subtlety that escaped Eusebius and Irenæus, is without any good foundation. And we are brought to the conclusion that the testimony of Papias, that "ancient man," who had been conversant with many of the Apostles, establishes the fact of the origin of the First Gospel in the Apostolic age.

II. The relation of the Gospel of Matthew to the uncanonical Gospel of the Hebrews, affords proof of the early date of the former.

The Gospel of the Hebrews, written in the Aramaic dialect, was the most widely known of all the uncanonical Gospels. It was the Gospel in use among the Hebrew Christian sects, which were separated from the general Church. It existed, however, in varying forms. Thus, the stricter Ebionites had cut off the first two chapters, in which the circumstances attending the miraculous birth of the Saviour were related. The numerous allusions in the fathers to the gospel of the Hebrews—the *εὐαγγέλιον κατ' Ἑβραίων*—make it clear that it had a close resemblance to the canonical Matthew. A careful comparison demonstrates that it was our Matthew, altered and amplified. That the priority belongs to the canonical Gospel—whether it existed originally in the Hebrew or the Greek, we will not now inquire—is established. For example, in the Latin translation of Origen's commentary on Matthew, there is quoted from the Gospel of the Hebrews a narrative of the conversation of the young man with Jesus, a passage corresponding to Matthew xix. 16 seq. The young man, as in Matthew, comes to Jesus with his question as to the method of attaining eternal life. Jesus tells him to obey the law *and the prophets*. "He replies, 'I have done so.' Jesus said unto him, 'come, sell all that thou hast and divide among the poor, and come, follow me.' But the rich man *began to scratch his head*, and was not pleased," etc. No one can doubt in regard to such a passage, that it springs from the amplification of the simple narrative in Matthew. The narrative is spun out with apocryphal details.\*

We are concerned to ascertain, next, the age of the Gospel of

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\* The priority of Matthew has been convincingly shown by various writers; among them by Franck, in a thorough Article in the *Studien u. Kritiken*, 1848, 2.

the Hebrews. It was certainly known to Hegesippus, before the middle part of the second century. And there is no reason to think that it was then new. Himself a Hebrew Christian by birth, he had probably been long acquainted with it. But we will not indulge in conjecture. It is safe to affirm that the Church received no evangelical history from the Judaizing Christians after the latter had become separated. The existence of the Gospel of Matthew among them, for the Gospel of the Hebrews was an altered Matthew, requires us to conclude that it enjoyed a general acceptance before the Jewish-Christian parties were formed. But these acquired a distinct existence, according to the trustworthy testimony of Hegesippus, at the beginning, or about the beginning of the second century. Before this, however, and from the time of the destruction of Jerusalem, the movement towards separation began. The Judaizing Christians looked with growing jealousy and hostility upon the Gentile believers and their churches. To our mind, it is altogether improbable that the Gospel of Matthew could have been composed, and have been accepted by both classes of Christians, at any time subsequent—to say the least, long subsequent—to the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus. Besides the difficulty of accounting for its acceptance on both sides, on the supposition of a later date, the partisan feelings of the Judaizing Christians would infallibly have been reflected on its pages. But in this artless chronicle, there is not the slightest trace of Judaizing bitterness.

III. We have to consider now the prophecies of the second Advent of Christ, which are contained in Matthew, in their bearing on the date of the Gospel.

In touching upon this topic, we are brought in contact, indeed, with the principal exegetical difficulty in the New Testament. The final advent of Christ to judgment, and the destruction of Jerusalem, appear to have been connected together in time, as if the former were to follow immediately upon the latter. After what seems clearly to be a prediction of the downfall of Jerusalem (Matthew xxiv. 1–29), we read that “*immediately* (εὐθὺς) after the tribulation of those days,” the Son of

Man will come in the clouds of heaven, in the sight of "all the tribes," on earth, and "gather together his elect from the four winds, from one end of heaven to the other," (vs. 29-32). And we read (in v. 34): "this generation (*γενεα*) shall not pass, till all these things be fulfilled."

We are not called upon, in this place, to consider the difficulty that is presented by these passages. The paramount question of the origin and date of the Gospel is the question which we have in hand. That our Saviour did not predict that the world would come to an end instantly on the destruction of Jerusalem, is shown by other parts of his own teaching. He is represented in the Synoptical Gospels as declaring that the time when the end would occur was not a subject of Revelation, but a secret of the Father. In a more comprehensive way, he said to the disciples, (Acts i. 7): "It is not for you to know the *times or seasons*, which the Father hath put in his own power." And the Apostles, though hoping and looking for the end, did not claim in their Epistles to be taught by Inspiration when the end would come. Moreover, there are various teachings of the Saviour in regard to His kingdom, which imply a slow progress and a long operation of the Gospel in the world. It is like a leaven. It is like a grain of mustard seed. It is the salt of the earth. It is to be preached to all nations. He compares Himself as to the moral effect of His death, to the corn of wheat which, if it do not fall into the earth and die, "abideth alone; but if it die, it bringeth forth much fruit."

We can afford, in the present discussion, to waive the inquiry how these predictions, as they are set down in the First Gospel (and so substantially in Mark and Luke) are reconcilable with these other teachings of Christ and with historical fact. It is enough that skeptics, almost with one voice, have maintained that here is really a distinct prediction of the end of the world, to occur in connection with the destruction of Jerusalem and within the life-time of the generation then on the stage. Gibbon makes this prediction a theme of his elaborate satire. Theodore Parker has expressed the same view. Now, if this be their interpretation, they are compelled

to acknowledge that the Gospel which contains this erroneous prediction, appeared in its present form before Jerusalem was captured by Titus, or before the year 70. It must have been written as early as thirty or forty years after the Saviour's death. No Gospel writer would set forth, without explanation, a prediction of a great event, which all his readers would know had not been verified. No writer in the year 80, or 90, or 100, would fix the date of the end of the world at the destruction of Jerusalem, in a document which he wished to be believed.

We may even take a step farther. If some interpretation of the passages in Matthew be adopted, which recognizes an infallible accuracy in the Synoptical reports of the Saviour's teaching, yet it may be safely held that had the Evangelist been writing at a later time, some explanation would have been thrown in to remove the *seeming* discrepancy between prophecy and fulfillment. If it be supposed, for example, that in the perspective opened to the prophetic vision, two grand events, though parted in reality by a long interval, were brought together—as distant mountain peaks, when approached, are found to be far apart,—yet it would be natural to expect that when the interval had actually disclosed itself to the observer, some intimation of the fact would be dropped. So that even on the orthodox, as well as on the skeptical, interpretation of the eschatology in the Synoptics, their early date is manifest.

It remains for us to notice the Tübingen hypotheses concerning Matthew. Baur's general theory is not the mythical theory, but "the tendency-theory." He has discussed and pointed out the weakness of the procedure of Strauss in his attempt to disprove the statements of the Fourth Gospel by opposing to them the authority of the Synoptics, and at the same time to contradict the Synoptics by quoting the Fourth Gospel against them. If there is to be any positive construction of the evangelical history, as Baur perceived, there must be gained somewhere a firm standing-place. This he finds in the First Gospel. Not that even this Gospel is fully authentic and historical. Yet there is in Matthew a substantial kernel of historical truth. All of the Gospels are, more or less, the pro-



duct of a theological *tendency*; that is, they result from the artificial recasting and amplifying of the veritable history, in order to suit the views of some theological party or interest in the primitive church. In Matthew, the Jewish Christian side is the prevailing motive determining the cast and tone of the narrative. Luke represents the opposite, or Gentile, party. But the First Gospel is less inspired by a definite, dogmatical interest, which leads in the other Gospels to the conscious alteration and fabrication of history; and Baur is disposed to concede to Strauss that there is a larger admixture of the myth or the *unconscious* creations of feeling in Matthew, than is true of the remaining Gospels.

When we come to inquire for a precise explanation of the origin of the First Gospel, we are met with very divergent responses from the various choir-leaders of the Tübingen school. In fact, with respect to the whole of the special criticism by which they seek to convict the Gospels of being *tendenz-schriften*, they are hardly less at variance with each other, than with the Christian world generally. Passages that are confidently quoted by one critic in proof of a certain "tendency," are alleged by another as illustrations of a "tendency" exactly opposite. With regard to Matthew, Hilgenfeld, who agrees, in this particular, with Strauss, does not limit the sense of the *logia* of Papias, so as to exclude narrative matter; yet he pretends to be able to dissect the First Gospel and to separate a primitive Matthew—an *Ur-Matthäus*—from later accretions. We are absolved from the necessity of following him in the baseless and arbitrary division which he seeks to run through the contents of Matthew, since his construction has gained so little applause even from his master. But we may attend for a moment to Baur's own view. He appears to take the *logia* in the restricted meaning, and to attach some importance to the supposed tradition of a collection of *logia*, forming the basis of our Matthew. This hypothesis we have already examined. Baur's effort to bring down the date of the Gospel into the second century is a bad failure. Desirous of holding that the Second Advent is foretold as immediately subsequent to the predicted destruction of Jerusalem, he is

obliged to refer the latter prediction to some other war than that of Titus. Accordingly, he interprets it as applying to the war of Hadrian in the year 131 or 132, and therefore fixes the date of the composition of the Gospel between 130-134! It is unfortunate for this bold assertion, that our Matthew was an authoritative writing among Christians, and read as such in their assemblies "in city and country," in the time of Justin Martyr, who was born before the end of the first century. But aside from this historical testimony, which it is vain to attempt to invalidate, Baur's interpretation can be easily proved to be palpably false. In the destruction of Jerusalem foretold in Matthew (xxiv. 1-4) the temple was to be laid in ruins. This was accomplished by Titus, and not by Hadrian. With what face then can the prophecy be referred to the war of Hadrian? It is doubtful, indeed, whether, in this last war, there was even a destruction of the city. The parallel passages in the other Evangelists, (see Luke xxi. 5-7, 12, 20), determine the reference of the prediction to the war of Titus, beyond the possibility of doubt. Moreover, "this generation" was not to pass away before this event was to occur. Baur claims that this phrase—*αὕτη γενεά*—may cover a period as long as a century. But this claim is void of truth. The phrase everywhere signifies, in the New Testament, the average term of human life, and was held, according to the Greek usage, to be equivalent to a third of a century. Besides, explanatory expressions occur in the prophetic passages of Matthew, which define the meaning of the phrase in the way we have stated. The difficulty presented by these passages, we are firmly convinced, is not to be escaped by affixing another than the proper and uniform meaning to this phrase.

The forced and manifestly false interpretation of Baur, which has been noticed above, is due to the straits into which he is brought by his untenable theory. Confronted by unimpeachable historical witnesses, he is not only obliged to ignore, or unjustifiably to disparage, their testimony, but also to resort to shifts in interpretation which only mark the desperation of his cause. There is absolutely nothing to conflict with the supposition that our First Gospel comes down, in its integrity,

from the Apostolic Church ; while the positive evidence, both direct and corroborative, fully establishes the fact.

#### MARK.

The ancient testimonies, of which that of Papias is the first, to the genuineness and early date of the Second Gospel, would seem to preclude the possibility of a question on these points. Mark is declared to have been an attendant of Peter and to have derived his knowledge of the life and ministry of Jesus from the discourses of that Apostle. This is substantially the declaration of all the writers in the second half of the second century ; and it has been thought by some good critics that even as early as Justin Martyr, and by Justin himself, the Gospel of Mark was styled Peter's Gospel.

But it has been contended of late that the description of Papias does not answer for our Mark, and must refer to some other work. In the later form of the theory, Papias is made to describe an earlier Mark—an Ur-Markus—which is the germ of our present Gospel.

Now of the existence of this earlier work, there is no information in any of the Fathers. How did the fact of its existence escape the knowledge of Irenæus and his contemporaries ? Where did all the manuscripts of it disappear ? In truth, the theory in this form is preposterous, and even Baur is driven to a different hypothesis. Before attending to this, however, let us revert to the statements of Papias, and see how far they are from lending support to the notion that he had in mind any other work than our Mark.

Papias, or John the Presbyter, his informant, represents that Mark, though a careful and accurate writer, depended on the oral discourses of Peter for his knowledge, and therefore did not dispose his matter—*ἐν τάξει*—in the chronological order. This is all the evidence on which the theory of an earlier Mark is founded ! But, in any event, this remark is only the impression of an individual as to the character of the Second Gospel. He doubtless compared Mark with the more consecutive narrative of Matthew. Moreover it is plain that he had in mind the lack of completeness in Mark, which begins abruptly with

the preaching of John. For he afterwards explains that Mark wrote down "*some* things"—whatever he recollected; though it is added that he left out nothing that he heard. The necessary gaps and omissions constituted in part the want of order—*τάξις*—which he noticed in Mark.\* The Second Gospel did not seem to be a full, systematical digest—a *σύνταξις*—of the words and deeds of Christ, like Matthew, but had a more irregular, fragmentary structure. Not that Mark neglected arrangement altogether, and simply pasted together the reports of Peter in the order in which he heard them. This is not at all implied; but only that he had not the means of exactly arranging and filling out his history. To call into existence another work, different from our Mark, in consequence of this observation of Papias, is a folly of criticism.

The Tübingen writers have set up the wholly unsupported assertion, that our Mark is the amplification of an earlier "Gospel of Peter;" but, as might be expected, they have little agreement with each other in the forms which they give to their theory. Hilgenfeld is persuaded that Mark is the product of a recasting, in the Petrine interest and that of the Roman church, of the Gospel of Matthew.† Marvelous that this Petrine, Roman Catholic partisan should have left out of his work the passage: "Thou art Peter and on this rock I build my church"! Strange that he should have stricken out the passage which, above all others, was suited to his purpose! Baur, seeing that the supposition of an earlier Gospel of Mark is incredible, on account of the absence of all traces of such a work, and all allusions to it, has invented a new hypothesis which is, if possible, more irrational than Hilgenfeld's. Papias has mixed up, we are told, things that have no connection—the existence of the Gospel of Mark, with which he was perhaps not even acquainted, and the legend of discourses which

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\* Meyer is plainly wrong in making the "*some* things"—*τινα*—cover only a portion of what Mark set down. The meaning is that only a part of the teachings and works of Christ find a place in his Gospel. The want of order, as we have said before, is predicated as much of the record of the "*things done*," as of the "*things said*."

† Hilgenfeld's *Kanonische Evangelien*, S. 148.

were thought to have been delivered by Peter on his missionary journeys. But of what weight is this naked, baseless conjecture in opposition to the distinct testimony of Papias? If a witness is to be set aside on so flimsy a pretext, there is an end of historical investigation. Besides, it is not Papias alone, who testifies to the Gospel of Mark and the connection of Mark with Peter. Irenæus, Clement, Eusebius, say the same; and there is no reason to suppose that they simply reëcho the statement of Papias. All these writers represent what was unquestionably the general belief at the time when Papias wrote.

These assaults upon the integrity of the Gospel of Mark, by critics who do not stick to any one hypothesis as long as it takes the seasons to revolve, have not weakened in the slightest degree that argument in behalf of the Gospel on which the Church has rested from the Apostolic age until now. Are historical testimonies to be blown away by the empty guess of a theorist?

#### LUKE.

The school of Baur have been especially confident in asserting that Luke's Gospel was written to further a certain theological interest. It is a *tendenz-schrift*, they are sure, which emanates from the Pauline side, and represents the Gospel history in a way to favor the Gentile claims and privileges.

Now, every historian, who is not a mere story-teller, writes from his own point of view. Every historian will disclose in the complexion of his work his own character and situation. Certain aspects of the subject which have for one writer a peculiar interest, are thrown by a writer of a different cast more into the background. The position and character of an historian affect his selection and disposition of the matter. But the question is whether he is betrayed into inaccuracy and perversion by the bent of his mind and his party connections. It is clear that Luke, a disciple of Paul, and writing for a heathen convert, is more interested in the intention of the author of the Gospel to provide salvation equally for the Gentiles. But is he thereby led to indulge in misstatement and

invention? Does he omit important facts because they would clash with a view which he wishes to make out? And does he not scruple to fabricate incidents for the sake of helping forward a party interest? This is charged by Baur—charged, as we believe, without proof and falsely. There is no inconsistency between the representation of the life and teachings of Christ in Matthew, and that made in Luke. The design of Christianity to embrace the Gentiles, even to bring to them an advantage above the unbelieving nation to whom the Gospel first comes, is abundantly attested in Matthew. What are the proofs by which Baur would sustain his impeachment of Luke? They are, one and all, destitute of weight. Luke omits to mention the distinction put upon Peter when he was styled the Rock; but so does Mark. It is charged that Luke contrives to disparage the twelve disciples, in order to pave the way for an inference to the honor of Paul. This is pure fancy, and has against it such passages as Luke xxii. 29, 30, where the Lord declares that a kingdom is appointed for this band of disciples, even as the Father had appointed for him; and that they should “sit on twelve thrones, judging the twelve tribes of Israel.” Hilgenfeld is acute enough to find in this promise a designed *depression* of the twelve, since they are to judge Israel *alone*! What, then, is the purport of the same promise in “judaizing” Matthew? That the kingdom is preached in Samaria, according to Luke, is also, if we are to believe Baur, a fiction designed as a typical prelude to Paul’s free offer of salvation to the heathen, and to pacify objectors to this last procedure. Especially is the mission of the Seventy (Luke x. 10) discredited, and ascribed partly to the desire to diminish the consideration of the twelve, and partly to the wish to furnish a justifying parallel or preparation, in the manner just mentioned, for the Pauline liberality to the Gentiles and the missions among them. But in sending out the Seventy, Christ did not organize them into a permanent body. There is no trace of such a body of disciples in the Acts, as there certainly would be if they had been a permanent body, or if the narrative

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\* Matt. xix, 25.

in Luke had been a doctrinal fiction. The Seventy were provisionally employed, in the course of this last journey of Jesus to Jerusalem, when He was desirous of making Himself more widely known to the people. The number was fixed at seventy, not because the Jews reckoned the languages of the world at seventy, which is Baur's explanation, but more likely in allusion to the seventy elders appointed by Moses, just as the twelve disciples corresponded with the number of tribes. Nor did the Seventy go to the heathen. It does not appear that they went to the Samaritans even; and Luke himself records that by the Samaritans Jesus himself had been inhospitably received.\* It has been properly suggested in reply to Baur, that were this incident a willful fiction, it would be so contrived as to present a greater resemblance to the later Apostolic history, than the occult, remote, far-fetched analogy which Baur imagines himself to discern. So slender are the principal grounds on which important portions of the Third Gospel are pronounced a fabrication! They illustrate the morbid suspicion of these critics, and their slavish subjection to a preconceived, indefensible theory concerning the original character of Christianity.

One of the most important topics connected with modern discussions relative to the origin of the Third Gospel, is the relation of that Gospel to the Gospel of Marcion. In the genial portraiture which Neander has drawn of this noted heresiarch, it appears that the love and compassion of Christ had struck into his soul. Not discerning that this love and compassion presuppose and require the feelings of justice, he conceived that the representations of the character of God in the Old Testament are inconsistent with the image he had formed of Christ. Moreover, the Apostles, with the exception of Paul, seemed to him to be entangled in Old Testament views and to have perverted the pure doctrine of Jesus. On the contrary, the expressions in Paul about the Christian's emancipation from the law and about free grace, being imperfectly under-

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\* Luke ix. 51 seq.

stood by Marcion, fell in with the current of his feeling. Hence, though starting from a practical, and not a speculative point of view, he developed a gnostical theory, according to which the God of the Old Testament was a Demiurg, inferior to the Father of Jesus. He shaped his scriptural canon to suit his doctrinal belief. The Gospel of Luke, as written by a companion of Paul, and as bringing out the Pauline doctrine, he regarded with favor; but according to the unanimous testimony of the Fathers, he mutilated and abridged this Gospel in order to conform it to his own system. Similar liberties he took with the Pauline epistles, which he also received. He may have fancied that the changes which he made in all these documents were a restoration of them to their original form. Yet there is no indication whatever that these changes were made on any other authority than his a-priori theory of what Christ and the Apostles must have taught.

A native of Pontus in Asia Minor, Marcion came to Rome about the year 140—possibly ten years later. Hence, if the statement of Tertullian and the rest of the Fathers is correct, respecting the relation of his Gospel to that of Luke, he is a most important witness to the early and general reception of Luke's Gospel in its present form. It would seem to be well-nigh impossible to call in question this early testimony. It is true that Marcion did not succeed in removing from Luke all features not in keeping with his system. But this is only to say that he did not do his work with entire thoroughness and consistency. Irenæus and Tertullian, and their contemporaries, be it observed, lived shortly after Marcion. Irenæus had grown to be a young man before Marcion died. Tertullian had taken great pains to collect information concerning Marcion's career and system. But, independently of their testimony in itself considered, how can it be supposed that a Gospel which Marcion and the Marcionites alone received, was taken up by Catholic Christians, and enlarged and improved for their own use? What possible motive could prompt them to appropriate to themselves this heretical spurious Gospel and add it to those which they knew to be authentic? How did the churches drop out the work which Marcion used—sup-



posed to be the real Luke—and substitute for it the new-fangled Gospel which was fabricated on the basis of it? How is it that we have no notice of this exchange—no traces of a previous use of the curtailed Luke of Marcion, on the part of the churches? And such a procedure would bring down the date of the canonical Gospel to 130 or 140!

The first to dispute the received view as to Marcion's Gospel, was the founder of German rationalism, Semler. He suggested that our Luke and Marcion's Luke are different recensions, or editions, of the same work. Others after him assigned the priority to the Luke of Marcion. Opinion swayed from one side to the other on this question, until Baur strenuously contended that Marcion's Gospel is first and the canonical Luke was made on the basis of it. This hypothesis he defended at length in his work on the *Canonical Gospels*.<sup>\*</sup> But a careful comparison of the numerous passages of Marcion's Luke, which are found in the fathers, made it impossible longer to dispute the priority of the canonical Gospel. And after the publication of the work of Volckmar on this subject, Baur himself retracted his previous hypothesis, and came on to the same ground. In his work on Mark's Gospel, he says: "It is no longer to be denied, as I have become convinced by a repeated examination, that most of the variations between Marcion's Gospel and our own are, with a prevailing likelihood, to be regarded as arbitrary alterations in the interest of a given system." The priority of our Luke is now an established, uncontradicted fact. See how much this fact involves! Marcion took an accepted, generally received Gospel, and applied to it his pruning-knife. Our Luke, then, was most certainly an authoritative document in the churches early in the second century. But a more valuable deduction may be made with entire confidence. Marcion selected a work which he regarded and others regarded, as the composition of a disciple of Paul, and deriving its authority and value from this circumstance. We may safely infer that our Gospel was generally considered at the beginning of the second century, or about thirty years

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<sup>\*</sup> Baur's *Kanonische Evangelien*, S. 393 seq. (1847).

after we suppose it to have been written, to be the work of an earlier writer, an associate of the Apostles. As concerns the argument from tradition for the genuineness and early date of Luke, we could ask for nothing more.

Baur's whole theory concerning Luke was, in reality, shattered by the demolition of the false and most improbable hypothesis of a priority of Marcion's Gospel. Yet, in his later works, he does not wholly abandon his erroneous construction. The canonical Luke, he still holds, was originally composed by a strictly Pauline and anti-Petrine Christian. Various passages which are plainly and palpably irreconcilable with such a theory, he declares to be interpolated by a subsequent writer whose position is "mediatory," or half-way between the two parties, into which Baur falsely supposes the early church to have been split. For this theory of a later editor, there is not an iota of historical evidence. It is, like so many other hypotheses, spun out of the bowels of the critic. The dissection of the Gospel, which is attempted, is from beginning to end a purely arbitrary proceeding, and has no better foundation than had the mutilation attempted by Marcion. To illustrate the false and arbitrary character of Baur's criticism of Luke, we bring forward a single instance. In Luke xvi. 16, there is recorded the saying of the Saviour: "It is easier for heaven and earth to pass, than one tittle of the law to fail." In place of "the law"—*τοῦ νόμου*—there was found in Marcion's Gospel—*τῶν λόγων μου*—"my words." The existence of this declaration in Luke concerning the perpetuity of the law, is at war with Baur's idea of the anti-Jewish character of the Gospel. It is one of the clearest proofs of the unfounded nature of his theory. Hence, he puts forward the assertion that Marcion has the true reading. For the reading of Marcion there is no manuscript support whatever. It accords, moreover, with the character of all the rest of his alterations. He aims to erase whatever gives a sanction to the Old Testament law. Yet we are expected to accept the wholly unsupported and groundless doctrine of that oracular personage styled *Die Kritik*, who reverses his own decision with every new moon!

Much of the mistaken and mischievous speculation adverse to the genuineness of the third Gospel, has sprung from Schleiermacher's hypothesis of the composite character of this Gospel and of the Acts. He proposed the theory that the Gospel of Luke is a series of earlier documents linked together, the task of Luke being merely that of a compiler. This view was ingeniously advocated. A similar hypothesis was held concerning the Acts, the second work of the same Author. But this hypothesis, both in respect to the Gospel and the Acts, has been proved to be unfounded. Whatever written materials were in the hands of Luke, neither of his works is a mere compilation. Each of them has a coherent outline, and is pervaded by qualities of style peculiar to the Evangelist. One of the ablest refutations of the Schleiermacherian theory is contained in the work of Lekebusch upon the Acts. The prologue of Luke's Gospel evinces the error of that theory. Luke avows his intention to prepare an orderly, a systematic and connected, narrative of the life and ministry of Jesus. And the impression made by the prologue that he designs to fuse his materials into a regular composition, is sustained by an inspection of the contents of the work.

This prologue of Luke's Gospel is chiefly valuable as a testimony to its genuineness and credibility. As such, it well deserves examination. Many before him had written accounts more or less full, of the life and ministry of Jesus. He has carefully followed down the course of the Saviour's history from the beginning—for this is the meaning of the passage rendered—"having had perfect understanding of all things from the very first." But how did he and "the many" to whom he refers, ascertain the facts "most surely believed among us?" He answers that "they delivered them unto us—*απεδοσαν ἡμῖν*—which from the beginning" of the Saviour's career "were eye-witnesses and ministers of the word." Two things are here affirmed; first, that Luke's knowledge came from the Apostles and other immediate disciples of Christ, and, secondly, that it came to him *directly* from them, without the intervention of third persons. This last is implied in the phrase—

“delivered to us”—*παρέδοσαν ἡμῖν*—as may be seen by an examination of other passages where the same word occurs; as, for example, 1 Cor. xi. 23. The informants of Luke were eye-witnesses of the history which he undertakes to record. He was contemporary with them. The early date of his work is verified by his own distinct statement.

#### THE RELATION OF THE APOCRYPHAL TO THE CANONICAL GOSPELS.

The fact of the existence of apocryphal Gospels has given occasion, among those who have not studied the subject, to erroneous impressions. It has been supposed by some that a considerable number of Gospels, besides the four of the canon, were in the hands of the early church, and that for reasons which may not have been fully sufficient, these last were selected, and clothed with authority. This belief, or conjecture, is unfounded, as we shall soon point out. And a careful attention to the subject of the apocryphal Gospels has the effect to set forth in a clearer light the antiquity and authority of the received Gospels. A few remarks will bring before the reader the more important considerations.\*

1. None of the works now extant under the name of Apocryphal Gospels, have any claim to be considered authentic histories of Christ, or to be regarded, in the remotest degree, as rivals or competitors of the canonical Gospels.

It is the fashion of writers like Strauss to quote from these apocryphal Gospels, as well as from the Gospels of the Canon, for the sake of creating an impression that both belong to the same category, which no person pretending to be a scholar would venture to assert. The apocryphal Gospels are at a world-

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\* The old and standard work on the subject of the Apocryphal literature is that of Fabricius. “A New and Full Method of Settling the Canonical Authority of the New Testament, etc.,” by Rev. J. Jones, (Oxford, 1798), is Fabricius with English translations. The remarks and deductions of Jones are sometimes good, but often ill-judged. Thilo began to edit the apocryphal Gospels in a most scholarly manner, but only published a first volume. Norton’s chapter, (*Genuineness of the Gospels*, Vol. iii. ch. xii.) is lucid and instructive. He goes farther than most scholars would approve, in discrediting the *existence* of apocryphal books which ecclesiastical writers mention by their titles. But his skepticism in this particular is a healthy antidote to extravagances in the opposite direction.

wide remove from the canonical Gospels, in the character of their contents. They relate almost exclusively to the nativity and infancy of Jesus and the glories of his mother, or to circumstances attending and following his death. They are chiefly made up of silly tales, which are too plainly fabulous to merit any attention. Nor have they any title to attention on the score of age. All of them are demonstrably later than our Gospels. Most, if not all of them, are even centuries later. It has been supposed indeed, but probably without ground, that two or three of these are alluded to by early Fathers. Justin Martyr twice mentions the Acts (*ἄκτα*) of Pilate, as a document where could be found an attestation of the Saviour's history. Tertullian has a similar reference. A book called *Gesta Pilati*, or Acts of Pilate, forms a part of the so-called Gospel of Nicodemus. But the Acts of a Roman governor—such a work as Justin designates—was his official Report to the Emperor, which was deposited in the Archives at Rome. Whether in the time of Justin there was any *published* narrative of that sort, purporting to be Pilate's report of the judicial proceeding in the case of Jesus, we are unable to say.\* This is certain that the *Gesta Pilati* is a totally different work. It is a narrative of Christ's life on the basis of our Gospels, which it is pretended that—though with fictitious embellishments—Nicodemus wrote and the Emperor Theodosius (which Emperor of that name, we are not told) found among the public records in the hall of Pontius Pilate, at Jerusalem. Of course, this book was not written prior to the reign of the Emperor referred to. Origen, in the first half of the third century, once refers to a book of James, as containing the statement that the brothers of Jesus were children of Joseph by a former marriage; and the apocryphal Protevangelion of James contains a similar statement. But there is no other allusion to such a work until near the end of the fourth century. The work now extant is a

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\* It is probable that Justin refers to no writing which he had seen, but to a public document which he supposes to exist. In the same way (Apol. I. 35) he says:—"As you may learn from the lists of the taxing, which were made in the time of Cyrenius, the first governor of yours in Judea."

silly legend concerning the birth of Mary and the birth of Jesus, and is probably of much later date than the likewise unimportant book which Origen casually notices, and to which he attributes no authority. Origen, also, alludes to a spurious Gospel of Thomas. An apocryphal work professing to emanate from Thomas, is now extant, (though in very divergent forms), of which the work alluded to by Origen may possibly have served as the basis. It is composed of fabulous tales of the boyhood of Jesus. We do not know, however, that the Gospel of Thomas, which is mentioned by Origen, was a narrative. It may have been, like other spurious works bearing the name of Gospel, a doctrinal homily.

The apocryphal Gospels now extant have no bearing on the question of the genuineness and credibility of the New Testament Narratives, except as they show what sort of works would have been produced, had the canonical writers followed their own fancy and invention. In this aspect, the apocryphal Gospels afford an impressive confirmation of the verity of the canonical histories. The sobriety and simplicity of the latter, together with their distinct statement that no miracles were performed by Jesus prior to his baptism, are in wonderful contrast with the fanciful and fantastic complexion of the spurious Gospels. The clumsiness of the counterfeit sets off the perfection of the original.

2. The apocryphal Gospels which are mentioned by the early Fathers, but which have perished, had only a local circulation, had no authority save with minor heretical parties, and had no effect on that generally prevailing conception of the life and teaching of Christ, which was founded exclusively on the four authentic and canonical Narratives unanimously received by the early church.

We must explain that we do not include in this statement the Gospel of the Hebrews and Marcion's Gospel, for the reason that both of these works were produced by the alteration of canonical Gospels. The Gospel of the Hebrews existed in many varying forms, and under different titles. The Gospel of the Twelve Apostles, for example, and other books the titles of which have come down to us, were different editions of

the Gospel of the Hebrews. This work, as we have said, was our Matthew altered.\* The Gospel of Marcion was our Luke abridged and otherwise changed.

The truth which we wish to convey is that *there were no Gospel histories* in the second century, which were contending for acceptance by the side of the Four; none which had come into general use and were discarded; none having any claims to be authentic, which required to be seriously weighed. As far as we can ascertain, there were no other Gospels which had a consideration sufficient to render them candidates for public favor in the Church. It should be remarked, that the first attempts at Evangelical writing which Luke mentions in his preface, were early supplanted by the canonical histories, so that none of the former, as far as we can discover, were known to the ecclesiastical writers of the second century.

The Gnostics were the falsifiers and fabricators of Scripture, according to the statement of the Fathers. In the controversy of Irenæus and Tertullian with the Gnostics, both sides take for granted a life and teaching of Christ, which, with wholly insignificant exceptions, is identical with the representation of our canonical Gospels. He is assumed to have done and said just what they record. The leading sects of the Gnostics were therefore governed in their conception of the career and ministry of Christ, by the authority and the representations of the canonical histories.

Tertullian, who has so much to say of the falsification of Luke by Marcion, and his rejection of the rest of the Gospels on dogmatic grounds, does not mention any apocryphal Gospels as in use among the Valentinians, the principal Gnostical sect, and the rest of his opponents. In one place only, Irenæus

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\* That the Gospel of the Hebrews was never put by the church and church writers on a level with the canonical Gospels, has been fully proved. See, for example, the Article of Franck, (Stud. u. Krit, 1848, 2), to which we have before referred. As to the use of it by Hegesippus, Eusebius merely says that he brought forward some things from the Gospel of the Hebrews, as he did from unwritten Hebrew traditions. Origen and Jerome were too intelligent to rank it with the canonical Gospels. Eusebius places it among the antilegomena, it being the Gospel used by the Hebrew christians. Euseb. III. 25.

speaks of a Gospel as used by the Valentiniāns, bearing the title of the *True Gospel* or the *Gospel of Truth*. We know not whether this was narrative or homily. We know not whether Irenæus had ever seen the work. We know not whether it really existed, or whether Irenæus did not mistake the claim on their part to be possessed of the true Gospel, or the true interpretation of the Gospel, for an allusion to a book. But of this we are certain, that he, and as far as we know, they, brought forward no passage from it. The Gospel of Basilides is another work which, if indeed such a work existed, was probably not a narrative. It was little known; and not a sentence from it is quoted by the ancient writers. Origen says that Basilides wrote a Gospel and prefixed his own name to it; a statement which is repeated by Ambrose and Jerome. But the refutations of Basilides take notice of nothing drawn from such a work. He is said by Eusebius (quoting from Agrippa Castor) to have written a work in twenty-four books "upon the Gospel"—apparently an exegetical work; and this fact may not improbably have given rise to the supposition that he had fabricated a new Gospel.

In order to show how obscure, comparatively, these apocryphal Gospels were, and how far the existence of them is from weakening, in the least degree, the evidence for the antiquity and verity of the canonical four, we will state all that is known concerning the two most prominent of these fictions, the Gospel of Peter and the Gospel of the Egyptians.

The Gospel of Peter has been made to figure conspicuously in the manifold hypotheses of the skeptical school of critics. It is instructive to see just how much is *known* concerning this work, which from the ado made about it by the critics in question, one would infer to be a document of great notoriety and importance in the early church. It has been said that Justin Martyr, in a passage of his Dialogue with Trypho, makes reference to a Gospel of Peter; but this is a mistake.\* The first

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\* The passage is in Tryph. c. 106. See Otto's excellent note, (Otto's Ed. of Justin, Vol. II. p. 361). There may be an omission of ἀποστόλων before αἱρεσῶν, as Otto supposes; or the αἱρεσῶν may refer to *Christ*; or, again, the allusion may be



notice of the Gospel of Peter is from Serapion, near the end of the second century. Serapion, bishop of Antioch, had, as we learn from Eusebius, found that some disturbance had been created in the church at Rhosse, a town in Cilicia, by a so-called Gospel of Peter which was in the hands of some of the church members. At first, thinking that the book was harmless, he deemed the affair undeserving of notice. But afterwards he procured a copy of the book from some of the Docetæ, who used it, and found it to contain objectionable matter. Origen has a single allusion to this Gospel, as containing, like the book of James, the statement that the brothers of Jesus were children of Joseph by a former marriage. It is afterwards barely mentioned, as an apocryphal book, by Jerome. This is *all* that we know of the apocryphal Gospel of Peter! It is not clear that Origen had ever seen it. The bishop of what was then the principal See in the East had never heard of the book until he met with it at Rhosse, and when he wished to examine it, he was obliged to borrow a copy of some heretical Docetæ by whom it was used! Moreover, there is nothing to show that it was a narrative. The way in which Serapion speaks of it would rather suggest the inference that its contents were of a doctrinal nature. Eusebius reckons it among the evidently spurious works "which were never esteemed valuable enough to be cited by any ecclesiastical writer."\*

The Gospel of the Egyptians is first mentioned by Clement of Alexandria near the end of the second century. He quotes from it a fabulous conversation of Jesus with Salome. He expressly characterizes the book as apocryphal. A passage similar to that quoted by Clement of Alexandria is found in the spurious fragment entitled the Second Epistle of Clement (of Rome) to the Corinthians, which was not written earlier than the time of Clement of Alexandria; and it is possible

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to Mark, which was known as Peter's Gospel. We think that the context (see c. 105) renders it in the highest degree probable (as Otto thinks) that *Justin*, according to his usual custom, refers here to the *ἀποκρυφὰ* collectively and in the plural—that is, to our four Gospels.

\* Euseb. iii. 25.

that the forger of the last work was acquainted with this fictitious Gospel. It is enumerated by Origen and Jerome among the titles of apocryphal Gospels, which they furnish. Epiphanius says that the Sabellians made use of it; but his statement needs confirmation. So much, and so much only, is known of the Gospel of the Egyptians. Some have considered it one form of the Gospel of the Hebrews. Others, including Norton, have held it to be, not a narrative, but a doctrinal work. It was written in an obscure and mystical vein, and probably presented the ascetic notions of Egyptian, gnostical sectaries, among whom it originated. It must have had a limited circulation. No Christian writer has ever attributed to it any historical authority.

We might proceed to notice other spurious gospels, or books called by the name of gospels, which are the subject of casual allusion in ecclesiastical writers of the first centuries. But we have said enough to give our readers a fair impression of their insignificant importance. Reminding the reader of what we have said of the Gospel of the Hebrews, which was framed on the basis of our Matthew, we may distinctly affirm, not only that the Four Gospels of the canon were universally accepted by the Christians of the second century, but also that no other gospel narratives can properly be said to have divided their honors with them. It may be affirmed, with hardly any qualification, that they stood without competitors. The spurious gospels secured little or no recognition outside of heretical parties or coteries from which they emanated. On the contrary, if not wholly unknown, they were rejected by the church teachers everywhere, and by the great body of Christian people.\*

It has been already remarked that the principal anti-gnostical writers of the second century, and their adversaries, alike proceed on a conception of the life and ministry of Jesus, which

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\* For an enumeration of these apocryphal writings, see De Wette's *Einl. in d. N. Testament*, § 73 a. Also, Hofmann's *Art.—Pseudepgraphen*, etc.—in Herzog's *Real-Encyc.* This last Article, however, refers to the real and *supposed* allusions in the ecclesiastical writers to the uncanonical gospels; and the references require much sifting.

is identical with that of the canonical Gospels. That is to say, both parties assume that the history of Christ which we find in our Gospels, is alone authentic. A like confirmation of the authority of the canonical Gospels is obtained from Justin Martyr. They were undeniably the Gospels to which he refers as being authoritative—the writings of the Apostles and their companions. But, apart from this, in the multitude of Justin's allusions to the life and teachings of Christ, there are only six which cannot be at once traced to the Gospels of the canon. Among these there is only one, or at most two, sayings of Christ. Both of these are found, also, in Clement of Alexandria, who regards the four Gospels alone as authoritative. The other four cases of deviation from our Gospels in Justin, are of trivial consequence—slight details added to the canonical narrative. With these unimportant exceptions, the whole representation of the history of Jesus in this Father, coincides with that of the accepted evangelists.\* Now Justin lived through the half century that followed the death of John. He had traveled extensively. He was held in honor by his contemporaries and successors. He gives proof, therefore, that the prevailing conception of the life and teachings of Christ in his time, was identical with that of the canonical historians, and was derived from them. There was *only one tradition* in the Church from the beginning.

We subjoin brief remarks on the probable mode in which the earliest records of the life of Jesus originated. Jesus himself wrote nothing. He acted with quickening and renovating power upon the world's life. But for Him to become an author would violate a subtle feeling of propriety of which all of us are sensible. At first, the fresh recollections of the men and women who had known him, especially of the disciples who had composed, as it were, his family, were the unwritten book which all, who desired, could consult. But in that age, and when the Gospel soon found numerous adherents among Greeks, both foreign Jews and heathen, it was impossible that the

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\* Semisch, *Denkwürdigkeiten des Justin*. S. 344. The statement of Semisch we have verified by a careful and repeated perusal of Justin's writings.

teachings of Christ and the events of his life should long remain unrecorded. At the outset, it is probable that isolated memoranda were made of particular events or discourses. These rudimental records first came into being in Galilee and about Capernaum. In this way, a cluster of traditions would easily come to exist. Then, and before long, followed the combination of them, and the earliest efforts at framing a connected history. Such were the essays which Luke notices in his prologue. At length, within thirty or forty years of the death of Christ, there were efforts at more regular composition, of which the works of Luke are the maturest specimen. The first three Gospels present indubitable traces of such an origin as we have indicated. We are not to look for chronological precision in narratives thus constructed. We are not to look for light on all parts and points of the Saviour's earthly life. The Gospel of John, an original composition, emanating from the mind and heart of the loved disciple, is the document to be first consulted in the *scientific* construction of the Saviour's history. The four together enable us to gain a knowledge of Jesus, not so full as we crave, yet sufficient for every practical need.

## ARTICLE II.—THE SERMONS OF JOHN HUSS.

It is always an interesting question in regard to any man who has exerted a powerful influence upon his age, or who has attained to eminence among his fellows, by what method did he attain that influence or secure that distinction. And sometimes our previous knowledge of the man lends a peculiar charm to common words and trivial incidents which serve to confirm our impressions, or enable us to trace the more minute outlines of his character. Although familiar with the life of a Washington or a Webster, we could yet listen for hours unwearied to the brief anecdote which a gardener or an uneducated neighbor had gathered up from daily intercourse with them, nor should we regard as valueless the correspondence from their pens, which, without adding new facts to our store of information, served for further illustration of their character, principles, or habits.

It is thus that while, from sources at length laid open to us, we are able to study the full-length portrait of the great Bohemian reformer and martyr, John Huss, we yet welcome with unfeigned satisfaction every contribution which can serve to the further elucidation of his spirit and his career. In his *monumenta* we have many of his saintly letters which seem to transform his prison cell to a Patmos—some of his most memorable discourses delivered before the Synod, in the presence of the Archbishop of Prague, and not a few of his doctrinal and controversial treatises, in which we learn to admire the scriptural simplicity and correctness of many of his views, his rare ability in argument, and his vigor in refutation. But it is still gratifying to confirm or correct the impressions derived from these sources by the light afforded in the recent German translations of his Bohemian sermons. These have been translated and published under the supervision of Dr. John Nowotny, pastor of Petershain in Germany, and have been issued in successive parts, the earliest appearing in a

16mo. pamphlet of twenty-eight pages, in 1854. The other parts combined made an octavo of about two hundred and sixty pages, and nearly if not quite all the discourses are derived from an old Bohemian Postille which the Moravian brethren brought with them to Herrnhut, where the translator, Dr. Nowotny, discovered it.

The discourses are thirty in number, and take the form of familiar expositions of the passages of Scripture assigned to be read on the different Sabbaths of the year. In some instances they are little more than an extended popular commentary, in others they embody an *excursus* on some important point. For instance, he takes up the subject of excommunication, shows into how many kinds it may be divided, in what cases it is to be feared, and in what cases despised. "The power of the Keys" is also taken up, and by a method of exposition which modern commentators would regard as far in advance of the age, he shows just how far the power of the priesthood extends, and that none can forgive sins but God alone. Again the practical question as to the righteousness or duty of fleeing from persecution is discussed at length, and those subjects in which his contemporaries would naturally take the deepest interest are appropriately introduced, and give occasion for extended remark. Only in a very few instances is there anything approaching in form to a logical or systematic discussion embodied in a single sermon. The style is simple and familiar, adapted to popular apprehension and void of all rhetorical ornament. In his Latin sermons, preached before the Synod at Prague, we recognize in Huss the scholar as well as the earnest reformer. But in these expositions he addresses himself to the common mind, and speaks to his countrymen in their own vernacular.

Unquestionably a large share of the influence which he exerted was due to the effective use which he made of his native Bohemian. His merits in this respect are now freely conceded. In all his Bohemian writings he paid special attention to the language, and "exerted a decided and lasting influence on it."\* To render the alphabet more interesting and attrac-

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\* Bib. Repository, 1834, p. 434.

tive to learners, he imitated Cyril's ingenious mode of giving to each letter the name of some well-known Bohemian word, which had that letter for its initial, e. g. H, *hospodia*, lord; K, *Kral*, King. He wrote a Latin treatise on the principles of Bohemian orthography,\* in which he laid down rules which are regarded as authoritative even at the present day.† To his larger treatises he was accustomed to prefix a preface, touching on matters of grammar and orthography, for the instruction of copyists, in which he admonished them not to fall back into the old method of writing. With a patriotic zeal he strove against that blending of German and Bohemian which had begun already to prevail at Prague, and which threatened to displace both languages by a mongrel or *patois*, which was an offense alike to true national feeling and to literary taste. As a Bohemian writer, therefore, he cherished the ambition of a purist, and endeavored to mould his native language in graceful and becoming forms. He studied simplicity, precision, and consistency, not only in the structure of sentences, but in the structure of the alphabet and the spelling of the words. The correction and distribution of the Bohemian Bible is said to have been his constant care. He was, indeed, as really a reformer of Bohemian orthography as of the Bohemian Church.

This is a most significant fact. It warrants us in classing him with the first great English Reformer, Wicliffe, whose translation of the Scriptures contributed in no small measure to give greater precision to English orthography, and to shape the language, as well as with Luther, the publication of whose German Bible is the great landmark in the history of his native language. Had it not been for the superior importance of the labors of Huss as a Reformer, we might still have been called to recognize his merits as the most enterprising and practical student of his native language, as the man to whose labors and critical skill it is most deeply indebted.

We are warranted in the inference that he gave special at-

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\* Palacky's *Geschichte von Böhmen*, III. 1. 299.

† *Ib.* I. 493.

tention to his Postilles, as also to his other Bohemian writings. We are led to this conclusion not only from the consideration of their adaptation to the instruction of his unlettered countrymen, but from the fact that they present on several points an extended vindication of his principles and of the course which he had pursued. Internal evidence shows that they were written for the most part during the year 1413, while he was in exile from Prague. They doubtless embody the substance of what he preached to the crowds led by curiosity or sympathy to hear the words and see the person of one who had been subjected to the terrible sentence of papal excommunication, and on whose account a great city had been put under interdict. They contain more or less extended references to the harsh and cruel measures of persecution to which he had been subjected, his standard of Christian authority and duty, his views in reference to the state of the Church, and the anti-christian character of the papacy, his exposures of ecclesiastical vice, as well as simple expositions of Scripture applicable to the needs and the experience of the Christian life, and level to the humblest capacity. The learned Rector of the University of Prague seems to lay aside his academic robes, and vie with Luther in his effort to speak "so that children and servants might understand" his words.

There are some points on which Huss never attained to well-defined evangelical views. The leaven of Romish corruption in doctrine which was not entirely purged out, or rather the authority of the Fathers, whose language repeatedly is what would now be considered loose and unguarded, was allowed to obscure or confuse his apprehensions of the teachings of Scripture. Justification by faith alone is in no instance distinctly presented, although the mischiefs and wickedness of Papal indulgences are unsparingly exposed, and our salvation is made to depend alone on the atoning death of Christ.

But we may set forth his ideas of the truth which the servant of Christ is commissioned to preach in his own words. These indicate plainly enough his emancipation from thralldom to Papal rites and ceremonies, or to any authority which would set aside the commands of Christ.



"But what were the disciples to preach? He himself answers; repentance on the part of men, and forgiveness of sin among all nations—that is, all men—so that all who repent shall be forgiven of all their sins for the sake of the sufferings of Christ. And here I must briefly remark, repentance means bitter sorrow and pain for all past, and careful avoidance of all future, sin—as explained by St. Augustine, Gregory, Ambrose, and others. Hence he is called a penitent Christian, who sincerely sorrows for his past sins, and is firmly resolved to yield no more to sin, even till his death. But whoever sins again, after he has confessed his sins, is a contemner of repentance, according to the explanation of St. Isidore. This explanation of that Saint rests upon the words which Christ addressed to the adulterous woman, 'neither do I condemn thee, go and sin no more.' Hence we see that Jesus forbade the woman both the wish and the purpose of sin. But this is the beginning of repentance; its further progress consists in sorrow and anguish for the wickedness that has been done, and its completion is the satisfaction, that is, the patient endurance of all kinds of self-denial, such as fasting, prayer, watching, and the various works of mercy which in the holy Scripture are called fruits of repentance.

"But after this sort assuredly do not the deceivers of the world and the false priests preach, viz.: that men should repent, and indeed before all things else purify their wills from every intent of sin, penitently bemoan their sins and do works meet for repentance. But they preach just this—whoever gives gold receives the forgiveness of his sins and release from the eternal penalty of sin. But that their lie be not too striking, and their manifest simony and avarice be not too glaring, they endeavor to mask both by saying—'our forgiveness bestow we upon those who confess their sin, and bemoan the same in their hearts.' But where now is satisfaction for sin? By the Prophet Ezekiel, the Lord God says, 'if the wicked shall turn from all his sins which he hath done, and keep all my commands and do righteously and well, then shall he live and not die.' Of all his transgressions which he has committed, there shall be no more mention. Here, in the word of God, has the penitent sinner the assurance of the forgiveness of all his sins, if he penitently sorrow for them and give satisfaction. He keeps, in his repentance, the command of God and does right, that is, corrects himself in whatever excess of sin, and does good to his neighbor whom he has wronged. But he does himself good also, that is, he suffers cheerfully, and so much the more the greater his sin has been, for this is right according to the Scripture. But this is not right that one should give gold, and through barren repentance over the multitude of his sins, go to heaven when he dies, while another who pays nothing shall suffer grievous penalty for his sins, even though they are less than those of the first.

"But let us make this more plain. We will suppose two men—one of whom, fifty years through, has, with all the lust of his carnal will, indulged in deadly sin, and has never repented of his sins; the other has lived righteously and has yielded to no deadly sin. We will suppose further that the first dies without the thorough penitence that should blot out his sins, inasmuch as he has given the Pope gold; the other dies likewise, but with far deeper penitence for his little daily sins, but he does not buy himself exemption from the Pope. Now see how the first enters at once into heaven, according to the teaching of these false

deceivers, since he gave gold; but the other must suffer the pain of hell, for the single reason that he has not bought himself release from the Pope with gold.

"But whence can the Pope have derived such monstrous authority? Or has Christ ever given him this power for gold, who says—'but the servant who knew the Lord's will, and has not repented or done according to his will, shall be beaten with many stripes!' But observe that the man who on the above supposition has lived in gross wickedness for fifty years, and has not done according to God's commands, although he knew his Lord's will, shall have nothing to suffer, inasmuch as he has given the Pope gold. Thus is Christ's word made null, which declares that the servant who did not according to his master's will, shall be beaten with many stripes. So also has that word become obsolete, that Christ must *suffer* and so enter into his glory. Even the righteousness of God is done away with, if one may live for fifty years in all kinds of lust, and suffer nothing in consequence, if only he gives the Pope gold, for thus he goes from earthly indulgence to heavenly bliss; he enjoys both sensual and spiritual blessedness; he has his heaven here, and is glorified at the resurrection of the dead. Is not the righteousness of God by such doctrine entirely and completely dispensed with? Therefore, says St. Jerome, it is impossible for me to pass from earthly indulgence to heavenly bliss.

"But why should men give themselves so much trouble, when every one who gives gold, and purchases himself indulgence, may with no more vexations enter heaven when he dies? And consequently, no one is bound to prayer, fasting, alms, and other works pertaining to charity, who has confessed and given gold to the false priests. . . . But possibly some one might say in confession to the priest—'my dear priest, see, I give you this gold, give me I pray you therefore just the assured certainty that I do not bestow it in vain.' Then the priest would answer him, 'you have the Pope's letter already, what would you have more?' but the man replies, 'I would like fuller assurance, a letter of Christ, or at least an autograph of St. Peter or Paul, who also filled this office, and never issued such letters of indulgence.' Thus pushed, the priest would certainly fall into great confusion, since he cannot say even of himself whether he shall reach heaven or hell. And the Pope knows just as little as the peasant whether he will be saved or not.

"Such prophets (referred to by Peter in his Second Epistle, ii. 1) have certainly blasphemed the way of truth, as fools do also; and if one contrasts their false doctrines with the Scripture, then is he a heretic. They do not see that the holy Apostle Peter names them *teachers*, which means the same with *Doctors*, as they are generally called, inasmuch as they are instructed in papal laws and constitutions, or in cunningly devised words, and thereby they deceive the people. Therefore St. Peter says—'and through avarice, by feigned words, shall they make gain of you?' And it is a cunningly feigned story that whoever gives gold, though he be the greatest wretch, receives forgiveness of sin and release from the pains of hell, if he but confesses and testifies sorrow. And is it not a scandalous matter, invented by avarice, that whoever seeks pardon and exemption from the pains of hell has only to give as much gold for it as he would need to expend on a journey to and from Rome? Yea, is it not a scandalous thing when we are still told that the Pope exercises great compassion in sparing Christians

the labor and trouble of a long journey to Rome, and grants them a great favor in their own dwellings, when he, in virtue of his plenary authority, can do what he will, and when it depends solely on his will whether any one shall receive forgiveness of sins, and therewith admission to heaven, or shall be eternally tormented in hell? Yet with such impious words do the avaricious teachers of Anti-Christ practice upon Christ's people, and they are guilty of leading them astray from the way of truth, and setting their hopes on their gold and the indulgences, by which they are deceived as to the eternal salvation of their souls."

Such a passage as the above might, without the author's name, have been mistaken for one of Luther's. The errors which he combats are the same which a century later the great German reformer felt himself called upon to expose. The directness of his language and the fearlessness of his utterance show how carefully he had considered the subject, and how firmly he grasped his conclusions. A man who by his convictions had been forced to speak such words could never again be brought into harmony with Rome.

In a discourse based on the passage, John xvi. 23-30, in which Christ declares that whatsoever shall be asked in His name shall be granted, Huss takes occasion to discuss in a more methodical way than is usual with him, the subject of prayer. The relations of the subject to the various doctrines of the Gospel are presented in a single paragraph of the introduction: "Who is to pray? The righteous man. How? In a righteous manner. For what? For that which is good. In whose name? In the name of Jesus Christ. To whom? To God the Father." The discussion of these points enables him to bring forward some of the most important and vital truths pertaining to the sphere of Christian experience.

It is thus that he presents the privilege of prayer:

"Oh! how might one rejoice if a great king or pope, who often lies, should yet readily promise us something to which he binds himself by his oath! If the king should promise a village, a castle, or a horse, or the pope a bishopric or a benefice, though with a breath they might pass away before they had given what they had promised, how earnestly would he pray that it might be fulfilled! And lo! here the King of the whole world, and the highest Bishop of all, gives His promise—He who can neither deceive any one, or die, and who also has the power to give whatever good man can ask—and yet men do not pray to this King and Bishop so earnestly as they do to mortal liars, whom they serve also more earnestly than they do God. Only see—whoever will—how humble so many are

when they ask a king or pope for anything; they neither think then of anything else, nor look round about them, and they are also very considerate, so as to blunder in not so much as a single word, and to say or do nothing which might be amiss. But when they pray to God the Father, in many cases they know not what they say, for they are thinking mainly upon something else, and busy themselves with foreign matters; yea, they think more of wantonness, passions, and transient good, than of the Lord God, and therefore they receive nothing, for they do not pray aright. Consequently he that would be heard must apply himself to prayer, as I have already said. Especially must he see whether he is Christ's disciple; whether he belongs to the number of those to whom the promise 'if ye shall ask the Father in My name,' &c., is made. Whoever follows Christ in patience, humility, and other virtues is His disciple, as He has said, 'Ye are my friends if ye do whatsoever I command you.'

The second point discussed is the right kind of prayer. Here we are told that he prays aright who asks for the things that pertain to salvation. For such things—as those contained in our Lord's Prayer—we may ask unconditionally, without adding "if it be Thy will." But other things must be asked conditionally. It was thus that Christ prayed. For we know not what God will do, and what He has determined in our varied circumstances to be best for us.

The question to whom we are to pray allows Huss to present his Scriptural and anti-papal views. Prayer is to be addressed to God alone:

"But some direct their prayers to the saints more than to God, or they compose and direct their prayers to the saints only, insomuch that they appear to have no more thought of God at all. Others satisfy themselves by loud supplications to men, and this is what the gods of this world—those who give themselves out as such, as popes, cardinals, and other prelates, who require others to fall on their knees before them, and offer prayer and entreaty—would have of them. But so did not the Apostles and other holy men. Assuredly they did not allow others to fall down before them, and they admonished the people to pray earnestly to God, for they were taught of Christ, who says, 'If ye ask My Father in My name, it shall be granted unto you.'"

With respect to the answers which may be expected to prayer the language of Huss is as well weighed and judicious as any utterance of the modern pulpit. He gives no expression to fanatical or extravagant views. He does not say that every specific request of the true believer shall be granted:

"The good man often prays for things which may not tend to promote his spiritual interests, and is not answered. So Paul prayed the Lord thrice that he

might be relieved of the thorn in the flesh, yet his prayer was denied, for this thorn was to be sanctified to the salvation of his soul. So saints have often prayed for others, and were not heard because those for whom they prayed were unworthy, as was the case when Samuel supplicated for Saul. And often God does not hear our prayer, and withdraws himself till his gracious time has come. So Christ deferred to grant the request of the Syrophenecian woman. God would teach us patient continuance in prayer. Christ bids us pray in all humility, and every Christian is bound to pray, but not for transitory good for honor or for vengeance."

"From Christ's own words, every true servant of his may see that we have a true priest, who has himself promised us that he will pray the Father for us, and hence we are assured that the Father hears him when he intercedes for us, and that He loves every man that loves Christ."

Lightly as Huss thought of the exclusive claims of the prelates to bestow by ordination spiritual gifts, he does not—as was charged against him—make their office altogether null and void. Here is what he says:

"It may be, and often is the case, that one who, with holy purpose and in accordance with Christian usage, receives consecration from a wicked bishop, receives therewith the gifts of the Holy Spirit; but he receives them by no means from the false bishop, but from an incomparably higher priest who specially consecrates and anoints his faithful ones, that is, from Christ the Lord."

The superstitious terror which the usurped power of the priesthood to forgive sin often inspired, is most effectually counteracted by the clear statement:

"Man can receive forgiveness of sins only through the power of God and the merit of Christ. Then let any one—Pope, bishop, or any priest soever—call out, 'O man, I forgive thee thy sins; I free thee from thy sins and the pains of hell.' It is mere breath, and to no purpose, and of no avail, unless God forgives the man who truly repents of all his sins. . . . But the true Christian does not suffer himself at any time to be led astray. His hope rests on God, who pardons his sins. He knows, moreover, that no priest can retain his sins any longer, if God releases him from them. And so, also, I would not allow myself to be frightened, though all the priests were to cry out together that they do not forgive my sins. I am loosed from them, if God looses me, and their cry is a base lie. Nor will I suffer myself to be lulled to sleep by them when they say to me, 'we forgive you your sins, and release you from the pains of hell.' For I know what God says—that if you do not sincerely repent of your sins, then are they retained."

Huss found his most bitter antagonists among the priesthood, and it is not surprising that he sometimes exposes their vicious life in a most scathing style. He regarded them as

the enemies of the truth, as the instigators of persecution, as the deceivers of the people. Never would he have spoken of them as he has, if the knowledge of his hearers had not borne him out in his assertions.

"If a priest in the ale-house, during a quarrel over his dice or about vile harlots, receives a box on the ear, his opponent is forthwith summoned before the spiritual tribunal and excommunicated. But if the priest is wounded, then is public worship interdicted, and his opponent is forced to go on a pilgrimage to Rome, since they pretend that only the Pope can absolve him who has wounded a priest. But if a priest cuts off any one's hand or foot, or even puts an innocent man to death, neither is public worship interdicted, nor is such a priestly transgressor subjected to excommunication. . . . Whoso preaches that priests are Gods, and divine miracle-workers—that they have power to save or damn a man as they please—that no one without them can be saved—that no one must accuse them of any sin whatever—that they alone must eat and drink and waste the very best of all things—whoever preaches after this fashion is an honorable preacher, and only such an one must preach. But whoso preaches that priests should not be wanton, that they should not plunder the people by their simony and greed, that they should have only matrons to whom they are not related, and be satisfied with a single benefice—he is a slanderer of the holy priesthood, a troubler of the holy church, and a heretic, and must not be allowed to preach. Him they summon before their tribunals and curse. And if this snare of the devil does not answer, they prohibit public worship, and spread their devil's net as much as possible, and where they can, forbid all men to serve God. God commands—preach, baptize, observe the eucharist in remembrance of me; but Anti-Christ says—preach not, baptize not, perform no mass, pray not, but give ear to me.

"And the common people imagine, according to this doctrine, that it is all right, and they cannot conceive that if the servant of a king was to command all his fellow servants to lay down their office and cease their service, because one servant of the king is wicked, these are not to obey, and that they are not to intermit their service, if a faithful servant of the king do not gratify the wish of a wicked officer. So, good men are not to submit when commanded not to obey the King Christ, and prosecute his business, and they are not to pay any regard to the prohibition of public worship, as I have written at length in my Latin treatise on the Church. The net of interdict was first thrown out by the Pope over Rome, on the occasion of the wounding of a cardinal, and all Rome was to refrain from the public worship of God. But when Anti-Christ saw that this method did him good service, he threw out his net still more broadly, and this with the special object of keeping any one from attacking his priests, or coming too near to himself. And finally, he spread out his net in the neatest and most cunning way, so that the birds of Christ might not feel the breath of the Holy Spirit, and not scruple about the representations laid before them. And it is to be hoped that the Lord God will so much the sooner enlighten His people, that they may rend the net, and give to Him the glory, even against the will of anti-

Christ, and not intermit the worship of God. Yea, God be thanked that in His holy word He has given anti-Christ and his servants no pretext for their doings, but has commanded His disciples to rend the net, that His praise resound abroad forever. And so shall I, if God will, notwithstanding their interdict, preach God's word, though such adversaries of it should neither worship or baptize, and thus would I still the more strengthen Christ's sheep in the faith.

"And who wrongs his neighbor more than the priests in their drunkenness and carousals? And who are they with hearts that are never satisfied? They are priests who are so insatiable in their desires that they would devour the whole world, with all its goods, and still remain a-hungered; even as the Scripture says, the avaricious is never satisfied with gold, and Aristotle, though a heathen, says, 'the desire to have grows without ceasing.' And thus, as Solomon says, 'wickedness has blinded them, that they think they do God service if they curse, excommunicate, imprison, torture and kill true Christians. Therefore, says the Saviour, 'the time shall come when he that killeth you shall think he doeth God service.' So it was with the Jews, putting Christ and his disciples to death. They said, 'we have a law and according to that law he ought to die.' And so our priests do also, when they lay hold of a man that crosses their avarice and wantonness, and disturbs them therein; they curse him, summon him to trial, put him in prison, and cry out, this man, according to our statutes, must die, and not by any easy death, but he must be consumed by fire. But He who alone is infallible, who can neither deceive or be deceived, says of them that they shall do this to you 'because they know neither my Father nor me.' And Isaiah says, 'the ox knoweth his owner, and the ass his master's crib, but Israel doth not know, my people do not consider.' A toiling ox that plows the earth, is a good priest who with the ploughshare of the word of God goes into the heart of man, and roots out the tares of sin, and sows the word of God, which is the seed, in the heart, and presses out the grain from the chaff, or frees the truth from human inventions and additions. Such a priest is one of God's oxen, that knows his master Jesus Christ. But the priests who fare sumptuously and become fat, and in consequence trouble themselves no more about the soul's salvation, and plow and work no more, are the fat oxen . . . to whom the Prophet Amos cries out—'Hear this word, ye fat oxen, ye who dwell in Samaria, who wrong the needy and trample on the poor, and say to your masters, bring, let us drink; the Lord God hath sworn by his holiness, that the days shall come upon you, that ye shall be taken away with hooks, and your posterity with fish hooks.' Thus did the herdsman Amos prophecy to the oxen, that is, to the fat priests on the mountains of Samaria,—that is, on the watch, for Samaria is translated, watch. And the priests are to keep watch over men that the devil do not steal them away and destroy them. Yet instead of this, they wrong the needy, oppress them, and bring them to want. For on one side they force them to pay tithes, sacrifices, pay them gold for baptism, confession, the holy sacrament and other spiritual things. On the other side they reduce them to want, tearing from them all that good men would give to the poor. They wrong them also with lying indulgences, and thereby especially absorb their property, or avariciously keep it back; for all that priests have belongs to the poor, that is, whatever is more than they need for comfortable clothing, &c., so that thus the priests may lead God's people to

eternal salvation. And thereupon the fat oxen say to their lords—that is, the laity who are set for the maintenance of church goods and priests—‘bring, let us drink.’ And they stuff themselves . . . even beyond their animal appetite, which no four-footed ox would do, and therefore woe be to them . . . for, as in Amos, God hath sworn that the days shall come, &c., so shall worms devour their body, and devils take possession of their souls.”

These sermons of Huss furnish us in fact, as the passage just quoted might suggest, a vivid and striking picture of the religious aspect of the age. No one who has perused the testimony left us by those who participated in the memorable council of Constance, or the sermons which were delivered before it, in which priestly vice and ecclesiastical corruption are rebuked, will be disposed to believe that Huss has exaggerated a single feature. But while these deal in sharp invective, the tone of the Bohemian reformer is marked by sadness. He *felt* what they *saw*.

“The life of God’s true servants,” he says, “has become bitter to them. In many lands, as Bohemia, Moravia, Misnia, England, and elsewhere, they suffer great persecutions. The faithful priests are put to death, tortured, cursed; nor is it advisable on any account to appeal to Rome, where Anti-Christ’s wickedness, baseness, pride, and simony have culminated, so that simony and avarice have poured forth in a rushing tide from Rome to Bohemia. Bishopricks are bought and sold at a higher price than many a lordly estate. The common people are confounded. Some are afraid to confess the truth against error. Some, through the discord among priests, do not know what to hold. Others still experience great concern that many go thus astray, while yet others suffer wrong, are slandered as heretics, and put to death, through the great persecution of divine truth. The waves of the sea, that is, the men of the world, rage, for the world is compared to the sea, and they bruit abroad that they who confess Christ and defend His truth are errorists and heretics. . . . If any true Christian spirit is to be found to oppose their baseness, they are filled with hate and bitterness, and by their wicked device forbid by interdict the public worship of God, when they cannot suppress the preaching which reveals to the people their scandalous perversity. . . . Of this wickedness have I written, in my books, both in Bohemian and Latin, and to me this wickedness seems to be the most vexatious and intolerable to the true Christian. But neither wrong nor pain and death can deter the true preacher with real love to God, from the preaching of the truth, and the false prohibition of public worship is a grievous stone of stumbling, not so much to the preacher, who is glad to preach, as to the people who would gladly hear the word of God.”

We may judge of the earnest tone of the exhortations of Huss in repeated instances, from the close of his discourse on Luke xxi. 25–33.



"Dearly beloved, let us diligently consider this so solemn and fearful advent of Christ, and his day of judgment, and reflect devoutly on his first coming to this world, when for us he became man, and subjected himself to weariness and pain for our ransom. Let us be thankful that he visits us with his grace and finds us prepared for death. Let us meditate on his final coming that we may be summoned to his heavenly joy. . . . Reform your life; change your habits; overcome all solicitations to evil, and wash away all your past sin with tears of penitence; for ye shall so much the more confidently expect the coming Judge, the more mindful ye are of the terror to come, and are prepared therefor. And to our salvation may He, our gracious Saviour, make all things work together, who is God and true man, Jesus Christ, to whom be praise in the highest forever."

That inveterate enemy of the Hussites, Cochleius, bitterly complains of the extent to which the women of Bohemia were infected by the new opinions. He speaks of the boldness, which he accounts impudence, with which they ventured to defend their views against the priests, even to their face. We meet with incidental confirmation of the facts upon which his representations are based in these discourses of Huss. Perhaps the passage may be regarded as one of the *ad captandum* class, but if so, it stands almost isolated in the writings of the Reformer.

"See how the gracious Saviour chose that his glorious resurrection should be made known through women. Women first were made aware of his resurrection, since they did not, like the Apostle, doubt in regard to it, and were therefore to make known the glorification of the Lord. Give ear then, ye priests, even to women, if these remind you of your faithlessness in following Christ, and exhort you to repentance. I, at least, accept it thankfully if even an old granny teach me anything that is good, that is, admonish me to keep God's holy commands. Many priests count it folly that pious women should instruct them in anything that is good, and reprove them for their sins, just as the Apostles regarded the words of the women concerning the Lord's resurrection as fables, and did not believe them. We too seek Christ along with the women—as St. Gregory explains—when we with upright faith full of the savor of Christian virtues and with the example of good works, hasten to Him, who for us was laid in the grave of death. And just as the pious women of our Gospel saw the angels of the Lord, so have true souls, rich in all virtues, angel-thoughts, and are honored by God with peculiar revelation-gifts."

We meet in the sermons of Huss not unfrequently those quaint conceits and allegorical interpretations which, according to the taste of the age, either adorn or disfigure the writings of some of the Christian Fathers. With these, like Bede and

Alcuin, Huss was familiar, and his expositions frequently remind us of the English Saint and of Charlemagne's teacher. His references are frequent to Augustine, Chrysostom, Ambrose, Jerome, and Origen, and he quotes from the writings of St. Gregory, Hugh de St. Victor, Bernard, Remigius, Boethius, and others. With Aristotle also, he seems to be familiar, and it is evident that the range of his reading must have been immense. Yet it is obvious that while some of his allegorical interpretations are borrowed, others are original. *Jericho* means the want and weakness of our fallen nature. *The seven evil spirits* are the seven deadly sins, each of which is worse than the devil himself, for the devil, *as a spirit*, is a good creature of God, while every deadly sin is originally and wholly evil. The "*five loaves*" are specifically explained, as first, the fear of condemnation, second, meditation on death, third, the breaking off from sin, fourth, sincere repentance and sorrow for sin, fifth, the purpose to sin no more. The two fishes are devout prayer and holy fasting, and with these loaves and fishes Christ feeds the whole multitude of the penitent. The "lad" who has them is the Son of God himself. To receive the food worthily, we must sit down on the grass; that is, humble ourselves, and recognize our faults, for we are like the grass that to-day is, and to-morrow is no more. The *twelve baskets*, again, are the twelve Apostles, who gathered up the fragments, to dispense them afterward to others.

The *penny*, also, as the reward of the faithful laborer, is spiritualized. It is of an enduring nature and signifies the lasting blessedness of the elect. It is round, its circular form having neither beginning nor end; so God, who is the true reward of his servants, has neither beginning nor end. Finally, the inscription, splendidly traced on the silver or gold coins, is like the inscription glowing in the light of the Godhead, of the power, wisdom, and goodness of Him who creates and governs all, which his elect may read and gaze upon to their eternal joy. The five-fold visitation which the householder makes to summon laborers to his vineyard, is also significant. By it the successive steps of God's gracious dispensation, in the patriarchal times of Noah, Abraham, David, and Christ himself,

are set forth. Nor is this all. The calls of the householder are addressed to us during the six periods of human life, and this is made the basis of an earnest appeal to diligence in Christ's vineyard.

It is evident, however, that Huss indulges in these curious and sometimes fanciful interpretations, less to gratify his own taste or excite surprise in his readers, than to present the truth in such a manner as to leave an abiding impression. From first to last, he is intensely practical. The speculative element is kept almost entirely in the background. The reformer feels that he is dealing with actual sin and deadly errors. His own personal wrongs and dangers, to which he not unfrequently refers, lend to his words a tone of deepest earnestness. Anti-Christ in all his forms, is the real antagonist, and every word the reformer utters is a blow. He explains, he argues, he exhorts, he inveighs against prevalent iniquity; but we seem to see the foe ever confronting him, and leaving him no leisure for mere curious theories or fanciful conceits. He speaks, as a general thing, with the simplicity, directness, and solemnity of one who feels that vast, yea, eternal interests are staked upon his words. He is training heroes for a conflict near at hand, or rather already actually begun. He is instructing them in his own views, and infusing into them his own spirit. He feels that he has gone too far to retreat, even if retreat was possible. He has thrown down his challenge. He has registered his charge. He has impeached the great criminal. He feels that he has done it, like the old Athenian, under the penalty of becoming himself the victim, if he fails to make good his cause.

. With this issue of the strife, his own fate is identified. He is fully aware of it, yet he feels that the personal result to himself is of small account, except as indicative of the triumph or defeat of the cause in which he is engaged. Still we cannot peruse his sermons without feeling our sympathies warmly enlisted in his behalf. There is so much of biographical incident, so much of noble resolve and generous enthusiasm for the truth, such manly vindication of his course, such a frank avowal of motives, that our hearts are carried captive before

we are aware, and yet we do not regret this surrender of our sympathies.

He confesses that once he had himself thought that the Pope could do no wrong; but it was before he had read and studied the word of God. He sets before us the methods which his enemies had pursued to silence him, the violence they proposed and in part executed, the injustice of his excommunication, and the impious nature of the interdict, till the malignity of his persecutors becomes transparent. He gives us the reason for his withdrawal from Prague, and he justifies himself by the example and directions of Christ himself, as well as of the Fathers of the Church. That he did not comply with the citation to Rome was in no spirit of insubordination, but only from a just sense of its danger and its fatality. Yet no pretended excommunication can exclude him from the love and communion of Christ. His allegiance to the Master forbids him to yield to the usurpation of a fellow servant. He is still resolved to preach. If driven from the city, like Christ, he will take his stand in the market place, in the streets, on the hillside, or in the wilderness, and speak forth the words of eternal life. His work must be done. His duty must be discharged, and no consideration of ease and comfort will allow him to violate the dictates of his conscience.

And yet we meet with nothing indicative of spiritual pride. There is no assumption of merit, no claim to superiority for what he has done and suffered. It is even touching to hear his own confessions, so deeply do they sometimes allow us to look into the motives and purposes of his own heart. He professes that he had never prayed "our Father" (*unser Vater*) as he ought, and we seem to have brought to view his lofty ideal of spiritual perfection. He declares himself ready to be instructed by the very humblest disciple of Christ, and we are made to feel that in his love for the simple truth, and in his ready submission to the divine will, however apprehended, he has already won a noble victory over himself.

While these discourses give us no new facts in the life of Huss, and while they set forth no doctrinal views with which, from other sources, we were not already familiar, they admit

us to a closer intimacy with his deep and soul-absorbing convictions, and they tend to confirm the impression made upon us by his bearing before the Council of Constance and his heroic martyrdom. They explain to us also, in a measure, that strength of deep personal attachment which, after his death, led his countrymen to cherish his memory as a hallowed treasure, and made his name the rallying-word for reform. We see, moreover, how deliberately, and on what a clear scriptural basis he adopted those views which brought him into collision with Rome, and we listen to his words of admonition, reproof, and rebuke, as they are uttered in a tone of fearlessness not inferior to that of Luther himself. The fearful proportions and issues of the great struggle in which he had enlisted for life, rise up more distinctly before us, and we see the Reformer in his exile, suppressing no utterance, "bating no jot of heart or hope," making no concessions, keeping back no unpalatable truth, softening down no expressions to which a cold prudence might object, but placing on record, to be read while he lived, and after he had gone, scriptural truths which were to be the seed of reformation for the harvest of after centuries. But what perhaps is still more remarkable, we discern no traces of personal malice, and we miss that coarseness of expression in which Luther, a century later, seemed almost to revel. We meet here and there outbursts of passionate emotion, but they are kept within the limits of Christian truth, reason, and charity. We can see that the Reformer feels and feels deeply; and he lays hold with a strong grasp on the sympathies as well as the reason of the reader, but he adopts no unbecoming method, nor does he resort to any unworthy or undignified appeal. He stands before us, in the consciousness of an integrity which is above impeachment, asking no personal favor, but only the tribute of respect and obedience due to the authority of that truth which he lives to preach, and for which he is willing to die.

## ARTICLE III.—A CENTURY OF ENGLISH PARTIES.

*The Constitutional History of England since the Accession of George Third, 1760–1860.* By THOMAS ERSKINE MAY, C. B.  
In two volumes. Volume II. Boston: Crosby & Nichols, 1864.

MR. MAY, in publishing his Constitutional History, has conferred a benefit equally upon Europe and America. England has arrived at that stage in which the fruits of her last Revolution, having developed during the intervening period, seem to be arriving at their best maturity. Nothing can be more welcome to her political thinkers than an intelligent survey of the transition state. Nothing can be more opportune to aid in a just appreciation of the changes which are now taking place, than a work showing the process by which the present situation was reached. Such a work cannot fail to encourage those English statesmen who seek to keep pace with the intelligence of successive eras; for it presents a history which compels the inference that progress is as inevitable as it is just. It cannot fail to refute and vanquish, on the other hand, those statesmen, who would render the British system inflexible, who would confine it to ancient limits, who would defy living and growing forces, who would keep obsolete forces in a difficult and compulsory existence. America has come to that point, where the more advanced doctrines of liberty are trembling in a terrible crisis; where the test, accomplished, will make or destroy the hopes of many millions seeking to be free; where the various and momentous changes, which always operate upon an uncertain political state, are applying to republicanism a trial proportionate to each principle of republican theory. It is a period in which to study anxiously the logic of events; to observe how, among a people of similar national traits, liberties have been oppressed, fought for, and achieved; to note the operation of public distress upon the popular mind, and the result which proceeds therefrom; to learn how, by the light of

an experience at once distinct and reasonable, to avoid the dangers which crowd upon a people under the gloom of civil discord. To both countries, therefore,—to England, in her peaceful march toward a broader freedom,—and to America, seeking by more violent means to prove its efficacy,—a book like that which Mr. May has issued comes with especial fitness. His main object—the presenting with clearness the results of a century of political change,—has been ably accomplished. No doubt remains in the mind, after the perusal of the History, that the causes proposed have really achieved the stated results. Every fact is open to the belief of a cautious thinker. The conclusions appeal at once to the reason. The principal events which have led to the present position of England are comprehended, and stated with fairness. Not that Mr. May does not occasionally, even often, show his own political bias ; for in many instances distinct preference is given to those versions of facts which have been reiterated by the Whigs, and as frequently denied by the Tories. His view of events throughout is essentially the Whig view. That any party, as parties were during the last century, should be so far beyond the rest in every virtue of patriotism, ability, and honesty, as Mr. May represents the Whigs to have been, does not seem probable to the impartial mind. The Whig party was undoubtedly a powerful medium of good state-craft. It undoubtedly achieved many and important triumphs on the side of progress. It has generally led in measures for securing a liberal system. It is owing to the Whigs that popular representation is reaching, after generations of opposition, its proper importance in the government of the nation. It is owing to the Whigs that commercial interests have become rival to land interests ; that commercial power has kept pace with commercial growth. To the Whigs must be laid the credit of adjusting the balance of power between the several estates. But, referring to the time when Mr. May's history opens, far from being the immaculate band of zealous patriots he would have us believe them, there never was more corruption, more lust of power, more greediness for gain, more bitter jealousy, more servility to the crown, more favoritism, more devotion to partisan ends, in any party,

than we find at that period choking the ranks of the Whig party. A tenure of power almost uninterrupted since the time of James the Second,—and for a great part of the time under the leadership of the unprincipled Walpole,—had made the Whigs arrogant, forgetful of their cardinal doctrines, and totally heedless of political virtue. It was under a Whig administration that Henry Fox opened an office for buying the votes of Commoners. It was under a Whig administration that the same Henry Fox was rewarded for his services by a peerage. That greatest of Whigs, almost the greatest of Englishmen, the Earl of Chatham—against whose virtue it would be a sacrilege to breathe a suspicion—was so far habituated to the ideas of the age, as to be bought off with an Earldom. Under no party has the system of boroughs ever been more abused, than it was abused by the Whigs at that time. There was no word of reform—no cry of popular rights—no attempt to foster commerce against land,—no movement in behalf of other peoples aiming at freedom. The Declaration of Rights was forgotten, in the anxiety to push foreign wars. Principles old as Magna Charta were neglected, in the rage to hunt down every squire who loved the ancient line, and every Scotchman who had worn the Stuart cockade. Toleration was active in behalf of Dissenters, dormant when the High Church was to be humbled. The pretended champions of human rights, attracting, by their apparently permanent superiority, the higher classes of society, became willing followers of the most haughty and domineering aristocrats of the realm. The natural tendency of a party which gloried in having established public liberty, would seem to be to encourage individual effort, to advance personal ability, to make account rather of those who had become great, than of those who were born great. But the record of aristocracies shows no parallel to the exclusiveness, the covetousness, the overbearing pride of the great Whig houses of the last century. Norfolk, Bedford, Devonshire, Richmond, Newcastle—the most conspicuous names on the role of English nobles,—were found monopolizing the power and the voice of the Whigs, overruling Pitt, sneering at their common born allies,—the select clique who through party machinery and stupid kings



governed after their own desires. In the course of half a century, this Revolutionary party had changed their base completely. They began by insisting on the rights of the people to be heard, and to be free. They ended by being the stronghold of the great aristocrats. Long use of power had blunted the ancient furor; they had gradually resorted to the more arbitrary security of established influence. We would not be understood as intimating that the Whigs were worse as regards political integrity, than the Tories. We only wish to show that they were not much better. We wish to show that the pretence that later liberty was owing to ancient Whiggery is not sustainable,—that they were, as a party, corrupt and selfish,—and that their leaders, far from desiring liberal doctrines to be put in practice, however loudly they might be preached, were the most arrant sticklers for hereditary privilege in the whole history of British statesmanship. Thackeray, in his satire, “The Book of Snobs,” has with apt humor defined what it was to be a Whig—“He must be a reformer—as much or little as he liked”—but at all events, “he must believe that the Whigs must be in office.” The history of the Whigs during the last century gives a ludicrous point to this irony. In spite of all Lord John Russell has been saying for the last fifty years about their respect for the people, their tolerance of opposite opinion, their devotion to popular liberty,—their record shows nothing more plainly than that they would and did sacrifice every Whig tradition for the sake of power. Their appeals in behalf of the demands of the age were only heard from the benches of the opposition—a seat on the ministerial side seemed to comfort and quell their agitated souls. In that golden age of British statesmanship, the later years of the eighteenth century, Whigs and Tories were, as ever, equally grasping and equally flexible. If Mr. Pitt abandoned, on becoming Premier, his ancient ideas of reform, Mr. Fox made himself the scoff of the nation by joining with Lord North. The Whigs fell on the accession of George the Third, and from being the stately court party, bloated with the gifts of power, they became loud voiced champions of political liberty and virtue. But the chance of sharing office, no matter

with whom, was seized the moment it arose; and Fox, that spotless patriot, that friend of the plebeian, that consistent, honest statesman, united his forces with a man whom he had called a traitor, and whom he had declared worthy of a traitor's doom. With him came in a host of virtuous Whigs, clearing their skirts, as they ascended to the ante-chambers of St. James's, of the filthy cause of the people. One takes but little comfort, therefore, in reading the transactions of either party, during that conspicuous period. We do not mean to say that there was an utter dearth of political principle. Undoubtedly Mr. Fox and his associates really had settled ideas on the questions of the day. Undoubtedly they thought popular suffrage a blessing, the American war an outrage, toleration a Christian duty, the French Revolution a heaven sent crisis. Undoubtedly, if they could have achieved it with safe majorities, they would have made some reforms. But it was a far greater triumph for them to defeat Mr. Pitt than to enfranchise the towns; and to do it they were willing to ride on the shoulders of the most obstinate and extreme of Tories. They were much more solicitous to erect the Regency, than to vindicate the freedom of speech; for the Regency would give them a Whig Regent. The most ardent apologist of America became the bosom ally of the most unyielding oppressor of America. In an age of such splendid abilities as the English nation have never been blessed with before or since, every party had, within it, living and dominant corruption and selfishness—and it can no more be said of the Whigs than of the Tories, that they set an example to posterity worthy of imitation by their successors. The court of George the Third was the seat of dark and arbitrary measures, of the selfish exercise of power, of the overbearing insolence of power, of the complete devotion of power to its own safety, and to the prosecution of party ends. The court of the Prince of Wales was the headquarters of debauchery, disaffection, hypocritical professions, and factious conspiracy. And yet, gloomy as this picture is, there is still to be found in the history of those times, many rays of light to relieve it. Ministers, when they could afford it, exercised in many cases wisdom and unselfish policy. They were often

compelled to take the right measures, by the forces which acted upon their permanency. They often made steps in the right direction from a judicious foresight as to what was to be. In the ranks of both parties men were to be found, of the greatest talent, and of high rank, whom the lust of power did not swerve from an exalted sense of public duty. And it may well be said that of such men—men who preferred being right to being powerful—the Whigs may justly claim the large preponderance. No word ever was whispered against the integrity of Burke—of Romilly—of Grey—of Erskine—examples of virtuous statesmanship which it were well for the world that they should live for all time. They were not, indeed, the leaders of their party,—they often refused to follow their party,—yet they were, throughout their career, the model representatives of pure Whig principles. Among the Tories, Wilberforce, Huskisson, Canning, Perceval, were equally consistent in their virtue and their steady devotion to Conservatism. Mr. Pitt, unlike Fox, was in private life unblemished. The hours which his dissolute rival spent in gambling and carousing, were passed by the Prime Minister in study and thought. He came into the government a poor younger son. He went out almost reduced to penury. He neither sought money for himself, nor used it to influence others. No species of dissipation tainted his daily life. He was respected on all hands as singularly upright. But as a statesman, his moral principle was blunted—perhaps by the influence of the age, perhaps by the unusual temptations of his youth. He commenced his career as the worthy son upon whom had fallen the mantle and the hopes of the greatest of orators. His first denunciation was of excessive royal power. In the generous enthusiasm of his youth, and with a zeal which he had inherited, he started as the advocate of British liberty. But when at an early age he found himself the chief counselor of royalty, the bulwark of the monarchy, he was transformed into the unbending leader of the prerogative party. It seems, indeed, well nigh impossible for any man, of capacity, however great, to have led any party at that time, who uniformly kept to his honest convictions in spite of temptation. And yet, amidst

all the strife of faction, when the honest patriot might well doubt under whose banner to fight, when each great leader was for himself alone, when every political crime was familiar by its frequency and openness,—the principles which at last are law throughout the British empire were growing and taking a better foothold upon the soil. From this apparently worse than useless wrangling of party chiefs, a final good was proceeding, which would in time elevate the people, and give them a just share in the government. Mr. May is probably right in attributing this result to the instrumentality of the Whig party. They have been the medium of it almost in spite of themselves. It has been their fortune, that the inevitable tendency of the nation has been toward the adoption of those measures, which it has been their policy, in the effort to reach office, to advocate. The Whig aristocrats had little in common with the demagogues who always voted with them, and continually agitated reform doctrines. If they could use the demagogues to mount to power, they did it; but they did it haughtily and as superiors. They were never too modest to claim the credit; and the fruit, planted by the plebeian, was plucked by the patrician. They frowned upon the measures proposed by those who represented the people, until the time came when the advocacy of those measures led to Whitehall, —*then* Brudett and Hunt and Brougham were men and brothers, the great Devonshires and Staffords took up the lead, and the self-flattering Whigs bestowed blessings on the nation. When, in 1830, having successfully fought reform over the head of Wellington, the Whigs came into power, the aristocrats absorbed the high trusts, and only here and there a crust was thrown to a powerful plebeian whose eloquence had brought to the bill the solid support of the lower class. All the while the haughty heads of the Whig leaders were raised in contempt above those with whom expediency compelled them to act. We have thus far endeavored to advance the idea, that the Whig party, as far as its movers were concerned, was rather compelled, than willing, to be the pioneer of English progress; that it was long governed by pure aristocratical influence; that it never, till it was forced either by the urgency of the people,

or for the purpose of distracting their rivals, took a generous step toward popular liberty; that it was, throughout the reigns of the two first Brunswicks, the stay and prop of the throne.

It is a very common error to attribute to the Tory party of the last century, a disloyal spirit toward the House of Hanover, and designs to reinstate the fallen House of Stuart. That men who acted with the Tories entertained such feelings, is undeniable. That the great mass of those who opposed Walpole and Newcastle felt so, is entirely untrue. The Tories joined hand in hand with the Whigs to overturn James; they were equally zealous with the Whigs in welcoming William. James incurred the hatred of the Tories, because he sought to degrade the State Church, and restore the hierarchical power of Rome; as he did that of the Whigs, by his acts of tyranny, and his disregard of the voice of Parliament. The Tories were, therefore, in general, loyal subjects of the new line. Those who adhered to the Pretender had the same relation to the Tories that Mr. Bright now has to the Liberals,—and often voted with the Whigs against them. Bolingbroke, by his treason, ostracized himself as much from his own party as from their rivals. The long minority of the Tories ended by the accession of George the Third; and throughout that king's long reign they, with little interruption, administered his kingdom. The suddenness and completeness of their elevation from the shadow to the sunshine of the court, had much the same effect that long use of power had had upon the Whigs. They seemed to try how far they could outstrip their predecessors in the acts of political corruption. The arbitrary spirit of their traditions needed no check: for they held the complete power, as the power was then balanced. They did not have to work against the tide, as their disciples did half a century later. Consequently they plunged into the American war, taxed high, bribed freely, quarreled with each other, created Tory peers by the dozen, persecuted Wilkes and Junius, kept down the Papists, and flattered and humored the king. Yet this narrow minded set of men aided unconsciously in the development of constitutional liberty. The extremity to which they carried their practice of arbitrary power produced a

quicker growth of the contrary principle; just as the extremity to which the radical democrats went, operated to retard the adoption of their doctrines, by startling all classes. That liberal measures came gradually to their maturity, seems owing to causes which might be considered as antagonistic to that result. To the selfish moderation of the aristocratical Whigs, to the persistency and boldness of the Jacobins, to the overbearing action of the king's friends, and to the honest foresight of a set of men who disregarded party lines in preparing the way,—are to be attributed the expansion of the popular mind so as to comprehend, and cautiously adopt, measures of the highest benefit to every rank of society. The first great question which brought parties to an issue after George the Third ascended the throne, was one of historical interest to us especially. The Tory ministers imposed taxation without consent on the American colonies. At once the Whigs assumed the ground that such a course was arbitrary in the extreme. Mr. May assumes that they would have held the same opinion had they possessed the power; but certainly their antecedents under the two first Georges would not warrant such an assumption. Then they had been the court party, and had followed the opinions of the sovereigns, as far as the sovereigns held any opinions. Is it probable that Bedford and Rockingham, whose history was a history of political intrigue, would have been self-sacrificing enough to abandon the side of a powerful and popular sovereign, in behalf of the rights of distant Colonies? Did not Grenville, one of the most bitter enemies of the Stamp Act, become, as soon as a ministerial bait was held out to him, one of its most violent supporters? The Tories, urged on by the king, backed by large majorities, and themselves heartily persuaded, were consistent in maintaining the infallibility of the royal prerogative and the treason of disobedience. The Whigs, no hope remaining of regaining their late preponderance by the favor of crown or oligarchy, resorted for support to that other political force—the people with whom they had traditional sympathy, and whose cause in former times had been the means of their ascendancy. The issue of our Revolution was so disastrous to the ministry, that Lord

North had to give way to the opposition. But the time was not yet come when the House of Commons could dictate to the king who should be his ministers. The crown was still the first estate. Before the Whigs had their seals fairly in their hands, they found themselves in company with Shelburne, Thurlow, and Grafton—King's friends to the core. Even total defeat of purpose in America could not wreck Tory power sustained by the crown. Then came the wretched strife of faction which ended in that ministry which history commemorates by the just title of the "infamous Coalition." Lord North and Charles James Fox—the pet of royalty and the idol of the people—tried to handle the nation. But royalty, hating Fox, frowned on the unnatural union; and the people, hating North, deserted their apostate champion. Every political element—crown, aristocracy, and people,—those who, like Fox, lauded the French philosophy, and those who, like North, detested American obstinacy—worked the ruin of ministers, each of whom had perjured himself before his own party. The whole force of the state was thrown into the King's hands; and William Pitt, hardly beyond his teens, centered in his person the hopes of the monarchy. The forces which arranged themselves under his leadership were neither thoroughly Tory nor thoroughly Whig. The basis on which he undertook the government was, indeed, a conservative basis. But it was far from being the position in which Lord North had stood. He was not so far pledged to the support of the crown, but that those who were jealous of it might become his allies. He was not so far committed to free trade and reform, but that landed proprietors and the ancient boroughs might seek his protection. He certainly accepted, as a foundation, the leading dogmas of the Tory party. But he so enlarged it that moderate Whigs might without apostasy come to his aid. It was a new party, established in such a manner by his crafty and potent genius, that the boundary between the moderate of both the old parties was erased, and coming together under his capable guidance, left only those to oppose him who carried their theories to a bigoted extremity. This was not, however, accomplished at once. Pitt had to work hard against a parliamentary ma-

jority; he had to transform a minority, first into a bare majority, then into an irresistible majority. He refused to go to the country till he was sure of the country. Then he came up to Westminster with a party able and anxious to serve him. The Whigs put their heads together in their distress, and looked about them for a buoy to keep them up; for after American Independence failed to help them, they were all at sea, almost under water. Two events happened which gave a ray of hope; the King went crazy, and the heir apparent declared war on the court. Around the "first gentleman in Europe" the remnants of the Whigs gathered themselves; but their attempts to erect a Regency in which he should act as virtual sovereign, were vain, against the fidelity with which Pitt protected the rights of the unhappy King. The recovery of George elicited universal rejoicing throughout the realm; and the Premier found himself stronger than ever with courtiers and people. The French Revolution came to its crisis not long after the hopes of a Regency were dashed. Its effect on England was well nigh to produce a revolution there. Democracy, before feebly existing among a few enthusiasts, became rampant, and began to count its disciples by thousands. There was a universal rush of the loyal and intelligent to the foot of the throne. Pitt became in the eyes of the great mass the bulwark alike of majesty and law, the Colossus who was to sustain upon his shoulders the fabric of the Constitution, the patriot who in the might of his power was to annihilate the spirit of treason. The schism among the Whigs might well make Fox despair. Many of its great leaders went over to the support of the minister—and with them went the heart of a great portion of the party throughout the country. Loughborough became Pitt's chancellor,—Portland, Spencer, Fitzwilliam, Carlisle, Burke, Windham, Grenville, soon voted steadily with the government. That part of the opposition who followed Lord North, and had acted under Fox since the downfall of the detested coalition, rallied to the standard of Church and King—their ancient battle cry, now doubly dear, from the forced separation. Pitt's policy became the national policy. Never had minister been so great,—never had greatness been so popular.



He had only to work his own ends without fear, and with the assurance of a full approval. The power thus thrown in part fortuitously into his hands, did not vanish as rapidly as sudden power sometimes does. A minister who could retain office for a Parliament, was, and is now, fortunate. Pitt was Prime Minister nearly twenty years—thirteen years after the French Revolution. It was the longest Premiership on record, except that of Sir Robert Walpole. During his life the Whigs hardly made an attempt to rally. Divided among themselves, unpopular with the nation, and hated at court, they had to await more favorable events,—and in a long school of adversity, their ambition was purified, so that in the end they had the proud satisfaction of arriving at power, by patriotic endeavors to achieve a broader liberty. There is not space to dwell on Pitt's long administration, sustained with such marvelous success in its home, its military, its foreign, and its financial policy. Only a glancing survey of the progress of parties can be attempted. But there can be no doubt that, in spite of the arbitrary course which he in many instances pursued, Pitt's administration was conspicuous in the preservation of public order, in devotion to the national interest at home and abroad, and in the firmer establishment of a policy, by which it might resist and endure the shocks that were to come. In palliation of the steadiness with which he humored the foibles of George the Third, it may be said, that of all the King's counselors Pitt was the most liberal, that he never ruthlessly invaded the liberties of the people, that he yielded as far as was consistent with his political duty to the demands of his age, that he resisted Thurlow and the extreme Tories at the peril of his office, that he chose to retire rather than oppress the Papists, that he refused to return until the King had yielded to his just convictions. He established a party much less intolerant than the old Tory party, which entirely superseded the old Tory party. If not directly, he indirectly aided in national progress by producing and extending a more liberal spirit among that class which had always resisted national progress as ruinous to the constitution.

William Pitt, at fifty, was old in statesmanship, and worn

out with long toil. He had hardly returned to the cares of the Treasury, before his fragile constitution broke down; and he died in the midst of reorganizing his government. Lord Grenville had rejoined the Whigs, and took the seals of office. The King had to swallow his hatred of Fox, and to admit him to the new ministry. Of that ministry, memorable as the ministry of "All the Talents," Fox was the leading spirit. But within a year of the death of his illustrious rival, he too passed away; and that event was the signal for the downfall of Grenville. In so short a time the Whigs had achieved nothing. They gave place, without a struggle, to the disciples of Pitt, led by Canning and Perceval. The aged King was now suffering from almost constant insanity—and the Prince of Wales had long since drifted into the natural position of the heir apparent, as the supporter of the prerogative party. As parties then were, the personal preference of the sovereign determined the ministry. The result was, that after Fox's death the Tories held uninterrupted sway for more than a quarter of a century. Perceval's assassination, soon after the Prince of Wales, by reason of the King's hopeless malady, became Regent, revived but for a moment the hopes of Lord Grey's party, and made it evident how hollow and selfish had been George's friendship for the Whigs. Lord Castlereagh and Lord Eldon became the chiefs of government in either House; and an obstinate Tory policy was inaugurated and steadily pursued.

The wars with Napoleon, terminating in complete victory at Waterloo, brought vast strength to the ministers. The Regent, who was soon after to ascend the throne, was grossly partial in *their* defense. The House of Lords, with the church at their side, were their ancient and natural allies. The Commons, not only by the rotten borough system, but also by the prestige of successful war, gave them clear and steady majorities. Meanwhile the process of civilization went rapidly on: commerce, manufacture, a forced concession of freedom of the press, continued agitation of liberal doctrines, the growing intelligence of the subordinate classes—these forces were working with subtle efficacy, against the permanency of absolutist

ministers. The landed interest was inevitably receding, as the interest of busy towns was advancing. Expediency was beginning to teach the same lesson to the selfish, that principle was grafting on the minds of the patriotic. The Whigs began to see their interest in acting with the radicals, and gradually adopted broader principles of liberty—not, it may be imagined, from sincere sympathy—but as the only visible method of recuperating their strength. A set of active and zealous men began to take the leadership of the Liberals; and the reform question was agitated, for once in good earnest. Lord John Russell, Mr. Brougham, Lord Lansdowne, and Mr. Lambton again and again assailed the corruptions of the electoral system, and were sustained by the powerful support of Lord Jeffrey and Sydney Smith in the *Edinburgh Review*. The demagogues, indeed, attacked them with even greater bitterness than the Tories, and charged them with knowing the right, and not daring to pursue it. But with the demagogues it was not a tender point to reach the seals of office; with Lord John Russell it was a most tender point. He sought to move along with the growing intelligence and activity of the nation, neither startling them by premature measures, nor keeping behind so far as to lose popular support. Lord Liverpool's death in 1827 dissolved the union between the liberal and the absolutist Tories, who had been kept together by his premiership. Since Canning's assumption of the seals of the Foreign Office, after Castlereagh's death in 1822, there had been a faction in the ministry, who were inclined to adopt broader measures of policy, who favored Catholic emancipation, who were not unwilling to concede partial reform. This faction now came into dominance by Canning's appointment as Premier: and, though that great man lived but a short time, the division between his followers and those of Wellington and Eldon was made complete. The colossal strength of the Tories was yielding; the age was urging their downfall. The King still stood by them blindly and obstinately; but kingly power had dwindled before the swelling influence of other estates. Wellington's ministry of two years was but a vain struggle, from the first seen to be abortive, against the

inevitable triumph of the opposition. Before George the Fourth had been buried a year, Earl Grey became first Lord of the Treasury, Brougham became Chancellor, and the Great Reform was pushed over the Lords by the united strength of the Commons and the King. Wellington had been forced to repeal the Test Act, and to concede Catholic Emancipation; the compulsion was due to the strength and determination of the Whigs. Earl Grey's ministry united the aristocratic Whigs and the Canning Conservatives—and together they achieved the most complete and most practical triumph which had been gained by any party since the downfall of the "infamous Coalition." We have already,\* in discussing Mr. May's history of the Commons, given an idea of what the Reform achieved for the country. It achieved for the Whig party a prestige which elevated them at once from opposition to a full control of the government. They had the glory of having effected a peaceful, but a profound, revolution. They became distinctively the leaders of the people; and the people were now strong, and were made tenfold stronger by Reform. Their rivals were apparently well nigh past resuscitation. Only in the Peers, the weakest practical estate, could they muster a formidable opposition. Their resistance was deplorably feeble, for a party which had been but a few years before the proud dictator of the national policy. Besides the reform of political abuses in the electoral system, Lord Grey's administration passed many other measures of importance—the abolition of Slavery, the free trade of the East, the reformation of the Irish Church, the modification of the poor-laws. But the Whig party was by no means a unit. Many interests had combined to achieve the reform: that common cause ceasing, the minister did not find his majorities as harmonious as that measure had made them. The radicals, who had pushed their way into Parliament in the reform furor, were inclined to grumble because the fullness of liberty was not at once gained. The members for the towns could not love the grandees who sought to lead. Dissenters complained that they were still paralyzed, that the Establishment was still supreme. The herd

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\* Vol. XXI., 1862, p. 457.

of Irish demagogues, under O'Connell, could think of nothing and talk of nothing but Irish wrongs, and were angry that they were not instantly redressed. Lord Grey found it impossible to reconcile the heterogeneous mass to which he had owed his elevation. He was still the leader of the aristocratic Whigs: but the aristocratic Whigs were never a majority. He had attached to his support the followers of Canning on one side, and the followers of Hume on the other. The former would not have the church revenues in Ireland touched: the latter insisted on their devotion to all sects. Between these two factions, neither of them Whig in sympathy, the original Whigs were harrassed—neither able to judge between them, or to carry on the government without them. The secession of the Canningite leaders, with Sir James Graham at their head, well nigh ruined the ministry—and their downfall, soon after, was palpable proof that between Democracy and Whiggery there was but little in common. Viscount Melbourne formed a ministry, but only increased the divisions of the party, who now styled themselves "Liberals"—a title intended to embrace all those sections which had originally supported Lord Grey. Sir Robert Peel now attempted, but in vain, to consolidate his forces. He promised measures of reform: and this alienated from him the old Tories of the Eldon school. His antecedents had been uniformly conservative: so that the moderate liberals distrusted him. Once more the King called Melbourne to the helm. A liberal ministry was formed, and for six years stood trembling on the brink of dissolution, holding its own at the mercy of hostile elements. The Tories now adopted the less obnoxious name of "Conservatives," and taking for granted that the reforms which had already been enacted were permanent, sought to maintain the Constitution against the attacks of levelers. To this course they were forced by the spirit of the times, and we may well conjecture that it was with the greatest reluctance that they bid adieu to their ancient principles. By this policy they drew to themselves alike those who looked upon democracy as the deadliest foe to order, and those who, while moderate in opinion, were yet disinclined to follow the dicta of the old Tory school. Meanwhile the same trouble which had embarrassed Lord Grey, operated

with equal force to disturb Melbourne; and the measures of that minister continually oscillated between radicalism and conservatism. He pretended to support the church and the patrician estate, yet gave the Dissenters the largest margin of religious liberty, and established municipal independence. Amid his struggles to retain his feeble tenure of power, that crafty statesman, Sir Robert Peel, was cautiously preparing to overbear him in Parliament. The reorganization of the opposition under his leadership was going on actively; and though he left the ministry free to fight among themselves, he was rapidly arriving at a majority in the lower House. Opposition is inclined to unite—it is quick to draw to a focus. All the malcontents were drawn beneath Sir Robert's standard; and men who had all their lives been bitterly opposed to each other, joined to defeat the common enemy. Session by session they grew stronger, and were becoming more reconciled to each other's views. They rejoiced in a leader fully capable of the task of reconstruction. They opposed a minister hardly competent to fulfill his duties. They had the advantage which the discordance of colleagues always gives. At last, in 1841, Sir Robert felt himself strong enough to make a direct assault upon the government. With him were associated the Canningite seceders from Lord Grey—Stanley, Graham, and Ripon,—men of the first influence in Parliament and with the people. The ministry were outvoted in the Commons. They appealed to the polls; and were met by such a defeat as had not been the fate of any ministry since the infamous coalition in 1784. It was called the political Waterloo of the Whigs. Sir Robert Peel took the seals of office under auspices hardly less brilliant than had attended the elevation of the younger Pitt. The old Tories gave him ready support. The large mass who are never thoroughly Whig or thoroughly Tory were his stronghold. The disciples of Canning, who also claimed to be the successors of Pitt, were present at his council board as his cordial coadjutors. He himself determined to comprehend in his policy the wisest and most timely measures, without regard to party creeds: and to yield gracefully to such demands as the spirit of the age should make. But whatever liberal resolu-

tions he had formed in his own mind, were not suited to keep together all the elements which he led. Resolving to yield his old convictions to necessity, he could not carry with him those to whom a violence of political conviction was sacrilege. The main question which had made the issue on which the late ministry had fallen, was that of protection or free trade. Peel had got his majority by advocating protection to native industry; his opponents had fought either for a fixed duty, or complete free trade. But public necessity seemed to Sir Robert to urge the adoption of more liberal measures than those he had at first proposed. In short, he made up his mind to adopt the policy of free trade, though he was a protectionist Prime Minister. This change of course he thought to make gradual, in hopes that he might by degrees reconcile his conservative colleagues to the reduction of the tariff. Just as he entered upon this difficult task, the Duke of Buckingham took the alarm, and as the peculiar representative of the landed interest, resigned his place in the government. Peel continued to make revisions in the tariff, each time approaching nearer to commercial freedom. In December, 1842, he boldly proposed to repeal the odious corn laws, at the council board. His colleagues declined to take the step; so he resigned. Lord John Russell attempted to form a government, utterly failed, and soon made way for the return of Peel, now supported by all his colleagues except Lord Stanley. This nobleman, who had commenced his political career as a representative of an ancient Whig family, had retired from the Grey cabinet, and had with some hesitation joined his fortunes with those of Sir Robert Peel. He had, as he grew older, gradually receded from liberal principles, and now could not support Peel's latitude of opinion, whose conservatism he had once feared. One of the most popular and energetic of statesmen, brilliant and searching as an orator, and the best extempore debater since the time of Charles James Fox, he was well fitted to become a leader in the House of Commons. Such was his influence, that his retirement was the premonition of an approaching downfall. He at once took rank as the head of those conservatives who were opposed to free trade and reform—and vigorously opposed

the altered policy of a minister, in whom the hopes of that party had been bound up. From that time to this he has been the idol of the Conservatives. They have looked to him as a leader not only fully competent, but of all men the best fitted, to attract the confidence and support of the landed interest. He has been known for the last ten years as the Earl of Derby. This schism made it at once evident that Peel's fall was but a question of time; and after repealing the corn laws and putting the fiscal system on a broader basis, he was compelled to throw up the seals of office. It was thought on all hands that he had stolen the proper thunder of the Whigs; and that he would not be justified in continuing Premier, after deserting the ground on which he had taken that position. After his retirement, Sir Robert took but little part in politics, and died in 1850 from the effects of a fall from his horse in Hyde Park. A more enlightened or conscientious statesman has seldom graced the English halls of legislation. It may truly be said that he sacrificed to the interests of his country the most brilliant prospects, and the noblest rewards of political ambition; that he preferred ruining the party he loved, to incurring the vast injury which protection would bring upon England. Lord John Russell succeeded him as First Lord of the Treasury, and once more the disciples of Fox and Grey found themselves victors over a disunited and despairing party. Indeed, but for the disunion of the Tories, it would not have been possible to organize a Whig government; it was rather to the weakness of their opponents, than to any accession of strength to themselves, that they owed their elevation. Lord John was embarrassed, as his Whig predecessors had invariably been, by the demands of the democratic wing of his supporters, who clamored for reform more strenuously than ever, and who justly thought, that one who had grown gray in its advocacy should, now that he had the power, satisfy the most sanguine hopes he had encouraged. Yet no proposition for reform was forthcoming; only vain promises were extorted by the popular clamor. Sir Robert Peel had left little room for his fiscal legislation: so that public attention was drawn especially to the subject, which, above all others, was calculated to dis-



truss the minister. Nothing could show more plainly the selfish ambition of the Whig aristocracy, than this apathy to reform. They had used reform as their hobby to mount to power; when arrived there, they were indifferent about it, because their hearts were not in it. Lord Russell's ministry lived with a precarious existence for six years; thriving only because the Tories were in a perpetual state of discord. In 1852 its downward tendency had reached such a point that Palmerston's withdrawal easily subverted it. The Earl of Derby now made a futile attempt to govern in behalf of the Tories; but, though aided by the powerful support of D'Israeli and Sugden in the lower House, it was found impossible to organize a compact support. The Earl went to the country, and the country sent up an adverse majority. The Earl of Aberdeen now appeared as the champion of another coalition. The Peelites united with the Whigs, and a representative of the Radicals accepted a seat in the Cabinet. The ablest men of these three parties were associated together, after a long antagonism. The Prime Minister was a moderate Whig, of no great ability, but of much experience in statecraft. His colleagues would neither be jealous of him nor afraid of him. But coalitions have seemed doomed throughout the history of English parties. The Peelites had the preponderance in the ministry; the Whigs were constantly overruled, and became distrustful and jealous.

Many measures were urged without their concurrence, and the dissatisfaction attending the conduct of the war in the Crimea, completed the ill feeling which disturbed the cabinet. Several Peelites, with Lord John Russell, retired; and Viscount Palmerston, a veteran politician, and an unconscionable turncoat, constructed a new government. The more moderate Peelites had not followed Newcastle into retirement, but as soon as Palmerston began to develop his policy, Gladstone, Herbert, and Graham threw up their offices. This left the ministry purely and strictly Whig. The Radicals were very bitter against it. The Peelites had deserted in disgust. The Conservatives watched, voted, and waited. Palmerston's personal character, however, held up his first administration for a

while in spite of isolation. Vigorous, obstinate, and clear sighted, he took hold of affairs in a manner far different from that of his later predecessors. He found the Russian war languishing on his hands; he pushed it on vigorously, and its successful issue made him popular throughout the land. He was, nevertheless, a minority minister, and the opposition were only waiting to find a common ground on which to unite. They united on the question of the China war, routed him in the House of Commons, and forced him to appeal to the people. The people sent back a ministerial majority over all factions. But his opponents mustered their whole force, and drove him for a moment from power, on the question of the Orsini conspiracy. Once more the indomitable Derby strove to govern by Tory rule. He tried moderate reform; but to no purpose. He was in a wretched minority, and governed contrary to the sense of the people. His fall was presaged almost before he became Premier. After struggling a few months against his fate, he again yielded the Treasury to Lord Palmerston, now prepared to make his position stronger by a new coalition. He proved himself capable of moulding, to better purpose than any former minister had done, the disjointed elements of liberalism. The dominance in number was given to the Whigs by putting Lord John Russell into the Foreign office, Earl Granville into the Presidency of the Council, the Earl of Carlisle into the Viceroyalty of Ireland, the Duke of Argyle into the Privy Seal Office, and the Duke of Somerset into the Admiralty. The Peelites had a share in the spoil proportionate to their influence; Gladstone became Chancellor of the Exchequer, Newcastle Minister for the Colonies, and Herbert Secretary of War. The Radicals were represented by Gibson at the Board of Trade, and Villiers, the apostle of free trade, at the Poor Law Board; while a seat in the cabinet was offered to, and discreetly declined by, Richard Cobden. Such has been the character of the ministry from 1859 to the present time; and it has been eminently successful in retaining the supremacy. It is to be observed that even now the essentially aristocratic element of the old Whigs is retained. There has been no ministry within the century which has contained so many

noblemen—and the noblemen now in office are scions of the oldest and haughtiest families in England. The Church of England possesses among its most powerful champions Gladstone, Newcastle, and Somerset. The liberal party is not yet thoroughly the people's party, though it is certainly the popular party. The hesitancy on the question of reform which marked Russell's ministry, is discernible in the apathy with which that subject is now regarded. Yet the present ministry has succeeded in retaining the support of more Radicals than any preceding one had done, and members of that faction who once preferred voting with D'Israeli to voting with Palmerston, yield to the latter a general approval. Mr. Cobden and Mr. Bright, preëminently the representatives of the most advanced political ideas, while they sit upon the ministerial benches, maintain an independent course on every question which arises, and particularly on the American and Chinese policy of the government, have not hesitated to denounce the First Minister. On the other hand Mr. Gladstone, once an extreme Tory, later a Peelite, and now the representative man of the present powers in the House of Commons, has recently taken the broadest ground on the subject of suffrage, and bids fair to lead those who would extend the franchise to all the subjects of the crown; and this to the manifest injury of the Church, which would suffer from a wider permission of election. It is greatly owing to Mr. Gladstone's financial success that the ministry has held the power so long; and he is generally regarded as the future Prime Minister, when Palmerston shall retire. The House of Commons, at the time we write, is nearly balanced between government and opposition, and it is very probable that, by the time this Article is read, Lord Derby will have succeeded in once more establishing the Tories in the great places at Whitehall. It would be pleasant to trace, as Mr. May has done, the changes which have taken place in the opinions and organizations of parties within the century, by considering them in connection with the facts which have been cursorily surveyed. But we have already exhausted our legitimate space, and must leave the reader to gather his own conclusions from the outline presented. The greatest lesson taught

by considering the history of partisanship is, that Great Britain, from 1760 to 1860, was transformed from a monarchy almost totally dependent upon the royal will, to a monarchy which approaches as nearly to the limits of republicanism as it could without being a republic. Such a transition has of course necessitated a complete change of base with all parties, has brought into powerful existence new principles and motives of action, has, among other results, made Tories more liberal, and Whigs more conservative. The value of party rivalry, with all its corruptions, has been proved by elaborate and vital experiment. The danger of extreme doctrines has been fully illustrated. Those who have been far in advance, and those who have been far in the rear, of the average sense of the mass, have been equally impotent. Party triumphs have inevitably been triumphs of a steady and moderate policy, succeeding gradually and easily the completion of previous measures. To us, looking back upon the finished record, the seeming evils of party jealousies and party prejudice resolve themselves into actual blessings, and become the instruments of the noblest results. In the darkest periods great principles are seen working out the destiny of the nation; and from the most arbitrary acts of power proceed effects, which become the causes of potent change. Throughout is 'to be discerned a Providence, which, concealing from the statesman's narrow vision the remote consequence, has led up our sister people to the conception and realization of practical liberty.

It is with great self-denial that we tear ourselves away from Mr. May's second volume, and that we are obliged to confine ourselves to only one of his subjects. Besides an account of party, he has given an able review of the manner in which the liberty of opinion and the liberty of the subject have been secured beyond the danger of disturbance. He has traced the progress of the spirit of toleration, showing how the established Church has been compelled to yield many of its exclusive privileges, and how other sects have arrived at entire freedom of worship, and political capability. He has surveyed the history of the State Church, its distresses and victories, its conflicts and concessions, its growth to a more tolerant spirit, and

the changes in its relations to the State. A similar survey has been given of the dominant Church of Scotland, and the Episcopal Establishment of Ireland. The importance of independent local government has been enforced by a view of its practical working for a century. The union of Ireland with the English monarchy as a constituent element, and the establishment of Irish religious, commercial, and political freedom, has been clearly put forth. He has devoted the last pages of his valuable work to an account of the Colonies, and to the great improvements which have been made in the laws, within the century. Each of these topics is worth great study, and merits separate review. Each of the elements treated of has had its share in moulding the present body social and politic. They have, by their action on one another, produced a fabric consistent in proportion and strong in powers of endurance; a fabric not less admirable for the beauty of its details, than for its symmetry as a whole.

## ARTICLE IV.—THE AMERICAN CAVALIERS.

WHAT Plymouth was to the North, Jamestown was to the South. Let us glance at the history of the first families of Virginia.

The numerous reputed scions of that stock are accustomed to talk boastfully of their origin; they despise the Puritans as their inferiors. On what is their claim to superiority based? Certainly not on the early devotion of their ancestors to the principles of civil liberty; for Virginia was the last part of the British empire to renounce its allegiance to the despotic Stuarts, and among the first to return to it. Certainly not on their tolerant spirit in religion, as compared with the Puritans; for not only was the Episcopal Church established by law in Virginia, but special acts were passed, from time to time, prohibiting Puritan worship, banishing all non-conformists, and making the offense of returning after banishment a felony; and these acts remained in force against the unfortunate Quakers long after New England had opened wide her doors to all Christian sects. Nor can they plume themselves on the general intelligence of their ancestors. Indeed they seem to have abstained from education as from a Puritan vice. Says Governor Sir William Berkeley, in 1671—"I thank God there are no free schools nor printing [in Virginia], and I hope we shall not have, these hundred years; for learning has brought disobedience and heresy and sects into the world, and printing has developed them, and libels against the best government. God keep us from both." This is a fair index of the policy of Colonial Virginia on the subject of public instruction. As a general fact, none but the wealthy few could acquire the rudiments of English learning. In the age of the Revolution the leaven of Puritan ideas had begun to work a change for the better; but it was arrested in its progress by the counteracting influence of human bondage, an institution which we may allow the South to claim, as its own peculiar glory. The three distinctive principles of American civilization, namely,

constitutional democracy, religious liberty, and free popular education, had their first development in New England.

On what, then, do the Virginians base their pride of ancestry? On blood, on aristocracy, on rank. They are not of plebeian origin, as the Puritans are. They are the descendants of lordly cavaliers, a high-born and superior race, inheriting the blood even of those who came over to England with the Norman conqueror, to rule over the vulgar Saxon. Such is their claim, as set forth by Jefferson Davis himself. Now, waiving the question of the value of blood, considered without reference to character, let us examine into the validity of this claim. Let us see whether it be an historical fact, or only an audacious fiction.

That the majority of the Virginia colonists were cavaliers, in the political sense of that term, that is to say, supporters of the tyranny of the Stuarts, we concede at the outset. It remains to inquire, What class of cavaliers? Did they belong to the high-born leaders of that party, or to the servile and degraded followers?

Doubtless there were among them some "gentlemen born," but the great mass were of another description. Historians agree in characterizing the first settlers of Jamestown as needy adventurers, vagabond gentlemen, and servants of ill life. William Stith, one of the chief native historians of the colony, says:—"A great part of this new company consisted of unruly sparks packed off by their friends to escape worse destinies at home. And the rest were chiefly made up of poor gentlemen, broken tradesmen, rakes and libertines, footmen, and such others as were much fitter to spoil or ruin a commonwealth than to help to raise or maintain one." Nor was this state of things confined to Jamestown. Sir Josiah Childs, in his *Discourse Concerning Plantations*, published in 1692, speaks as follows in regard to the earliest inhabitants of Virginia in general:—

"Virginia and Barbadoes were first peopled by a sort of loose, vagrant people, vicious and destitute of the means to live at home, (being either unfit for labor, or such as could find none to employ themselves about, or had so misbehaved

themselves by thieving and debauchery that none would set them on work), which merchants and masters of ships, by their agents, (or spirits, as they were called), gathered up about the streets of London, clothed, and transported to be employed on plantations."

Captain John Smith clamorously calls on the London Company,—“Send us about thirty carpenters, husbandmen, gardeners, fishermen, blacksmiths, masons, and diggers up of trees’ roots, rather than a thousand of such as we have.” This want was in part supplied; and the vagabond gentlemen and other drones, having had experience of the Scripture, that he who will not work neither shall he eat, mended their lives; and indeed many of them became good planters. The colony was now ready to prosper, but for another great want, explained in the following passage from Robert Beverley, an old historian of Virginia:

“Those that went over to that country first were chiefly single men, who had not the encumbrance of wives and children in England; and if they had, they did not expose them to the fatigue and hazard of so long a voyage until they saw how it would fare with themselves. From hence it came to pass that when they were settled there in a comfortable way of subsisting a family, they grew sensible of the misfortune of wanting wives; and such as had left wives in England sent for them; but the single men were put to their shifts.”

Now mark how happily this demand was met. The company sent over several ship-loads of “agreeable persons, young and incorrupt,” who were sold to the planters for wives. The price was at first one hundred pounds of tobacco, but it rose to one hundred and fifty and even more. “The debt for a wife,” says Bancroft, “was a debt of honor, and took precedence of all other debts.” It would indeed be highly uncharitable toward those ancient families to suppose that the maternal founders of any of them still remain unpaid for.

But the sale of ancestors in the Old Dominion was by no means confined to women. White servants of both sexes became a regular article of traffic. “They were sold in England,” says Bancroft, “to be transported, and in Virginia



were re-sold to the highest bidder; like negroes, they were to be purchased on shipboard, as men buy horses at a fair." These servants were bound to the planters, in most cases for seven years; some of them having been decoyed on shipboard by the "spirits" before-mentioned, others convicted of treason and sentenced to this punishment, others banished for social crimes;—"a practice," says Richard Hildreth, "long continued as a regular item of British criminal jurisprudence, in spite of the repeated complaints of the colonists and their efforts to prevent it." What makes the whole matter more ludicrous is, that many of these loyal "cavaliers" were sold into bondage by the Puritans. The raving Judge Jeffreys did not neglect this fine opportunity of displaying righteous indignation over the sins of the austere sect. By a highly unpoetical justice, some of the Puritans themselves, upon the restoration of the Stuarts, were sold into Virginia; and we may hope they did not much thicken the blood of her population. As to Irish insurrectionists, they were sold thither by hundreds at a time; and this accounts in a measure for the large number of Irish patronymics which surprise one among the names of the self-styled modern chivalry. It is certain that very many of the bondmen, of different classes, after the expiration of their terms of service, became men of consideration and thrift, founders of respectable families. It is a grievous mistake to suppose that even the worst class of them gave origin only to what is known as the "poor white trash." Sir Edwin Sandys, in his *Tour through the British Plantations* in 1755, says,—  
"Several of the best planters or their ancestors have, in the two colonies, [Virginia and Maryland], been originally of the convict class, and are, therefore, much to be praised and esteemed for forsaking their old courses."

Mr. Charles Campbell, author of the most recent history of Virginia, seems willing to base the historic glories of his State on more tenable grounds than that of aristocratic origin. He acknowledges that Jefferson was mistaken when he recorded his belief that the malefactors transported to the colony were "not sufficient in numbers to merit enumeration as one class out of three that peopled America." He informs us that at a

time when the whole population of Virginia was forty thousand and the annual importation of servants was fifteen hundred. And to show that the latter class was not an inconsiderable one, in regard either to number or ultimate influence in the colony, he says,—“The failure of the schemes proposed in the Virginia Assembly for the establishment of towns, is attributed by the author of “*Virginia’s Cure*,” [in Force’s *Historical Tracts*], to the majority of the House of Burgesses, who are said to have come over first as servants, and who, although they may have accumulated, by their industry, competent estates, yet owing to their mean education, were incompetent to judge of public matters either in church or state.”

But notwithstanding the wretched state of society, many respectable Englishmen, as the cultivation of the soil became more profitable, came into the colony to mend their fortunes and to enjoy a social position which they could not reach at home. These were men of limited means, small farmers and tradesmen, gentlemen in reduced circumstances, rarely men of some wealth,—upon the whole, a sufficiently respectable ancestry for any people, but such as our fastidious and noble friends across the water would hardly dignify with a better epithet than plebeian. Of religious Puritans, not so many went to Virginia as to Maryland and North Carolina, where they enjoyed greater freedom of worship. But the class of political Puritans, that is to say, the adherents of that party who resisted the tyranny of the Stuarts, were represented in considerable numbers; and the influence of their republican principles was not lost on the politics of Virginia. Moreover, large numbers of Scotch-Irish, and Pennsylvania Germans, respectable but not patrician stocks, settled in what is known as the Valley; and if there is any necessary advantage in a mixed origin, Virginia certainly has it. Out of this heterogeneous mass there arose, in time, a prosperous community. In a country where land cost almost nothing, it was easy for the most thrifty of the inhabitants to acquire large plantations. The introduction of negro slavery served still further to elevate this fortunate class above the common level. Planters with a few hundred acres and a score or two of slaves, began to take

pride in aping, in a small way, the old feudal lords of Europe with their broad territories and their thousands of retainers. Such is the true history of the rise of aristocracy in Virginia.

We do not disparage that aristocracy except on their own chosen ground of comparison—that of patrician origin. It was during the days of the Commonwealth that they claim to have received the greater portion of their high blood. Many royalist refugees, doubtless, came to Virginia at that time, including a larger proportion than usual of men of property and education. But how much of the real aristocracy of England this more select class contained, we may learn from the following passage in Beverley, himself a native inhabitant of Virginia, and regarded as the highest authority on the colonial history of that State:

“At the time of the Rebellion in England, several good cavalier families went thither with their effects, to escape the tyranny of the usurper or acknowledgment of his title. And so again, upon the Restoration, many people of the opposite party took refuge there, to shelter themselves from the King’s resentment. \* \* \* As for malefactors condemned to transportation, though the greedy planter will always buy them, yet it is to be feared that they will prove very injurious to the country.”

Here, then, is their noble origin. Here is their Norman blood. “Several good cavalier families,” to be set off against the host of respectable plebeians, gentlemen of limited means, tradesmen, small farmers, poor but worthy mechanics, and day-laborers, not to mention that other host of idlers and reprobrates, discharged servants, transported convicts, bondmen, vagabonds, riff-raff. Moreover, as we learn that of those few good families some went back to England upon the Restoration, and still others, on account of their Tory sentiments, after the outbreak of the revolutionary war, the patrician element in the Virginian ancestry grows “small by degrees and beautifully less;” nay, it is verily reduced to the vanishing point of perspective!

In Bishop Meade’s *History of Old Churches and Families in Virginia*, we find some significant euphemisms on this subject.

While speaking of the better class of the colonists he says,—  
“Whence did their ancestors come, and who were they? Happily for the colony they were not lords or their eldest sons and therefore heirs of lordship. With one or two exceptions, none such ever settled in Virginia. \* \* \* Some dainty idlers with a little high blood came over with Captain Smith at first, and more of the rich and high-minded cavaliers, after the execution of Charles I.; but Virginia did not suit them well enough to attract and retain great numbers.”

One of the two noble exceptions, doubtless, was Thomas, Lord Fairfax, an eccentric gentleman who came to Virginia to hunt, and to superintend his large estate; and he happened to die there, at the close of the war, the personal friend of Washington, but of course a Tory. Who the other exception was we are not informed; but it seems certain that had he left descendants in Virginia, the fact would have been made quite public ere this.

Neither in Bishop Meade's work nor in any other authority upon the subject does it appear that more “persons of quality” settled in Virginia than in New England. The general fact may be fairly stated as follows: The better class of Virginians were drawn from the respectable middle classes of Englishmen, to which the great mass of the New England colonists belonged; while Virginia had another large class, composed of the paupers, the idlers, and the vicious, of which New England received none, or so few that history makes no account of them.

To show that we do not libel the Ancient Dominion we shall now quote from De Tocqueville, whose praise as a candid and well-informed historian is heard on both continents:

“The men sent to Virginia were seekers of gold, adventurers without resources and without character, whose turbulent and restless spirit endangered the infant colony and rendered its progress uncertain. Artisans and agriculturists arrived afterwards; and although they were a more moral and orderly race of men, they were hardly in any respect above the level of the inferior classes in England. No lofty views, no spiritual conception, presided over the foundation of these new settle-

ments. The colony was scarcely established when slavery was introduced ; this was the capital fact which was to exercise an immense influence on the character, the laws, and the whole future of the South."

Here we have the unequivocal declaration that the better class of the settlers of Virginia were "scarcely in any respect above the level of the inferior classes in England." As an inconsiderable exception, he merely alludes in a foot-note to "a certain number of rich English capitalists" that came still later. In contrast with this, let us see what the same illustrious historian says concerning the settlers of New England, with whose descendants, on account of their low origin, the modern cavaliers of Virginia consider themselves too good to associate.

"The settlers who established themselves on the shores of New England all belonged to the more independent classes of their native country. Their union on the soil of America at once presented the singular phenomenon of a society containing neither lords nor common people, and we may almost say, neither rich nor poor. These men possessed, in proportion to their numbers, a greater mass of intelligence than is to be found in any European nation of our own time. All, perhaps without a single exception, had received a good education, and many of them were known in Europe for their talents and acquirements. The other colonies had been founded by adventurers without families; the emigrants of New England brought with them the best elements of order and morality; they landed on the desert coast accompanied by their wives and children. But what especially distinguished them from all others was the aim of their undertaking. They had not been obliged by necessity to leave their native country; the social position which they abandoned was one to be regretted, and their means of subsistence were certain. Nor did they cross the Atlantic to improve their situation or increase their wealth; it was a purely intellectual craving which called them from the comforts of their former homes; and in facing the inevitable sufferings of exile their object was the triumph of an idea."

Thus far, then, it appears that the American Puritan was

superior to the American Cavalier in social position as well as in character. Virginia may fairly be taken, in both of these respects, as the type of the Southern British colonies in general. They were all composed, for the most part, of similar social elements brought together under the influence of similar circumstances. Yet South Carolina, that other center of the southern aristocracy, where the Barnwells, the Rhetts, and the Yanceys, with their plebeian names, affect to be of superior race to the vulgar Yankees, deserves a brief mention apart.

Like Virginia, it was originally a proprietary colony, and the first settlers were sent over at the expense of the company. The land on which Charleston now stands was given away in order to encourage immigration. A few impoverished gentlemen, of the cavalier school, made their way thither to seek their fortunes; but the mass of the settlers were at once so low-bred and so turbulent that the aristocratic constitution prepared for them by Shaftesbury and Locke could never be enforced there. "Charleston," says Hildreth, "was a favorite resort of pirates, and an attempt by Ludwell [Governor in 1691] to bring a crew of them to justice, was very unpopular, and proved unsuccessful." The colony received large accessions of Dutch, Irish, and Scotch emigrants. Fortunately, all religions were tolerated in it; and it became a refuge for the persecuted Huguenots of France, from whom it derived its best blood. Now mark the number of nationalities:—Englishmen, Dutchmen, Irishmen, Scotchmen, Frenchmen—such is the mongrel origin of that State which in the Revolution swarmed with Tories, and in behalf of which the audacious claim has been set up across the water, by the abettors of its modern treason, that it comes of pure and gentle English blood.

Yet one might think that even in South Carolina the blood of revolutionary patriots was sufficiently common to satisfy a reasonable pride, without need of going further back and insulting history with spurious genealogies. Surely, Virginia can well afford to be content with whatever of ancestral glory she may derive from the age of Washington and Jefferson! What a contempt to the father of his country to boast that he

was remotely connected with some junior branch of a noble family of England! There is a sensible remark of Hawthorne's, applicable to North and South alike, that "individuals among us must be singularly unfortunate if, mixing as we do, they inherit no drop of gentle blood." On the other hand, who can say that there was not one servant, or pauper, or scapegrace among his ancestors? Upon the whole, a wise people would elect their own progenitors, not from the two extremes of English society, licentious as both were, under the reigns of the Stuarts and later, but rather from the sober middle ranks, the hardy and intelligent and virtuous yeomanry, from whom, more largely than from any other class, our blood was actually derived.

## ARTICLE V.—THE REVIVAL OF LETTERS IN THE FOURTEENTH AND FIFTEENTH CENTURIES.

## PART I.—TO THE MIDDLE OF CENTURY XV.

It is our purpose in the following essay to give a sketch of the age of the revival of letters, or, as it is more definitely named, the age of humanism, deriving this name from the *literæ humanæ* or *humaniores*, the study and results of which characterize the period more than all other influences put together. Under the broader term *renascimento*, or *renaissance*, can be included *all* the causes which gave a new spirit and direction to thinking in Europe at the close of the middle age, as well the influences peculiar to humanism, as those which emanated from other sources, such as new discoveries, new inventions, the modern languages, new art, new principles of government, and the like. But into this wider field we shall not attempt to enter, or, at most, shall make our surveys of it brief and comprehensive. Professor Jacob Burckhardt, in his work entitled "*die Cultur der Renaissance in Italien*," (Basel, 1860), has rendered a service to philosophical history by his sketches of this period of "revival," but so great is the multitude of particulars relating to the life and thought of any age, that they overwhelm us by their number, and prevent definiteness of impression. We prefer, therefore, to confine ourselves to the single historical cause of humanism, as the most mighty among the agencies which lifted the world off its hinges, giving it a new position, and, at the same time, threatening it with ruin. In our task, we shall follow, to some extent, in the steps of Professor George Voigt, formerly of Munich, and then of Königsberg, who, in his "*Widerbelebung des classischen Aterthums, oder das erste Jahrhundert des Humanismus*," surveys the first century of this period, and in a more recent and much larger work on the life of Pope Pius II. exhibits to us a leading representative of its spirit.

The age of humanism can be divided with advantage, as



Mr. Voigt has perceived, into two parts. The end of the first will coincide nearly enough with the middle of the fifteenth century, or with the death of that great patron of letters, Pope Nicholas V., in 1455. Just about this time, Constantinople fell and printing was discovered. These influences, among others, usher in the second division of the period, which is characterized also by the revived study of philosophy, by the wider spread of classical learning beyond the Alps, and by more clear tendencies towards serious innovations, affecting the interests of religion and of society.

At present, we intend to carry our history of the humanistic age to the end of the first period, hoping at some future time, if God shall grant us life and health, to complete the survey.

In commencing such an inquiry, one is disposed to ask why a new cause like the revised study of antiquity was necessary, in order to introduce a new age of refinement. Were there not resources enough in Christianity working upon the materials on hand, upon the stores of Germanic and mediæval legends, and upon those Roman writers who had kept their ground through all the centuries, without calling old manuscripts from their lurking places in monasteries, and importing Greeks and Greek authors from Constantinople? As the classical age of Athenian literature worked over the stories of the epic cycle, why could not a new age be ushered in by presenting in more beautiful forms the cycles of Charlemagne, and prince Arthur, and the holy Grail? Why could not such a profound poem as the Parzival of Wolfram von Eschenbach be the starting point of a new refinement, as readily as Ovid's metamorphoses, or Claudian? Or, why, if Dante composed his immortal poem with the knowledge of only a few Latin poets, could not an age of taste and polish shortly after him be inaugurated with no more remains of antiquity? When the modern period had been fully ushered in, the poets returned to the stories of the middle ages, to those fields of imagination on which no winds from Greece and Rome had breathed; Ariosto, Berni, Boiardo, Spencer, and others reveled in romance; what need, then, for an age to intervene, which caught its in-

spiration from classical models, and despised the writings and the legends of the fathers?

In attempting to respond to inquiries of this nature, we find it impossible to deny, that a culture and progress almost wholly indigenous might have arisen in Europe. Suppose all remains of heathen learning to have been irrevocably lost, Christianity was a spring of rejuvenation and improvement; the materials within its reach were as capable of being moulded into the forms of literature as into those of art,—where, in fact, they exercised a control over the minds of artists; and just as painting and the Gothic style of building needed no choice remains of Greek art to copy after, so the other forms, in which beauty and the sublime express themselves, might have had an independent domestic source. But we can say thus much,—that there were great deficiencies in mediæval culture which it could not, or could not except by a slow process, repair from its own unaided resources. And we may, perhaps, perceive the wisdom of Divine Providence in opening and quickening the modern age by the help of an extinct civilization.

First, it was of great importance that a connection should be restored between the older and the newer time. The knowledge of this connection had, in great measure, perished amid the ignorance and limited views of the centuries, through which the history of Greece and Rome lay buried and forgotten. The Scriptures, indeed, ran back in their records to the beginning of the world, and disclosed the main thread of God's world-plan, but they could not be fully understood, they could not shine with all their light, they could not chase away error and vague impression concerning the past, without a history of that past reaching beyond the events that befel God's chosen people. So, also, the enlargement of knowledge, by means of the crusades, was good as far as it went; the minds of men grew with their conceptions of the vastness of the world, and their comprehension of the forms of human society; while commerce, by sending westward the arts of the east, by awakening desire and thus stimulating production, and by a gathering of knowledge from various quarters, did

much for the improvement of Europe. But, after all, geographical knowledge, and all its results, could not supply the place which belongs to the history of the past. Space reveals to us the world in its parts and differences. Time reveals to us the unity and progress of man, the unifying plans of God, the race under divine training. Nothing, therefore, helps Christianity so much as history, nothing makes it so real, so necessary, nothing so fits it into the frame of the world, so identifies it with man's progress. Little of all this could be understood in mediæval times. It is remarkable how the poems of that period stamp present relations upon the past, as if the world had been always feudal, and time had stood still through the ages. In the poems of the cycle of Charlemagne, that emperor appears, to a great extent, as a suzerain surrounded by vassals, who are as independent of their chief as were the vassals of four centuries later. In the romance of Mahomet, published by Francis Michel, which was written in 1258, the author tells us that the Arabian prophet understood the seven liberal arts, and, moreover, was the serf of a baron who was lord of castles, burghs, fields, and men. In another poem, of which only the beginning has seen the light, we are told that Dares was in Troy during the siege, and took notes all along for his history, which he composed afterwards. The fable of Brut coming from Troy and founding a new kingdom in England, which Geoffrey of Monmouth first gives to us, and Spencer has ennobled in the second book of the *Faery Queene*, was regarded as true history. Most of what was known of Alexander the Great was derived from the fabulous narratives of Julius Valerius and Pseudo-Callisthenes, still more falsified by the romancers themselves. In short, sober history was little known or valued, and ancient history forgotten, and there was great need of a renewed connection with the past to cure the defects to which this ignorance gave rise.

Again, something was wanted to restore balance and sobriety to the mind, to counteract the exclusive control of the romantic tendency. The opposing force was found in classical literature.

We by no means intend that the one spirit should expel or

prevail over the other ; all that the needs of culture required was that there should be infusion enough of the classical to make the romantic healthier and truer to life. In the romantic poetry, the materials mastered the man ; he wandered in a wildwood filled with innumerable paths, following now one and now another in forgetfulness of his plan, if he had any ; that sway of reflection which is necessary for the perfection of art was unknown. In the best works of classical antiquity, the reverse of all this is true : reason stood watching by the side of imagination, rejecting with a frown whatever did not conduce to the main design, and repressing every tendency toward the overstrained and unnatural. It is plain that such models would have, when known, a great influence in chastening and disciplining the taste of Europe.

Akin to this remark is another, that the *forms* of classical antiquity were needed to awaken and direct the *sensé* of beauty. The unregulated, luxuriant, half-educated minds of the middle age, could in no way so soon get rid of their defects, as by becoming familiar with the style and laws of composition of the ancients. Greek taste, the exquisite sense of proportion and fitness, the beauty, and grace, which breathe in language, style, metre, and all art, although transmitted chiefly through the Romans, an inferior race in this respect, speaking an inferior language,—these were the source from which a new sense of elegance, finish, and propriety, new laws of composition, a new style of art, a higher culture of society, were to emanate. And without this stimulus the progress of Europe in refinement must have been much slower.

Nor ought we to omit adding that the philological discipline, which would grow up from the thorough study of languages, pertaining to another time and another form of society, might have most important beneficial influences. It might displace in part the empty husks of logic ; it might lead the minds of men to a more thorough study and better understanding of the Scriptures ; it might create a race of men marked by sound judgment and practical power, who would carry their acquired abilities into all the departments of life—lay, as well as clerical.

All this, however, if gained, might be gained at no small cost. The ancient times and their works might be overvalued, and the past ages of Europe, with all that was noble in them be held in undue contempt; a heathenish spirit and morality might follow the study of the classics; style might be regarded as of more value than thought; a miserable vanity might take possession of the leaders of literary society, if they felt that the polish of the age was confined to their circle; and religion itself might be looked down upon as fit only for monks and for barbarous ages.

If, then, such changes were needed and might be introduced by the study of classical antiquity, it may still be asked whether there were not enough of the best Latin authors, extant and in current use, before the so-called revival of letters, to serve as means of improvement, even if no others had been discovered.

A brief answer is all that we can afford to give to this question. Undoubtedly certain Latin authors, as Virgil, Lucan, and Horace, were pretty widely known. Some of the grammarians and encyclopedists, as Donatus, and the Epitome of Priscian, the Origines of Isidore, and Martianus Capella, were accessible in many places. Boethius *de consolazione philosophiæ* was widely known. Everywhere through Christendom the art of writing Latin was taught, and Latin poetry was almost everywhere cultivated. In the Universities, Roman authors of repute were lectured upon, as at Bologna, where, in the year 1321, as Tiraboschi tells us,\* Antonio, the son of a friend of Dante, Giovanni di Virgilio, was demanded of the town by the scholars of the University, to be Professor of Poetry, for the purpose of explaining Virgil, Statius, Lucan, and Ovid. The most learned men of the times, before the birth of Petrarch, show a considerable acquaintance with Latin literature. Roger Bacon, who was one of these, if not at the head of the literati of his century, may be adduced in proof of this assertion. In his *Opus Tertium*,† and the other works

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\* Storia d. let. Ital. V. lib. 3, cap. 3.

† This and the *Opus Minus* were written in 1267; his *Compendium Philosophiæ* was written in 1272.

first published by Professor Brewer of London, in 1859, we find passages quoted from Virgil, Horace, Ovid, Lucan, Juvenal, and Persius, several works of Cicero, Pliny's Natural History, Seneca's epistles and natural questions, some of the poets of the later ages, as Macer,\* Sedulius, Prosper, Juvenius, Prudentius, as well as from Isidore's Origines, Cassiodorus, Boethius, and Martianus Capella. Some of his citations, however, were, it is not improbable, borrowed at second hand from grammarians or other sources. He speaks of the instruction of children, in his day, "*in fabulis et insaniis Ovidianis et ceterorum poetarum.*" He complains that important books in philosophy, as those of Aristotle, Avicenna, Seneca, and Tully, cannot be procured save at a great expense, "of part of which the originals have not been translated into Latin, and of another part a copy cannot be found, either at the Universities or elsewhere." The books of Cicero *de Republica*, he could nowhere find, after great painstaking. The books of Seneca he had been in search of for twenty years and more, before he got a sight of them.†

The knowledge of Greek in Europe, in the century before Petrarch, was exceedingly rare, except so far as intercourse, during the crusades and afterwards, in the way of commerce, must have required an acquaintance with the vulgar dialect. Many Venetians must have spoken Romaic Greek, for the Greek dependencies of the republic would produce the demand and the desire for such knowledge. Greek, also, may have been long spoken, and to some degree understood, in Southern Italy by the monks of the order of St. Basil. But

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\* A poem *de herbarum Virtutibus*, attributed to Æmilius Macer, but composed in the middle ages, must be the one he quotes. Bacon refers in one place to Cicero's Hortensius, (p. 415 of Brewer's ed.), but the passage belongs to the Academic questions.

† No doubt a number of Latin authors, unknown to the greater part of the learned, were known within a limited circle. Thus Pietro de' Crescenzi of Bologna, in his *liber ruralium commodorum*, written about 1305, made use of Roman agricultural writers. Some books existing in the ninth century expired before the twelfth and thirteenth. Some which were read and copied by earlier Benedictines ceased to be read, and fell into neglect when the scholastic theology arose and became popular.

Roger Bacon gives us a low estimate of the amount of Greek learning among his contemporaries of the thirteenth century. He says that Robert Grosseteste, bishop of Lincoln, learned the language after he was seventy years old, but not becoming master enough of it to make translations himself, procured these to be done by Greeks, whom he imported into England. Others there were, as Gerard of Oremona, Michael Scot, Alured of England, Heremannus Alemannus, and William Fleming, who had done, or assumed to do, a great deal of translating—principally from the Arabic—but failed most miserably. They neither knew the sciences, nor the language from which, nor that into which they translated. They did their work through others. William Fleming, who is now alive, "*nullam novit scientiam in lingua Græca de qua præsumit.*"\* Bacon himself exhibits, without question, some knowledge of the Greek language, but probably had very few Greek books within his reach. He says that he had seen fifty books of Aristotle, *de animalibus* "in Græco," the same that Pliny speaks of in the eighth book of his Natural History, (Pliny viii. 17), but the Latins, he adds, have only nineteen "*libellos misere imperfectos.*" But we think he must have made a great mistake, as the extant works of Aristotle on animals in the Greek, are comprised in nineteen books. He cites Aristotle in the Latin translation made from the Arabic, but when he speaks of the politics of the philosopher, as containing the doctrine of a triune God, he must have drawn his statement from some one else, and cannot have seen that work either in Greek or in Latin.†

The few names of persons known to have some acquaintance with Greek, which the patience of Tiraboschi and of the authors of the *Histoire Littéraire de France* has collected, shows how rare such knowledge was; and the fact that

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\* pp. 91, 472 of the *Opera Inedita*, published by Brewer.

† Brewer's ed., pp. 473, 423.—Just about the time when Bacon thus wrote his complaints of the ignorance of his contemporaries, in 1270, Thomas Aquinas persuaded a Dominican monk, William of Moerbeke, or William of Brabant, to translate Aristotle out of the Greek. This is called the *translatio vetus*, and was studied afterwards.

Aristotle first came into Western Europe through Arabic versions, and was not turned directly from Greek into Latin, until after the age of the Crusades and of the closest connection with the East had passed, is a striking proof of the little sympathy of mind between the Byzantine empire and the more western nations.\*

To sum up what we have to say under this head, we remark,

1. That before the times of Petrarch, the collection of Latin authors in any one place was small, and that they were used more to learn the language than to cultivate the taste.

2. Greek learning, acquired from the originals, was scarcely to be found within the Latin Church.

3. The condition of the manuscripts, when they were first drawn out of their hiding places, shows that even in the principle monasteries, as those of St. Gallen and Monte Casino, little value was attached to the remains of antiquity.

4. There is, as it seems to us, reason to believe that a little before the time when learning began to revive, the old Roman world had less influence on Europe than at any earlier period. Assuming this to be a fact, it may be ascribed to several causes. One is, that the new languages, which had begun to be vehicles of thought and communication, would, together with their literature, tend to usurp the place which the Latin had before occupied. Another is, that the study of scholastic theology and civil law absorbed the attention of most educated persons. And another still, perhaps, is, that the preaching friars and minorites, or Dominicans and Franciscans, had begun to eclipse the older orders, especially the original Benedictine order, in whose hands the principal manuscript wealth of Europe lay, and took away something of their stimulus to study.†

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\* See Tiraboschi Vol. IV, 3, Cap. 1, and the Hist. Lit. Tome iv. 151, Tome xvi. 141. In the latter place, it is said that Baldwin, Frank King of Constantinople, sent young Byzantines to Paris in order to bring the Greeks and Occidentals into connection. Tiraboschi mentions the efforts of Raymond Lull to revive Oriental study in Vol. V, 3, Chap. 1.

† Since writing this, we have fallen on a passage in Leibnitz' introduction to Gervasil Otia, (in the Script. Rer. Brunsvic.), in which he expresses the opinion



But whatever may be thought of the justice of this suggestion, there was a revived study of the Roman classics which began in the age of Petrarch,—a revived interest in their remains, a new curiosity to disinter those which had been buried for ages in the closets of monasteries, a new taste for elegant or humane letters, and a new effect of authors already known upon taste and style, a new zeal to become acquainted with or to possess works of ancient art, a new desire to explore the ruins of the ancient world, to search into its architectural remains, its epigraphical treasures, statues, and coins, to represent to the mind as far as possible the Roman world in its glory. And this zeal, ere long, extended beyond Roman remains to those of Greece, so that, before the Byzantine empire fell, there was a new importation of Greek art and literature into Italy, like that which aroused the taste of Rome sixteen centuries before.

The country where this revival was first felt, was Italy. But why did Italy take the lead, and what was its condition at the time of the revival? And, again, was there any part of Italy from which, as a centre, these influences emanated?

Italy, although behind France, Germany, and England, as it respects peculiarly mediæval culture, although borrowing its poetry from Provence, and its poetical legends from more northerly Europe, bounded at once, so to speak, into the modern period, and bore the fruit of summer without a season of spring. Of this Dante affords us a good illustration. He died three years before the birth of Wickliff, and eight before that of Chaucer, but with all his mediæval coloring and education, although he wove together, as one has said, scholastic philosophy and Provençal romance, he was, in some respects, more of a modern man than either of these Englishmen.

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that in the thirteenth century subito omnes propemodum boni scriptores evanescere, cuncta in se trahentibus monachis mendicantibus qui tunc insurrexerunt,—ut vix alia quam utriusque juris et scholasticarum argutiarum studia superessent. Roger Bacon (Præf. to his *Opus Majus*) says that “nunquam fuit tanta apparentia sapientiæ—sicut jam a quadraginta annis, cum tamen nunquam fuit tanta ignorantia, tantus error.” This was written in the latter third of the thirteenth century.

Dante, in his travels, might have seen vast fleets of merchant vessels at Venice, Genoa, and Pisa, he might have visited extensive woolen factories in his native city, have witnessed the making of silk stuffs at Lucca, and of cotton damask with many other products at Venice. He might have conversed with Lombard, and Florentine bankers, who had great transactions with Europe and the East. He knew the earliest of the painters, Giotto. These particulars, during the life of Dante, point to an age in Italy which was putting on a modern aspect, and to a state of things very unlike the contemporaneous one in the north of Europe, even in France, which most resembled Italy. But, on the other hand, what was there in Italy and its literature before Dante, which can account for the appearance of such a stately and mighty form? He seems to burst out of a cloud, for the multitude of names, of "*poeti del primo secolo*," who precede him, suggest to us obscure and shadowy figures without a single prominent person to relieve the mediocrity. It is true, that in the age before his birth, the great theologians, Thomas Aquinas, and Bonaventura, flourished, and the glossator Accursius made himself a high name, as the leading teacher of Roman law. Peter de Vineis, also, (Pietro della Vigne), Chancellor of Frederic II., in his Italian dominions, deserves to be mentioned as one of the most enlightened men and writers of the thirteenth century. Nor ought we to leave unnoticed Brunetto Latini, Dante's instructor, and the first to translate Latin authors into the vulgar dialect, but who wrote his principal work, "*le Tresor*," in France, where he resided a part of his life, and in French, as being, in his opinion, "the most delectable and common of all the languages."\* But while theology and the knowledge that

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\* Peter de Vineis was at the Council of Lyons, held in 1245, and died in prison a few years afterwards. St. Thomas, and Bonaventura, born, the former about 1225, and the other in 1221, both died near the age of fifty. Accursius, born in Florence or its vicinity in 1182, died in 1262. Brunetto Latini, translated Ovid and Boethius into Latin, was banished from Florence in 1260, spent a good part of his days afterwards, it is probable, in France, and died in 1294, at the place of his birth. Dante meets his master in the *Inferno*, and the touching passage shows the hold which Latini had on the great poet's heart, although for his secret sins in violence of nature he adjudges him to the hopeless world.

was accessible to Dante stimulated his mind, it is evident that he was ahead of his age and in a degree unlike to it; he stands as a great mind partaking both of the influences of the mediæval period and of those which formed the more modern times.

The reception given to so profound a poem as the *Divina Commedia*, shows that Italy had already begun to outgrow the intelligence and refinement of the middle ages. Copies of it were scattered on every side, commentaries were written upon it long before the discovery of printing, and in fifty years a chair was created at Florence—an example soon followed at Bologna—for the purpose of lecturing upon the work of one who had bitterly inveighed against his townspeople. And this is but a particular instance of what was taking place everywhere in the peninsula. The spirit of feudalism had less hold of Italy than of northern Europe, while commerce, Roman law, manufactures, acquaintance with the world, were making preparation for modern times. The great reasons then why learning should revive first in that country were, that the cause which peculiarly obstructed the way of human advancement was less operative there, while the causes which tended to bring about a change in society were more powerful than anywhere else.

But was the political state of Italy favorable to a revival of learning? It would take more time than we can afford, to attempt to treat this question as it deserves; a few thoughts, however, will be thrown out with a view of suggesting an answer.

1. The activity of city life in Italy certainly favored a quick growth of the arts and of general culture, although in very many towns the strife of factions or of classes had a retarding influence in these respects. After the authority of the Ger-

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(*Inferno* xv. 22 and onward). When he gave instruction in rhetoric and philosophy to Dante, it does not appear. The poet would be of the right age for such teaching in 1284, in which year Latini is said to have been syndic of Florence. Dante, we may add, was born in 1265, was one of the priors of his native city in 1300, was banished in 1302, and closed his long exile by death at Ravenna in 1321.

man emperor had become nearly a name, that is, after the death of Frederic II., and the ruin of his family in the thirteenth century, there was no longer any central power in Italy. This naturally increased the vigor and activity of political life in the towns; the want of balance between the orders and the strife of factions grew at an equal pace, and the best minds were no doubt diverted in many cases from the arts of peace.

2. The disorders and misgovernment in the towns led to the tyranny of certain families, as the Visconti in Milan, and numerous others throughout the northern part of the peninsula. These tyrannies were not the soil in which letters could revive,—although the holders of power might be liberal patrons of it after its revival,—nor was the state of things bettered when successful captains of trained bands, soldiers of fortune who did the fighting for the lords of the towns, began to usurp their places. This age of the Condottieri, as they are called, began in the days of Petrarch, when Sir John Hawkwood, an Englishman, who had been a captain in the wars between the third Edward of England and the French, transferred his services from France, where they ceased to be wanted after the peace of Bretigny, to Italy. It ended, about the end of our first period, in the revival of letters, when Francis Sforza made himself master of Milan, and established a dynasty there in the place of the extinct Visconti. The numberless crimes of violence, revenge, fraud, and lust, committed by these tyrants, greatly demoralized Italy; nothing, perhaps, was so decided a cause of that debased public and private morality, which was contemporaneous with the revival of learning, and infused pollution into its streams.

3. The Papacy had and could have, at the beginning, no agency in the revival of letters in Italy. This is manifest from its spirit and its peculiar destinies during the first age of the revival. Its spirit was political and theological, rather than learned or literary. Whatever it did for learning was effected by an impulse from without, as will soon be made evident. Its destinies, also, were such, that with the best spirit, for many years, it could have done but little in this direction.

But whatever may be thought of the justification, there was a revived study of the which began in the age of Petrarch,—a their remains, a new curiosity to disinter buried for ages in the closets of mon elegant or humane letters, and a new known upon taste and style, a new with or to possess works of ancient the ruins of the ancient world, remains, its epigraphical treasure sent to the mind as far as glory. And this zeal, ere mains to those of Greece, fell, there was a new in into Italy, like that w centuries before.

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(Inferno xv. 22 and onward). When he gave instruction in rhetoric and philosophy to Dante, it does not appear. The poet would be of the right age for such teaching in 1284, in which year Latini is said to have been syndic of Florence. Dante, we may add, was born in 1265, was one of the priors of his native city in 1300, was banished in 1302, and closed his long exile by death at Ravenna in 1321.

Factions of nobles, under the party names of Guelphs and Ghibellines, but having no general political principle in view, quarreled for ascendancy in the town, and banished one another after gaining the supremacy. Nor did the factions confine themselves to these names, representing first the parties of the Pope and the Emperor, but one noble family was in strife with another or within itself, and the Guelphs, who were strong at Florence, could not keep the peace within their own body; the quarrel of the Bianchi and Neri, or whites and blacks, who were originally two Guelphic factions, is memorable for the banishment, in 1302, of six hundred partisans of the former, among whom was the poet Dante. While the turbulent nobility were weakening and destroying each other in this way, and to such an extent that a number of the old families had disappeared before Dante wrote his great poem, the people,—that is the middle class, not the operatives,—combining in guilds, and growing wealthy through trade and manufactures, particularly that of woolen cloth, became strong enough to wrest power from the hands of the nobles. A government of the priors of the guilds, with two councils, more popularly constituted than the older ones, was now placed at the head of the state. It should be observed, however, that the guilds themselves differed in political rights, seven of them, among whom the cloth makers, cloth sellers, and money changers are especially deserving of notice, controlled the republic, while the smaller guilds, fourteen in number, had a much inferior position.

From the time when the power of the nobility was broken, Florence grew in wealth and vigor, extended its sway over the neighboring country, and, although scarcely ever quiet for a long period, enjoyed comparative peace. The system of public economy, which the Emperor Frederic II. borrowed from the Mohammedans, and which ere long spread through Italy, gave rise to indirect taxes, and the civic struggles gave rise to state debts. These, again, with the great commercial enterprises of the Italian towns, aided in calling into existence a class of bankers, who, by and by, managed the concerns of a large part of Europe. Thus Edward III. of England was

After falling under French influence, at the beginning of the fourteenth century, the Pope sought refuge from the turbulence of the Roman people in Avignon, a papal fief outside of the ecclesiastical state; then came years of the greatest confusion in the Roman territory, and then the great schism with the councils of the fifteenth century. Although some of the Pope's servants, as early as the Council of Basel, were leaders among the Italian literati, yet the spirit of the *renaissance* cannot be said to have penetrated Rome and the Roman See, until after the Council of Ferrara, and the removal of this Council to Florence, until, in fact, after the residence of the Papal court in that city, and the election of a new Pope thoroughly pervaded by the spirit which there prevailed. From *Florence*, then, the new zeal was carried to Rome, and from the same centre all Italy received its quickening. Florence, then, although not strictly the birth-place, was the source from which the reviving influences spread through all Italy and the rest of Europe.

But why did Florence take this position? The answer is to be found chiefly in its social and political life.

If we look at the political history of Florence, we find it running nearly the same course, only later in time, with the other republics; but this tardiness of inevitable changes deferred the establishment of tyrannical power and the loss of a free spirit there until after letters and refinement had chosen it as their abode. Florence, in the earlier times of the middle ages, under a count and *scabini*, who were both judges and town council, had the Germanic constitution which prevailed almost everywhere. Out of this grew the government of consuls, four or six in number, with a complicated system of councils, four in number,—a constitution in which the quarters of the town were the leading rule in distributing power, and in which the power was lodged in the hands of the nobility. This nobility consisted of old landed proprietors, the descendants of Lombard or Frank conquerors, and of families enriched by merchandise, which, in the course of time, stood nearly on the level of the older aristocracy, as the plebeian optimates at Rome became at length the peers of the older patricians.

nobles, under the party names of Guelphs and Whites, but having no general political principle in view, and fighting for ascendancy in the town, and banished one another after gaining the supremacy. Nor did the factions confine themselves to these names, representing first the parties of the Pope and the Emperor, but one noble family was in strife with another or within itself, and the Guelphs, who were strong at Florence, could not keep the peace within their own body; the quarrel of the Bianchi and Neri, or whites and blacks, who were originally two Guelphic factions, is memorable for the banishment, in 1302, of six hundred partisans of the former, among whom was the poet Dante. While the turbulent nobility were weakening and destroying each other in this way, and to such an extent that a number of the old families had disappeared before Dante wrote his great poem, the people,—that is the middle class, not the operatives,—combining in guilds, and growing wealthy through trade and manufactures, particularly that of woolen cloth, became strong enough to wrest power from the hands of the nobles. A government of the priors of the guilds, with two councils, more popularly constituted than the older ones, was now placed at the head of the state. It should be observed, however, that the guilds themselves differed in political rights, seven of them, among whom the cloth makers, cloth sellers, and money changers are especially deserving of notice, controlled the republic, while the smaller guilds, fourteen in number, had a much inferior position.

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helped by the Lombards, as they were called, or money lenders from Italy, to carry on his wars with France; and Louis XI. of France was induced by Italian capitalists to abandon his trusty French banker, Jacques Coeur, and take an Italian one. Among the Italian towns, Vicenza, Asti, and Florence, are said to have furnished the most bankers; and among the Florentine bankers, the family of Medici at length occupied the leading place. Giovanni de' Medici, the banker of Pope John XXIII. at the time of the Council of Constance, and still more his son Cosimo (or Cosmo) were the chief citizens of the State, and owed their influence to their being at once wealthy and on the popular side. Cosimo, who was the Mæcenas of the age of the revival, became in 1433 an object of jealousy to the upper class and was sent into exile; but as the people missed his protection, and the money aristocracy really lost ground by his absence, he was soon restored, the power of the State went into the hands of his friends, and he spent the rest of his life in peace and the possession of undisturbed influence, until his death in 1464. No other man had so much to do with the revival of letters. His grandson, Lorenzo, and his great-grandson, Leo the Tenth, important as were their services to learning, only continued that protection of it, which their enlightened and more able ancestor, at a more critical time in the history of letters, had afforded.

The principal influence of the *political* condition of Florence, thus briefly sketched, in fostering the revival of learning, seems to be this, that it had not parted with its freedom when the fullness of time for this event drew nigh, and that it was the abode of an opulent and enlightened class who had only a share in the government, and were not a dominant aristocracy. If we look at social life in Florence, we find there also causes tending to the same result. The wealthy class was not a haughty and ignorant class of proprietors living on their estates, as in the kingdom of Naples, nor wild and refractory, as in the ecclesiastical state, nor crushed by the reigning dynast, as in parts of Italy, nor of too intense an aristocratical spirit, as in Venice; but enlightened, free to a considerable extent from the stolid pride of some aristocracies, disciplined by exten-

sive acquaintance with the world, addicted so far to the pursuits of commerce and industry that these were not accounted dishonorable, and by the constitution of the State not wholly absorbed in the management of its political affairs. By sharing with the burghers in the pursuits from which gain is acquired, they made the line fainter which separated the leading classes. It is not strange, therefore, that in the first half of the fifteenth century quite a number of accomplished men of this order were active patrons of letters, and learned themselves. Such were Roberto de' Rossi, a rich bachelor, who translated Aristotle, copied manuscripts of old authors, and instructed younger men of noble birth; Rinaldo degli Albizzi, the rival of Cosimo de' Medici and head of the aristocratic party; Palla de' Strozzi, who in his banishment at Padua took the Greek, John Argyropulus, into his house, as an interpreter of Aristotle, and himself translated works of Plutarch, Plato, and Chrysostom. Of other noblemen, as members of the Acciajoli family, Piero de' Pazzi, Matteo Palmieri, Leonardo de' Dati, Lapo da Castiglionchio, honorable mention is made in the books, on account of their patronage of Latin and Greek scholars, or their own proficiency in ancient letters.\* Many others might be added to this list, persons who sustained the most honorable offices in the Florentine Republic, and filled their leisure hours with the study of Greek and Latin.

But although Florence was the centre from which the new spirit of "humanism" went forth in every direction, the man who gave the first decided impulse to the new movement was not a resident in that city. Francis Petrarch was indeed of Florentine extraction, but his father, a notary of Florence, having been banished at the same time with Dante in 1302,

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\* Comp. Voigt, p. 153. For some, as Strozzi, Palmieri, Castiglionchio, the general index to Tiraboschi's work, forming Vol. XVI. of the Milan edition, may be consulted. There were two persons of the name of Lapo, or Jacopo da Castiglionchio, viz: a contemporary of Petrarch's, Professor of Canon Law at Florence and Padua, to whom the poet was indebted for some Latin manuscripts, and his grandson, who is intended in the text, who translated Dionysius of Halicarnassus, with some of Plutarch's lives, wrote some original works, was a Professor at Bologna of Belles Lettres, and afterwards of Moral Philosophy, and died young.

he saw the light at Arezzo in 1304. In the eighth or ninth year of his age, his father, having now lost the hope of being recalled from banishment, went to Avignon, the new seat of the Papacy, and here, or in the neighboring city of Carpentras, the education of Francis was begun. The study of law, first at Montpellier, then at Bologna, next engaged his attention, until his twenty-second year, when he returned to Avignon. Having, it is probable, now lost his parents and his patrimony, he entered so far into the ecclesiastical order as to submit to clerical tonsure, and was thus enabled to hold ecclesiastical benefices, but could not be persuaded to undertake the cure of souls. A few years after his return from the schools of law, he met Laura in the Church of St. Clara, at Avignon. This was in 1327, and she died during the great plague of 1348. Of Laura, it is still disputed whether she was a virgin or a wife, although the probability leans to the first named side. There is no doubt, however, that he loved a real being, with a love not paraded for the sake of others, but kindled by his imagination, and returned. His Italian poetry, which he affected to think lightly of, was the product chiefly of this sentiment.\* His attainments as a Latinist kept pace with rhymes in the vulgar style, and his hope of renown in after ages rested chiefly on what he wrote in the ancient language, especially, for a time, on his epic poem entitled *Africa*.

The years between 1327 and 1337 were passed in Avignon, or in traveling. In 1336 he made his first visit to Rome. In the next year, disgusted with the state of things at the Papal court, or feeling himself undervalued there, or desirous, as he himself says, "to mitigate the ardor with which he had been affected for many years," he bought a small estate at Vaucluse, twelve miles from Avignon, where he lived in simplicity and

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\* He says of his Italian poems, in Sonnet 252, of part 2, of his *Canzoniere*:—

S'io avessi creduto, che si care  
Fosser le voci de' sospir mie' in rima,  
Fatte l'avrei, dal sospirar mio primo,  
In numero piu spesse, in stil piu rara.

But he seems to have polished them, as his corrections in original manuscripts show.

retirement. Here he wrote many of his Italian poems and his Latin works, among the latter the treatise *De Vita Solitaria*, his eclogues in part, his poetical epistles, many of his prose letters, a book styled "*Rerum Memorandarum*,"—being a collection of anecdotes after the manner of Valerius Maximus; a historical compilation, entitled *De Vitis Virorum Illustrum*, first published from the manuscript in 1829 by Professor Schneider, of Breslau, but at an early day circulated in an Italian translation; and, finally, his unfinished poem of Africa. This epos, which records the achievements of Scipio Africanus, and which perhaps was dictated more by Petrarch's devouring love of fame than by any love to his subject, proved beyond his powers; it remained unfinished and was suppressed by its author, who avowed his intention of burning it, either because he had no courage to complete and polish a work in which he took no hearty interest, or because a few verses, which through the fault of one of his friends had got into circulation, were subjected to harsh criticism. The Africa was a subject of curiosity to the literary admirers of Petrarch after his death, and one of these, the Florentine Niccolò Niccoli, of whom we shall have occasion again to speak, went to Padua expressly to transcribe it. Two copies of it now exist in the Laurentian Library; it is found in a very incorrect text among his collected works, and several Italians have translated small portions of it; but, perhaps, no poem which awakened so lively expectations has ever fallen into so entire oblivion.

The fame of Petrarch, and perhaps the charms of his personal qualities, raised up for him a host of admirers among the great and powerful, and perhaps no literary man has been more courted by the leaders of the world than he. His earliest patrons were two dignitaries of the church, belonging to the eminent Roman family of the Colonnas; from the Popes he received some testimonials of favor; the dynasts in Parma and Padua became his generous patrons; the Lord of Pesaro, the Seneschal of Naples, and the Visconti, who ruled Milan, sought his friendship; King Robert of Naples delighted to honor him, and he met welcome and respect at Venice. Even the Emperor Charles IV. accounted it an honor to know and

correspond with the great scholar and poet of Italy. The republic of Florence in 1351 bought back his paternal estate, which had been sold at his father's exile, and presented it to him in expectation of his removal to the city of his fathers, requesting him at the same time to aid them in infusing life into their newly founded University. He declined, however, obeying their summons, and the estate was retained by the public. Some of his patrons were intent on providing for his support. One of his benefices was a priorate near Pisa, the gift of Clement VI. in 1342; a canonicate was conferred on him at Parma in 1346, and an archdeacon's place in 1350; another canonicate at Padua, bestowed in 1348, bound him to the ruling family of the Carraras in that city. In was by the income derived from these benefices that Petrarch was enabled to provide for his support, while the duties of the posts were so inconsiderable as to render them almost sinecures.

In 1340 Petrarch received an invitation from the Roman Senate to go there and receive the laureate crown, which it was supposed that Virgil, Horace, and Statius had worn in the old times, and which, it would seem, had already been sometimes conferred in modern times as the reward of poetical merit. A similar invitation came about the same time from Paris. That such an honor was an object of intense longing to the honoring scholar may be readily believed; nor is it improbable that his friends were led to seek it for him in consequence of his express desire.\* The motive for wishing it which he confesses,—that the Laurea was so like in sound to the name of his Laura,—may have had its weight; yet the innate love of praise and fame, so evident in the man, suggests a stronger source of the desire. Petrarch chose Rome as the place of his crowning, and to give him more honor, it was performed upon the venerable old Capitoline hill. Furthermore, that he might be shown to be worthy of the honor, it was preceded by an examination, conducted by Robert, King of Naples, the most learned sovereign then living. The ceremony took place on the 8th of

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\* Old Stephen Colonna, father of his two patrons of that name, was active in the ceremony.

April, 1341, and may be regarded as marking an era, since a scholar earned this mead chiefly by his skill in Latin writing and his zeal for the literature of the ancient Romans.

On his return from Rome, Petrarch made a long stay at Parma, in order to be near his friend, Azzo da Correggio, the lord of the city. Then, on business of Azzo, he went to Avignon and spent some time in his solitude of Vacluse, where he wrote his work *de contemptu mundi*, in three books,—a dialogue with St. Augustine, in which he confesses his faults or palliates them, as they are reprehended by the Father. It was also, during this residence of a year at Avignon, that he picked up what little Greek he knew from Barlaam, the Greek, to whom we shall have occasion to return. Several succeeding years were passed, either in Avignon or in different parts of Italy. He was at Avignon in 1347, when the startling news came of Cola di Rienzi's movements at Rome, which seemed to Petrarch's enthusiastic mind the dawn of hope for Italy, and the pledge of a return of Rome's ancient glory. Then, after six months, came the accounts of the irruption of the Colonnas (Petrarch's friends) into Rome at the head of a troop of horsemen, and of their defeat and the death of four of the family at the hands of their hereditary foes, the Ursini. Then followed the fall and flight of Rienzi himself, after proving his utter incapacity to undertake the work of reorganizing a tumultuous town. But Petrarch after all did not lose his confidence in Rienzi, and at a later day, when this singular man emerged again, manifested a lively sympathy for him—a sympathy which was the result of his classical tastes and training, more probably, than of the hope that a quiet abode could be found again for the Popes in the imperial city.

In 1348 the great plague, so fatal in many parts of Europe, occurred and snatched away a number of Petrarch's friends—Laura among the rest, as we have had occasion to mention. In the years after this he resided chiefly at Parma and Padua, visiting Rome during the Jubilee of 1350 and taking Florence on his way. It was at this time that he formed an acquaintance with Boccaccio, whose influence probably procured the decree for restoring his father's property, to which we have

before alluded. In 1351 we find him at Vacluse. In 1353 he returns to Italy, never to leave its soil again, residing for some years at Milan, under the protection of the Viscontis, and then at Venice and Padua. Near the latter city he built, in 1370, a small country house at Arquà, on the Euganean hills, and died there in 1372.

Petrarch was a mere man of letters, and when employed out of his sphere, discovered no political ability or comprehension. His mind was a highly sensitive and imaginative one; but his poetical powers, on which his fame chiefly rests, were not of the very highest order; and his principal prose works—his Latin moral essays—are chiefly common-places drawn from others, rather than the products of original thought. His Latin style, and indeed his classical culture in general, were above the level of his age; but he was far from reaching that polish in the use of the ancient language, to which many of his countrymen attained in the next century, and in a higher degree afterwards. His character was a feeble, but not an unamiable one. His love to Laura, his great vanity and fondness for praise, and an amount of religious conviction not great enough to make him a religious man, but great enough to teach him the vanity of that which he was striving after and to fill him with self-reproach, are the keys which unlock his life. His love to Laura he claims to have been pure and innocent. That it was sincere and strong we do not doubt; yet he admits, in his dialogue with St. Augustine, that it was too violent and irrational. Moreover what could he have looked forward to, if it had been gratified—he, an ecclesiastic under vows of celibacy. Nor did it, if pure and strong, keep him from evil. At its height he had a bastard son by another woman, and another such offspring—a daughter, born in 1343, was afterwards married to a Milanese nobleman and became the companion of Petrarch's declining years. He, however, assures us, in a letter to Boccaccio,—and we take great pleasure in citing the passage,—that he broke away from the slavery of sin. “Now for many years,” says he, “and more perfectly since the Jubilee [in 1350], I have remained so free of that pestilence, that now I hate it infinitely more than I loved it once, so that in turning over the

thought of it in my mind, I feel shame and horror. Jesus Christ, my liberator, knows that I say the truth, he who, often prayed to by me with tears, has given me his hand in pity, and lifted me up to himself." Alas that the rule of forced celibacy should have been a snare to so many men in the middle ages, that the Church winked at concubinage because it prohibited marriage to the clergy.

The intense love of praise which Petrarch indulged and condemned led him to jealousies, invectives, and a measurement of everybody by a reference to himself. These active principles met with a foe in his religious convictions, which may have been strong from the qualities of his nature, but must have been strengthened by reading the confessions of St. Augustine, in which he took great delight, and which may have suggested to him the out-spoken freedom with which he touches upon his own faults in some of his works. That such a book should be one of his favorites speaks well for him. And yet his weakness and inconsistency are such that the feelings he expresses concerning the vanity of his pursuits and of his worldly passions, especially of his self-consuming love, look more like a parade or an atonement than like repentance. He lived on applause and could not live without it; but his better nature, aided by such counselors as Augustine, told him that he was far below the true life. His confessions are more than empty common-places, but his character was not transformed in consequence of his convictions.

We have dwelt the longer on Petrarch's life, because he was the representative of humanism before it attained its acme, and in a sense the leader of the whole movement. Stating its characteristics as they appear in him, in a formal way, for the sake of greater precision, we may say,

1. That Petrarch opened the new humanistic tendency in this, that without any particular calling, and from an innate love, he gave himself to the study of such ancient classics as he could find, not as a philologist or as a student of antiquity, but as a man of taste. The classics had been before means to an end, they had been the means of training the young, of studying philosophy, of gathering encyclopædic collections of facts,



but now the demands of the taste are recognized, a new want is felt by a gifted and sensitive soul; cultivation, by means of authors regarded as the best models, is henceforth to undermine the old mode of education, and a new race of men of taste is to appear.

2. The renown of Petrarch was greatly owing to his Latin writings, which are now obsolete and forgotten, and to a style in writing Latin, which was excellent for the day, although neither very correct nor smooth. He was a literary man, with a public who admired and courted him a century before the Germans discovered printing. He and the admiring public acknowledged the great importance of Latin literature and Latin studies. Thus there begins to be a demand for men who are neither legists, nor canonists, nor schoolmen, nor poets of the vulgar dialect, nor even mere collectors of scattered knowledge, like Brunetti and others before him. This shows a beginning of a new time. A man of taste and cultivation is now held in honor.

3. Petrarch's taste was in so great a degree formed by the study of ancient authors, and his mind of such a texture, that he turned away without interest, or even in disgust, from the productions of mediæval learning, from school theology, from civil law, from Aristotelian philosophy. Something brighter and sunnier was needed for his relaxed hours, and his more serious hours were occupied by meditations like those of Seneca and other ancient moralists. Here we see a mind turning away from the stores of thought laid up by the four preceding centuries to the well of ancient literature undefiled. Unlike Dante, who fed on Aristotle and school theology, he had become more modern by going back further into antiquity.

4. In a degree the love of fame, as a motive of exertion for a literary man, was now new, and was fostered by catching the spirit of heathenism. Petrarch lived on applause, as we have seen, and was miserable or indignant under censuring criticism. The love of fame was a heathen sentiment, the substitute for the favor of God. It was condemned by the severe morality of the fathers and the schoolmen. Dante may have loved applause, but what more strikes us is that he is a

proud man, sufficient for himself, and therefore ready to condemn a fault like the love of applause which attaches itself, as a parasitic plant, to other men, to one's own time, to the world. In the eleventh Canto of the Purgatory, he has these lines :

“Non è il mondan romore altro che un fiato  
Di vento, che or vien quinci, or vien quindi,  
E muta nome perchè muta lato.”

And then, he adds, “What fame wilt thou have, if thou separate from thee the flesh in old age more than if thou wert dead ere leaving the babblings of infancy, when a thousand years have passed away, which is a shorter space compared with eternity than the moving of the eyelids is to the slowest of the circles in heaven.” Thus the Christian idea of eternity comes in to temper the thirst for human praise, and to lead the soul to value, beyond all opinions, the opinion of the absolute one. But the heathen world having no such idea, human judgments of the time and of the future were the highest praise attainable. Now these heathen views seem to be brought back in the case of Petrarch, although not without scruple and self-condemnation. It is true that before this, in the feudal times, the knight contended in the lists for honor, but this was a momentary contest, while the man of letters, after receiving the heathen spirit in him, was moulded by it, had it always before him as a motive, and with it those literary jealousies, those rancors, and envyings which it engendered.

5. The recovery of manuscripts of the ancient classics now came to be regarded as a thing of high importance, and in this, preëminently, Petrarch led the way.

Petrarch owned a manuscript in his youth which contained several works of Cicero, and among the rest, as he believed in his old age, the now lost essay, *de Gloria*. Having lent this to his teacher, he never could recover it, and supposed that the old man, who was quite poor, had parted with it for money. But there is reason to believe that his memory confounded this with some other treatise of Cicero. Another work which he professes to have seen in his youth, was a treatise of Varro “on divine and human things,” i. e., his antiquities; and another still, a collection of epigrams and letters of Augustus,

both of which, if indeed he saw them, and was not led astray by his memory, have remained buried since. In 1345, he was fortunate enough to get into his hands at Verona, a manuscript containing the letters of Cicero *ad diversos*, and obtained from some other source those to Atticus, to Cicero's brother Quintus, and to M. Brutus. The letters of Cicero had been unknown and unread since the tenth century.\* The effect of finding this new treasure was very great, both in giving to scholars a model of letter writing, and in stimulating them to become imitators of the great Roman. Every humanist of eminence thenceforth valued himself on his skill in this branch of literature, and large collections of letters have been published, or lie in the libraries of Italy. It was a great source of grief to him that he could not find a complete Livy; the first, third, and fourth decades were then known, and he took great, although fruitless, pains to recover the second. In 1350, on a journey to Rome, with the help of Lapo de Castiglionchio the elder, he found an imperfect codex of Quintilian at Florence—an author whom he had long been searching for. The same person lent him a rare manuscript of some of Cicero's orations, and, also, it would seem, another of the Philippics, and of the oration for Milo. He retained the manuscript four years, until he had copied it with his own hand, for he feared the errors of careless transcribers. To this painful employment he was much addicted. The Florentine library (the Laurentian) now possesses Petrarch's copies of all Cicero's letters, and of Quintilian, and a Virgil transcribed by him is, if we mistake not, in the Ambrosian library at Milan.

6. The pains Petrarch took to hunt up manuscripts, and make enquiries, when from one Roman author he had drawn some light relative to another, may be illustrated by his own words, as quoted by Tiraboschi, (V. 90, ed. of 1783): "Having by some reputation for genius and knowledge contracted many friendships, and being in a place (Avignon) to which

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\* The codex found by Petrarch at Verona, containing the letters *ad diversos*, is the only old one, Petrarch's transcript ranking second in age. The codex or codices, containing the other letters, are lost, so that Petrarch's copy of those is now our only authority for the text. See Orelli in Jahn's *Jahrbücher*, I. 2, 231.

many persons resorted from all parts of the world, when I was asked by my friends, according to custom, on taking leave of them, if there was nothing in their country which I desired, nothing, I replied, except the works of Cicero, and for those alone I made entreaty both by word of mouth and by letter. How many times did I repeat my prayers, how often did I send money not only to Italy, where I was more known, but to France also, to Germany, and even to Spain and Great Britain,—I will add, into Greece! Thus, with great labor and anxiety, I have collected many small books, but sometimes duplicates, and rarely those which I wished for above all others. When I was on a journey, if I happened to see an ancient monastery in the distance, I would turn aside to it, for who knows, said I within myself, but that here I may find what I desire."

7. In this way Petrarch not only awakened a zeal for old manuscripts, but set the example of private collections of the classics. "His collection," says Professor Voigt, "was the first modern library. He had once a plan according to which his books—and those of Boccaccio were to be united with them—should be deposited in some pious spot 'to his perpetual remembrance.' And although this plan and a later one of giving his collection to the republic of Venice were not carried into execution, still the thought did not perish afterwards, and many a noble treasure of classical literature has been saved by it. In the same manner Petrarch turned an enquiring eye on other treasures of antiquity, and awakened a desire for their preservation. He was able to show the Emperor Charles IV. some coins of Roman emperors, as monuments of his predecessors; indeed, he was, so far as we know, the first who collected old coins and medals."

8. Petrarch may also be called the restorer of Hellenic literature in western Europe. But inasmuch as he and Boccaccio moved together in this respect, we shall defer what we have to say of Petrarch's Greek studies, until we speak, as we propose to do at once, of the Florentine novelist, and his services in the revival of classical antiquity.

Giovanni, son of a Florentine merchant of no great wealth,

named Boccaccio da Certaldo, was born in 1313, when Petrarch was nine years old, and was destined by his father first for a mercantile life, and then, when he showed a decided dislike for this, was put to the study of canon law, to which he was equally averse. His father's death left him, in his five and twentieth year, free to adopt more agreeable plans of life, and he became a man of letters, like Petrarch, whom he admired, and to whom he was bound in the latter part of his life by the ties of a devoted friendship. A small competence, or something just above the state of poverty, contented him. Although neither his wealth nor standing made him prominent in Florence, and although he seems to have loved a retired, quiet life, he was more than once, after he had acquired reputation, sent upon embassies by his townsmen, as to the lord of Ravenna, to the German Emperor, and to the Pope at Avignon. His Italian works were chiefly written in the earlier period of his life. Of his poems we name the *Teseide* or *Theseid*, an epic poem in *ottava rima*—of which verse he is reputed the inventor—several shorter poems of romantic love, the *Ameto* or *Admetus*, a pastoral partly in prose, sonnets, and canzoni. Posterity has forgotten these poems, and the critics decide that he was more ambitious of fame than gifted with poetical power. In Italian prose he stands incomparably higher, for though certain prose romances—the *Philocopo*, *Fiammetta*, *Laberinto*,—exceptionable in character and not particularly happy in style—are now almost unread, the *Decamerone*,—a series of one hundred stories, supposed to be told by a company gathered at Florence during the year of the plague, 1348,—reprehensible as it is on the score of its morality, is and ever will be one of the standard and most popular classics of the Italian tongue. And well does it deserve to keep its place in literature, if measured simply by its geniality, and the graceful softness of the style. It is, in fact, the work which formed Italian prose more than any other.

The Latin productions of Boccaccio present a marked contrast with the *Decamerone*. They are lumbering collections, gathered by a plodder, from those works of classical antiquity to which he had access, with no mark of genius or taste about

them. His principal work is entitled, "*de genealogia Deorum*," of which Professor Voigt says, that although we have in it the first comprehensive manual relating to ancient learning, yet it rises not above the imperfect tasteless manner of the earlier centuries. Another compilation of the same kind, "*de montium, fluminum, etc., nominibus*," is nothing but a geographical lexicon. The works "*de claris mulieribus*" and "*de casibus virorum et feminarum illustrium*," seem to be mere gleanings from antiquity, devoid of merit; and his Latin style itself is said to be quite rude. Some, if not all of these works, employed his later years.

But if Boccaccio's geniality and taste deserted him when he entered into the classical field, his zeal in this department was as fervent as that of Petrarch. He copied with his own hand a number of manuscripts, and in this way collected something of a library, which, instead of being dispersed like Petrarch's, was given by his testament to one of the Augustinian monks of the Convent of the Holy Spirit at Florence, for his use and that of the fraternity after his death.

Boccaccio again was in a higher degree the restorer of Greek study in Italy than Petrarch was enabled to be, with all his higher influence on his age and times.

The person who taught Petrarch what little Greek he knew was a Calabrian of the name of Barlaam, who became in his youth a monk of the order of St. Basil, emigrated into Greece, and in 1327 took up his abode at Constantinople. Here he secured the favor of the Emperor, and his favorite, John Cantacuzenus, and received an appointment to teach theology, the system of Dionysius, the Areopagite so called, and belles lettres. Not long after this he became abbot of the Monastery of the Holy Spirit at Constantinople, and we find him there defending the dogmas of the Greeks before two legates, whom Pope John XXII. had sent to the Byzantine capital to treat of a union of the two churches. Next he was involved in a controversy with the monks of Mt. Athos, on the supremely ridiculous question whether the light upon Mt. Tabor at the trans-

figuration was divine or divinely created; he maintaining the latter position on this great question.\*

In 1339 he was sent to the courts of the West by the Emperor Andronicus, under pretext of promoting the union of the churches, for the purpose of obtaining succor against the Turks. The negotiation was as fruitless as was the renewal of his Taborite controversy after his return to Constantinople, where a synod, assembled in 1341, was not favorable to his opinions. This seems to have led him to return to Italy on his own account. He first appears at Naples, then at Avignon, in 1342, where he formed the acquaintance of Petrarch, and after renouncing the errors of the Greek Church, was made, at the instance of the poet and of others, Bishop of Geraci in Calabria.

We have dwelt the longer on this man because he serves as a type of the Greeks, who, in the troublous times of the decaying empire, took refuge in Italy, renounced their schismatic opinions, and found a living in a benefice of the church, or in a professional chair of some university. But what the man accomplished, probably what he was able to accomplish, in the case of Petrarch, was very little, for his knowledge of Latin was trifling and the time of instruction not long. Petrarch never went so far as to overcome the first difficulties of the language, not even so far apparently as to read with any facility the easiest Greek author. In his dialogues with St. Augustin, (*de contemptu mundi*, written in 1343), the latter is made to say "thou couldest have learned such things from the books of Plato, which, as the report is, have been eagerly read by thee of late." To which Petrarch replies, "I have undertaken to read them with a lively hope and with great desire, but the newness of the language and the hasty departure of my master cut short my designs." From this it would appear that he

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\* The controversy was carried on by him against monks who held mystical views, and it related more especially to their theory and practice of prayer, and to the light of transfiguration, which they held to be divine, and even to be the divine essence. The controversy ran back, therefore, to the divine essence itself. The Greeks spoke ill of the learning and the character of Barlaam; not without justice, probably, at least so far as regards the first. See Schröckh Kirchen-gesch. Vol. 34, 431—450.

either owned, or for a time had the use of some of the Platonic dialogues, and from another passage it seems to be made out that they were his own property. About the year 1354 he received a copy of Homer from one of his admirers in Constantinople, Nicolaus Sigeros by name, to whom, in returning thanks for the precious gift, he expresses his regret that he cannot enjoy the Greek poet as he would, and begs to have Hesiod and Euripides sent to him.

Boccaccio went much farther into the Greek language, although he probably never read it with any great ease or pleasure. He is said to have learned the mere elements of the language at Naples, but his master, in the proper sense, was Leon, or Leontius Pilatus, a Calabrian, who gave himself out as a Greek when it suited his humor or his interest. Having landed at Venice in 1360, in order to proceed to the Pope's residence at Avignon, he was persuaded by Boccaccio to turn aside to Florence, where the poet took him into his house, received instructions from him for a considerable time, procured him to translate Homer into Latin, and obtained for him a place among the teachers of the Florentine Studio or University. "I was the first," says he, "among the Italians that heard him privately explain the Iliad, I, who brought it about that the books of Homer were publicly expounded."

For three years Boccaccio devoted himself to the study of Greek, especially of Homer—a manuscript of whose works he obtained,—under this Calabrian. The Latin translation above spoken of, which comprised both the Iliad and Odyssey, he wrote out himself, and lent it afterwards to Petrarch for him to copy. It is characterized as a bald, literal translation, intended for learners, and expressed in faulty Latin. There was an earlier translation by some unknown person, which gave no satisfaction, although attributed to Pindar the Theban!

If we take into consideration that Petrarch's example and counsel awakened the desire in Boccaccio to become acquainted with Greek in his maturer life, and that from him the impulse extended, we must regard these two eminent authors as entitled to the praise of reviving the study of Greek in Western Europe. And the pains taken by Boccaccio to procure a trans-



lation of Homer, was the beginning of a much more extensive movement afterward, in which the greater part of the Greek authors were made accessible by means of Latin translations. As for Boccaccio himself, he conned over his Homer rather as furnishing antiquarian materials than as the prince of song. Indeed his whole relation to classical learning shows no taste nor inspiration.

Boccaccio was a prototype of the later humanists in this also,—that the spirit of heathenism had infected him. In his *Fiammetta*, according to Sismondi, he mingled up heathen mythology with the saints and angels, as if they were equally real,—a syncretism which prevailed to a disgusting degree afterwards. It is strange that the man who admired Dante, publicly interpreted his poems, and wrote a commentary on a part of the *Inferno* of that deeply Christian poet, who showed far more appreciation of the *Divina Commedia* than Petrarch exhibited,—that he should have had such a heathen side to his character. But his life was not moral, until he was advanced in years, when he repented of his earlier course and of his works, which he would gladly have suppressed, had they not been diffused rapidly over Italy.

The amount of Greek learning in Italy, so far as Petrarch, who had a very extensive acquaintance, was able to estimate it, is shown by a passage in a letter which after his fashion he addressed to Homer, in answer to one which he feigns himself to have received from the poet. The date is 1360, six years after his copy of Homer came from Constantinople. "It is not strange," says he, "that you have found only three friends in a city which devotes itself to commerce. If you will look further you will find a fourth; it would be proper to add a fifth, a person honored with a crown, but the Babylon beyond the mountains [Avignon] has taken him from us. Five in one single city, are they nothing? Search for them in other cities. One you will find in Bologna, mother of studies; two in Verona; one you might have found in Mantua, unless heaven had taken him from the earth, and unless he had left your standards for those of Ptolemy. Perugia has produced a single one, who would have made great progress if he had been more diligent,

and if he had not abandoned Parnassus, the Apennines, and the Alps, in order to travel in Spain. At Rome there is no one. Certain others I once knew elsewhere, who are now no longer living." Who these persons were, the cautious and judicious Tiraboschi is not in all cases able to decide;\* thus much we draw from Petrarch's words, that ten persons within his acquaintance had some knowledge,—we might say some smattering of Greek.

Among the most intelligent admirers of classical antiquity in the later years, and after the death of Petrarch, is to be named Coluccio (i. e. Niccolo) Salutato, the son of an exile from Florence, who found employment in the service of the Lord of Bologna. Coluccio, born in 1330, received his education in that city, and after a compulsory initiation into civil law, gave himself up, on the death of his father, to eloquence and poetry. In 1368 we find him Apostolical Secretary to Pope Urban V., and seven years after he received the appointment of Secretary to the Priors, or Chancellor of the Republic of Florence, an office which he retained until his death, in 1406, at the age of seventy-six. His classical learning and taste led him to introduce into the language of the bureau a new elegance and refinement, and his official letters were admired and imitated. One of the humanists of the next age, Giannozzo Manetti, expresses a general opinion when he says that Salutato "*epistolas privatas et publicas pene infinitas ita egregie dictavit, ut in hoc epistolarum genere consensu omnium regnare diceretur.*"

As a literary man, outside of his Chancery, he showed himself a warm and active friend both of Italian and Latin letters. Petrarch was his idol, of whose excellences he was never weary of speaking, and when Boccaccio died in the midst of a negotiation for getting the *Africa* copied and sent to Florence, he took the place of his friend, had a copy taken, "and with the epic, as it were, carried the spirit of Petrarch to Florence." So also he honored the memory of Boccaccio, nor withheld admiration even from his dull compilation *de genealogia deorum*

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\* Tiraboschi, V. 400—401. First edition.

Salutato's own poetical efforts were received with applause by his contemporaries; but neither these, nor to any great extent his essays, have seen the light. Among his works we name a Latin epic poem on the wars of Pyrrhus, King of Epirus, against the Romans, no doubt suggested by the Africa of Petrarch; eclogues and elegies in the same language; an essay, *de nobilitate legum et medicinarum*, which has been printed; lives of Dante, Petrarch, and Boccaccio. Many of his letters have been printed, while others still remain in manuscript. His style, admired as it was, is pronounced by Voigt to be tumid and wanting in naturalness,—far inferior to that of Gasparino of Barzizza, who in the next age taught letter writing, as a branch of classical training, with Cicero for his model.

Salutato also gave his attention in his leisure hours to the collecting of Latin books, and to collations, with a view to secure their correctness. He gathered, it is said, six hundred volumes, which his heirs, to whom he left nothing but what he had received from his father, disposed of by sale. We find him improving the text of Seneca and of some writings of St. Augustine, by comparing manuscripts. We find him writing to France for Abelard's works, for an entire Quintilian, and the books on music attributed to St. Augustine, if they could be found there. He led the way in modern criticism, when, against the received opinion, he contended that the philosopher Seneca could not be the author of the tragedies ascribed to him.

Salutato seems to have been a most faithful and worthy citizen,—manly, severe, and yet friendly. One of the leading humanists of the Fifteenth Century, Leonardo Bruni, thus speaks of him:—"If I have learned Greek,\* I owe it to Co-

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\* There is no evidence that Salutato himself ever acquired even the elements of Greek. Here we may mention what might have found a place in the text, that Salutato was concerned in a dispute with a Carmelite monk, who contended that the profane classics ought not to be read, and by his arguments induced some to look with disfavor on Augustine's *City of God*, because it contained so many extracts from heathen authors. This is a significant fact, as foreshadowing the still more pronounced opposition between the humanists of the next century, and the more zealous clergy, who saw in them a new power, and a heathenish, anti-clerical, anti-scholastic spirit.

Iuccio; if I have studied Latin with no small pains, I owe it to Coluccio; if I have read, studied, and understood the poets, the orators, and all the other writers of antiquity, this I owe to Coluccio. No father ever loved a son with a tenderness equal to that he felt towards me. Deceived by this love, he said that my talents were so suited to these studies, that if I had wished to take any other direction, he would have seized my hand and forced me back into this path."

The magistrates and people of Florence honored Salutato with a public funeral and crowned him with laurel in his coffin. It was ordered that he should be called Messer Coluccio, Poeta, and should have a beautiful monument of marble in the Church of St. Maria del Fiore, where he was buried. A respect for his memory, not more honorable to his character as a man than revealing the esteem in which letters were held by the commune of Florence.

The age, or half century, succeeding the death of Petrarch and Boccaccio, was one of steady advance in the number of students of ancient literature and the humanistic spirit; but it raised up no eminent person, and the progress of the movement was slow. This slowness will not be wondered at, when we reflect on the infrequency of books,—the whole stock in trade of a scholar consisting perhaps of a few orations of Cicero, or of Virgil, copied with great pains by himself,—on the rarity of public libraries, and the tardiness with which manuscripts of authors, as yet unknown, were drawn forth from their hiding places, and on the imperfect means of instruction, particularly in the Greek language. What arrests our attention in this age, is the increasing disposition of the great to patronize letters, and the awakening of minds towards the classics, produced by several teachers of eminence, who, without genius or great abilities, kindled the flame of humanism in various parts of Italy where they were engaged as instructors.

One of these was John of Ravenna, or Giovanni Malpaghino. Of him Petrarch thus speaks in a letter to Boccaccio:\*

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\* Tirab. v. 554, ed. 1; v. 946, ed. 2, Milan, 1823.

"A year after your departure (1364) there came to my house a youth of noble nature—born on the Adriatic about the time, if I do not mistake, when you were there, (1347)—born of an obscure and unknown family; but furnished with sobriety and senile gravity, with an acute mind, and with a quick and strong memory. In eleven days he learnt by heart my twelve eclogues, and recited one of them daily, and on the last day two, with as much freedom as if he had the book under his eye. He has besides, what is so rare, the gift of invention, and a great turn for poetry. By his qualities he has so taken hold of me that he is as dear to me as a son to a father. He has been with me two years already, and would have come before, but his age would scarcely have permitted."

John remained with Petrarch as his scribe three years or more, collected his letters into a volume and grew into a learned scholar under his influence. Wanting, however, a better position, and being desirous to see the world, he offended the poet by leaving him, and he speaks of John's unsteadiness in somewhat harsh terms, without however being wholly alienated from him. For a time he was scribe or chancellor at the little court of Carrara, then we find him engaged as a teacher, with frequent change of place, at Padua, Florence, Venice, and probably elsewhere, in the interpretation of Cicero and the Roman poets. We trace him as living until 1412. His works were unimportant and sunk soon into oblivion. But he raised up, or was one of those who coöperated in forming quite a number of the humanists of the fifteenth Century. Francis Barbaro of Venice, Palla Strozzi, Robert Rossi, Charles and Leonard of Arezzo, Poggio, Guarino, Vittorino of Feltre, Ambrogio Traversari, Peter Paul Vergerio and others, came from his school,—all men of mark.

What John of Ravenna accomplished in the way of promoting Latin scholarship, and in a less degree Gasparino of Barzizza,\*—of whom we have already spoken, and who in the

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\* We know not why Leo, in his *Gesch. Italiens*, singles this man out, with one or two others, as among the more distinguished humanists,—a rank to which he seems to have no claim.

first thirty years of the Fifteenth Century moved the seat of his instructions from one to another city of Northern Italy,—that Manuel or Emanuel Chrysoloras (Manuello Grisolaras, as the Italians call him), accomplished for the study of Greek. This man, a member of a distinguished family, was born at Constantinople about the year 1350, and seems already to have filled a professor's chair in that city, when in 1393 he was sent by the Emperor Manuel Palaeologus II. to beg aid from the Western Powers against the Turks. With him came another Greek, Demetrius Cydonius, who, during his stay at Venice, seems to have given instructions to Roberto Rossi, already mentioned,—a Florentine nobleman. Having accomplished his task without much success, Chrysoloras returned to the East, accompanied by a noble Florentine, Giacomo d'Angelo, in whom the desire of studying Greek was awakened, as we learn from a letter addressed to him by Salutato, who charged him, "to bring back with him a store of Greek manuscripts; all the historians, especially Plutarch; all the poets; above all, a Homer written on parchment in plain letters, and not to forget vocabularies." (Voigt, p. 130).

It was now perhaps that the celebrated schoolmaster, Guarino of Verona, received lessons from him, during his five years residence in Constantinople.\* In 1396, Chrysoloras, at the instigation of Coluccio, Rossi, Palla Strozzi and others, was invited to Florence to hold a "public school," i. e. to give lectures on the Greek language, upon an appointment for ten years; and a letter from Coluccio to Giacomo d'Angelo is extant in which the former urges the latter to persuade the Greek to embrace the offer. He was to receive one hundred florins as his stipend, and in case he delayed coming until after the first of January following, the election was to be void.† He came, and with him the first Greek teaching by a competent master

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\* Or this visit of Guarino may have been earlier than 1393. He died in 1460, aged 88. Born soon after 1370.—Tiraboschi (VI. 1460, edition 2) assigns that year to his birth,—he would be 21 or 22 when he began his Greek studies, on the supposition that he had Chrysoloras for his instructor in 1393, or just afterwards.

† Voigt says that the salary was 150 gold gulden or florins, and was raised to 250.

commences; in fact all the Greek scholars of the earlier part of the Fifteenth Century, with one or two exceptions, proceeded from his school. He stayed at Florence about three years, then joined his Emperor, who had come into Italy in person, and after a long visit to the ultramontane regions returned to the peninsula, where he gave instructions in Greek at Milan, Padua, Venice, and Rome. Having conformed to the Catholic church, he was taken by Cardinal Zabarella to the council of Constance, to serve as an interpreter or mediator in interviews with an embassy from Greece, but died in 1415, before they arrived, and was buried, with the honor of a funeral oration, in the city of the Council. He seems, from the expressions of respect which his scholars utter towards him, to have been an honorable and wise man.

There was, of course, great want of a Greek grammar, which the learner could keep with him, and Chrysoloras was the first to supply this want by his "*erotemata*," which we may conjecture to have been first propounded to his scholars in daily lectures, and afterwards used in its completed form as an aid to study. This work in its original shape, or in that of an epitome prepared by Guarino of Verona, passed through a number of editions after the discovery of printing, the first, with designation of the year, belonging to 1484. Six years before this, in 1476, the earliest printed Greek work, a grammar of another but later Greek teacher—Constantine Lascaris,—had appeared at Milan. A little afterwards, in 1497, according to Fabricius, (*Bibl. Græc.*, edition Harless, VI. 651), appeared the first Greek lexicon, prepared by Giovanni Crastone or Crestone, a Carmelite monk, born in Piacenza. We can have little conception now how much the want of a general vocabulary must have impeded the progress of the first students of Greek, before the invention of printing. After the first grammatical difficulties were overcome, the lecturer must have turned a passage, word by word, into Latin, and in this way have made the learner acquainted with the meanings of words, he meanwhile preparing perhaps or copying a manuscript vocabulary for himself.

## ARTICLE VI.—SOUTHERN EVANGELIZATION.

AT the commencement of this war we were often sneeringly asked the question—"Suppose you conquer the South, what are you going to do with it?" This question, impertinent then, becomes pertinent now. A considerable part of the South is conquered. The Federal flag floats in triumph over the principal parts of Missouri, Arkansas, Tennessee, and Louisiana. United States laws are enforced, United States Courts administer justice, United States authority is recognized and submitted to. And now the question does arise, full of perplexity, what are we going to do with the conquered territory.

For it is apparent to the dullest of vision that we must do something. To conquer alone is not enough. It is impossible permanently to substitute military rule for civil authority, or make the President a permanent autocrat of the subjugated territory. All military governorships are temporary expedients;—doubtful ones at that. Where the Confederate authority has been destroyed, there the Federal authority must be restored in its *legitimate* and *constitutional* forms. Where the political and social despotism of the slave oligarchy has been destroyed, a permanent republicanism must be reorganized. Destruction must be followed by reconstruction. The history of liberty teaches us this necessity. When the despotism that enthralled has been destroyed, it still remains to frame liberty into institutions and political organisms, or the victory proves short-lived indeed. Thus, in the French Revolution brave men battled successfully against despotism: conquered the enemies of liberty, destroyed the throne, and deprived the aristocracy of place and power. But there was no one wise to gather up the fruits of victory, and to organize institutions of liberty adapted to the people and the times. So the torch of freedom became the incendiary fire of anarchy, and one despotism was overthrown only to make room for another. The Roman people did not lack the power to destroy their op-



pressors. But because they lacked wisdom, self-restraint, or patriotism to frame permanent republican institutions, all their victories were barren, and they escaped the oppressions of one tyrant only to fall under those of another. Cromwell had the genius of combat. He fought bravely and well against the oppressions of a corrupt court and a prostituted nobility. But he lacked either the wisdom or the self-sacrificing patriotism to establish instituted liberty in place of the despotism which he had overthrown. And the reign of Charles I. was followed by the equally disgraceful reigns of Charles II. and James. The European Reformation and the American Revolution afford upon the other hand striking illustrations of the value of construction, as well as destruction, in all revolutionary periods. Luther was characteristically the destructionist of the Reformation. He wielded a battle-axe that clave asunder the doctrines and oppressions of the Church of Rome. He did a noble soldier's work. All honor to him for it. Yet we cannot fail to notice that Germany, his battle-field, is today the hot-house of infidelity, whence England and America import most of their stock. He was followed by Calvin, the patriot constructionist of the Reformation, who reformed a system of Christian truth to take the place of the fabulous superstitions which his predecessor had so nobly combated, and organized a church where Luther had destroyed one,—and the insignificant republic of Geneva, his humble home, has been ever since the world's nursery of freedom in Church and State; whence the trees of Calvin's planting have been transplanted to the congenial soil of America, though somewhat improved with occasional new graftings. The American Revolution might have ended as did the French, as have many others, in anarchy and a deeper despotism, had not God given us wise statesmen, able to unite the discordant colonies in a strong, central, and free government.

Let us learn then a lesson from the experience of the past. To fight, to die even, for liberty, is not enough. When the enemies of the Republic have been conquered in battle, the *preparation* for the nation's work has been done; that is all. It then remains to enter upon the territory emancipated by

the sword, and there establish in a permanent form the living institutions of freedom. We have not only to conquer the South,—we have also to convert it. We have not only to occupy it by bayonets and bullets,—but also by ideas and institutions. We have not only to destroy slavery,—we must also organize freedom. If we fail in our second task, success in the first will be of little use. The political problems involved in the delicate and difficult work of reconstruction are already engaging the attention of our wisest statesmen, as well they may. But, as we hope to show, there are religious problems connected with this subject which demand the attention of the church and ministry. To these we desire briefly to advert;—rather to provoke attention to the problem than to offer any satisfactory solution of it.

Two conditions are absolutely essential to the perpetuity of republican institutions: popular intelligence and popular morality. In other words, before any people are competent to govern themselves successfully, they must possess intelligence and sound morals. Hence two institutions are essential to their preservation: common schools and Christian churches. Free institutions without general intelligence can exist only in name. There is no despotism so cruel and remorseless as that of an unreasoning mob. Men who do not know how to govern themselves cannot know how to govern a great country. The ignorance of the masses, and the consequent power of the few, alone made this rebellion possible. The power has been taken from the few. It remains to give knowledge to the masses. But knowledge alone is not enough. For, while intelligence tends to make *men* free, it does not suffice to constitute a free *State*. And it is not enough to emancipate individuals from iniquitous thralldom. That liberty may be permanent, it must be organic. Heads, legs, arms, trunks, gathered in an indiscriminate pile from the battle-field, cannot make a single man. They must be united by sinews and ligaments, inspired with life, and governed by one dominant head. So a mass of individuals, however free, gathered together, do not constitute a free Republic. Individualism is the characteristic of simple barbarism, not of republican civilization. They

pressors. But because they lacked wisdom and patriotism to frame permanent republican institutions, their victories were barren, and they escaped only to fall under those of another tyrant only to fall under those of another genius of combat. He fought bravely against the oppressions of a corrupt court and he lacked either the wisdom or the courage to establish instituted liberty; he had overthrown. And he was followed by the equally dishonest James. The European Revolution afforded upon the value of construction during any periods. Luther of the Reformation sunder the doctrine.

He did a noble deed; we cannot fairly say the hot-blooded patriot could have known how to be free; they

A body of men united only in the name of freedom, and recklessly refusing obedience to any rules, constitutes, not an admirable system, but a hideous and terrible mob. Reasonable submission is essential to the preservation of organized liberty. We must cherish liberty, not only for ourselves, but for our neighbors. "Liberty, Equality, Fraternity," the motto of the French Republic, was right;—and fraternity is as essential to the preservation of institutions as liberty and equality. A State in which every man claims freedom for himself, but contemptuously denies it to his neighbor, is in perpetual discord, and always ripe for civil war, as the history of the South American Republics too well attests. Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself, is the organic law of republicanism. Liberty, law, love, these are the three watchwords of organic freedom.

Thus to constitute a permanently free State, men must be taught not only their rights, but also their duties and their obligations. Submission must be inculcated, conscience must be educated, a generous love must be inspired. To establish liberty it is not enough to strike in sunder with the sword the chains which bind men. They must be bound together not,

Southern Evangelization

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indeed, with handcuffs, as in a chain-gang, but with bands more enduring, because wrought of God,—bands of duty and affection. Thus the gospel is needed to prepare the way for true freedom. In truth, the principles of religion underlie republicanism. Religion teaches man that he is a son of God, and thus makes him unwilling to be a slave of man. She educates him to yield a willing submission to the sovereign power of God, and so renders it more easy for him to obey the reasonable requirements of his earthly superiors. And she inspires him with a universal affection for the human race, and so makes it possible for him to administer government in peace and amity with his fellows.

This is no fine-spun theorizing. History attests its verity. Existing heathenism does not produce a single instance of free government. The downfall of the Greek and Roman Republics demonstrates the instability of such as are not founded upon Christian principles. Not until the gospel was proclaimed, and the art of printing made its general diffusion among the people possible, was the way opened for the permanent establishment of free governments. And then freedom in the church preceded and made permanent freedom in the State. Men fought for religious liberty first, for civil liberty afterwards. First came the battles of conscience, afterwards the battles of States. The Reformation came before the civil war in the Netherlands, and the Revolution in England, and America. Protestantism prepared the way for republicanism.

If we mean, then, that our victories in the South shall permanently establish the safety of the Republic, we must follow them with other labors. Where we have destroyed slavery, we must organize liberty. Where we have destroyed the nation's enemies, we must establish these national supports,—free schools and free churches. The South now possesses neither of these.

In the colonial days the English government addressed certain questions to the American colonies, respecting their condition. In answer to one of these, the Governor of Connecticut replied that one-fourth of her income was expended in the maintenance of public schools. The Governor of Virginia replied: "I thank God that there are no free schools nor print-

ing, and I hope we shall not have them these hundred years." The fruit has been like the planting. In 1860 three-fourths of the children of Connecticut were attending public schools, while nine-tenths of the children of Virginia were suffered by the State to grow up in ignorance. In the same year the free States of Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois sent seven-ninths of their children to the common schools, while the slave State of Kentucky, but just across the border, out of 462,000 children educated but 97,000, or a little over one-fifth.

The census does not show the same disparity of the numbers of the churches; for the negroes are naturally religious. All who can avail themselves of what is often their only day of rest, and attend the religious services which are permitted to them. And the census knows no distinction between the white and colored churches. But the statistics of church property show (to compare only the same States) that Connecticut, with less than half the population of Virginia, has invested in churches nearly three-quarters of a million more than the latter State. But it is quite unnecessary to weary our readers with statistics, since any one may surfeit himself with them, and complete the comparison, by a simple inspection of the census for himself; while it is a notorious fact, needing no other demonstration than the existence of the Southern Aid Society, that even the older slave States have ever been as truly missionary ground as the newly-settled regions of the West. In these churches, too, such as they have been, a full and free gospel has never been preached. The South has possessed an expurgated Bible. Its ministry have preached an emasculated gospel. They have preached the law of God, omitting the command, "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself." They have treated religion as Solomon proposed to treat the child,—cut it in two. And the half which they have held before their congregations, doctrine without works, has been as James declares it ever will be,—dead.

Even these churches exist no longer. Soon after Nashville was occupied, Governor Johnson summoned the clergy to take the oath. Six of them refused. They were among the most prominent clergy of the city. They were exiled. Their

churches were closed. Whether they have ever been reopened we do not know. But we do know that everywhere throughout the South the priests of Pharaoh have perished with their masters beneath the Red Sea,—while their church organizations are disbanded, their congregations are scattered, and their church edifices are closed or temporarily converted into hospitals, barracks, and negro schools. Yet the Southern cities are not depopulated. They were never fuller of inhabitants than now. The people are there. The church edifices are there. But the ministry, and the churches, and the gospel are not there,—while a three-fold population cries out for them.

I. An immense negro population is receiving its freedom. Without a careful Christian education they cannot be expected to know how to use it. The gospel of freedom must be followed by the more glorious gospel of Christ. Wherever we carry the proclamation of emancipation, we have need to carry the sublime proclamation of a more glorious emancipation from Him who has said, "If the Son shall make you free, ye shall be free, indeed."

II. The poor whites. To this class, long held in substantial though not formal bondage, the war is giving political and social emancipation. To them we must also give free schools and a full gospel, or the liberty which they receive will prove only less disastrous than has their servitude. To give political power to the ignorant, without also affording them education, is but to put the helm of the Ship of State into the hands of those who will surely run it on the rocks.

III. Into this reopened territory Northern immigrants are already entering. Foreign immigrants will soon follow them. There is money to be made in the South. Every one is saying that. But where money is to be made there will go Northern enterprise. And where goes Northern enterprise there must be planted Northern churches. Let not the enterprise of mammon outrun that of the Christian disciples. We have need to beware lest the devil, having been cast out of the South, and the territory been swept and garnished, he go and get seven other devils and return, and the last state of that country prove worse than the first.

We have thus endeavored to show, that to perpetuate Republicanism in the South we must follow the terrible devastations of war, with the more grateful, though no less difficult, work of reconstruction. And that to this reconstruction, the establishment of free churches and the proclamation of a full gospel is absolutely essential. Let us add that the Christian churches of the North alone can do this indispensable work. Government cannot. For though religious institutions are essential to the Republic, the Republic cannot establish religious institutions. Church and State are forever divorced in America. And God forever avert the day when the churches of America shall lapse into the hands of the politicians! Then *all* will be gone. Nor can we trust to the return of the exiled ministry, and the resurrection of the dead churches. We cannot transform the old schools of slavery and treason into schools of loyalty and liberty. We cannot trust those who have preached their congregations into rebellion to preach them back again. This would be to emulate the wisdom of the philosopher of our nursery rhymes, the man who was so "wondrous wise,"

" Who jumped into the bramble bush  
And scratched out both his eyes.  
And when he saw his eyes were out,  
With all his might and main,  
He jumped into the bramble bush  
And scratched them in again."

Now too is the time to commence this work. While society is fermenting, and institutions are being created, and customs are being established, and public opinion is forming, and governments are in process of organization, is the time to impress upon this new organization its permanent character. While nature was in chaos God fashioned and formed it as it is. While the metal is molten is the time to stamp and mold it. The Egyptian husbandman, while the waters still overflowed the banks of the Nile, was accustomed in olden times to go out in his boat and drop the seed upon the surface of the waters, that it might enter the softened and prepared soil.

While the deluge of waters still overflows the fair fields of the South, is the very time for the Christian husbandman to sow the good seed, that when the waters shall retire it may be found already germinating—its growth beginning. Of one thing at least we may be sure. If the good man of the house sleeps, the adversary will not; but will sow tares if we sow not wheat. Finally, the free polity of the Congregationalists affords some peculiar advantages for this work. To enter the South in a spirit of denominational propagandism to plant churches already formed and organized, as men shipped houses all framed to California, would be, at least at present, to undertake a work of doubtful utility, and more than doubtful success. But the South affords a grand field for the practical application of the doctrines of Dr. Bacon's celebrated theses. For while the South would give but a surly welcome to Yankee missionaries coming with advertised purpose to plant Yankee churches, it will not refuse the assistance of Northern capital, and even of Northern ministers, who shall proffer to the people aid in organizing their own churches, upon the broad and catholic basis of a common Evangelical faith.

Doubtless this work is one of exceeding delicacy, and girt about by many difficulties. It has not been our purpose in this Article either to point out those difficulties or to undertake their solution. We wish simply to assist in deepening the increasing conviction of the importance of the work. We do not discuss, we only desire to provoke discussion. The importance can scarcely be overrated. There is great danger that it will not be sufficiently estimated; danger that we shall rest content with the victories of our arms, unconscious that they are fruitless indeed, unless followed up by the victories of Christian love; danger that we shall destroy only, not perceiving the necessity of thorough Christian reconstruction. Yet, certain it is that God never spake to his people of olden time with clearer revelation by his prophets than he now speaks to all loyal Christian churches by his Providence.

For years a great population, white and colored, possessing neither education nor a full and free gospel, have been right across our borders, awaiting the day of their redemption. But



we have never been able to reach them. It has been easier to preach the gospel in its fullness in Roman Catholic Italy, Mohammedan Turkey, heathen India, or barbaric Africa, than in the slaveholding States of Protestant America. To proclaim the gospel there the ministry were compelled to covenant not to preach what the sinners did not like to hear. The devil would let them preach, provided he might revise their sermons. The Congregationalists never accepted the conditions,—other denominations tried, but sickened of their bargain. The New School Presbyterians withdrew. The liberty-loving Methodists withdrew. The Home Missionary Society was driven out. The Tract Society was compelled to abandon its principles in order to maintain its position. A war more impenetrable than the famous wall of China was erected from east to west along the northern boundary of the Southern States. That wall the Evangelical Churches of the North could neither scale, nor pierce, nor overthrow. Now the trumpet of God has been sounding through the land these three years, and the wall has fallen with a sudden and startling crash, and the heretofore impregnable Jericho is impregnable no longer, and the voice of God speaks clear and loud above the din of battle to the American churches, “Go ye in and possess the land.” “He that hath an ear, let him hear what the Spirit saith to the churches !”

## ARTICLE VII.—NOTICES OF NEW BOOKS.

## THEOLOGICAL AND PHILOSOPHICAL.

**THE CLASSIFICATION OF THE SCIENCES.\***—This little tract will only be interesting to the most abstract of thinkers—those only who are accustomed to the highest and most attenuated generalizations. We shall neither attempt to expound nor to discuss the scheme here presented. It starts with an assumed definition of the law of relation, from which many might dissent, or with which many might be dissatisfied, as barren and unmeaning. As it proceeds to furnish a comprehensive definition of each class of sciences, by which the relative position of each in the scheme is determined, we are tempted at each stage of progress to inquire whether the definition is satisfactory. The whole scheme is ingenious though plainly resting upon the author's peculiar metaphysical system.

The reasons for dissenting from the philosophy of Comte are satisfactory, so far as a single point of difference is concerned. They do not attempt, however, to establish any difference which is material to the interests of morals or theology. In all the conclusions which respect points of this kind, there is nothing to choose between the two systems of belief.

**PRIMEVAL SYMBOLS.†**—This beautifully printed and smoothly written book is an attempt to be wise above what is written, (or shall we say *below* or *beneath* what is written); begun and ended from the point of view furnished by the "doctrine of correspondencies," as set forth by Emmanuel Swedenborg. It surpasses our comprehension to explain how a barrister at law, who has been "mathematical and ethical prizeman" in Trinity College, could

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\* *The Classification of the Sciences*: to which are added *Reasons for Dissenting from the Philosophy of M. Comte*. By HERBERT SPENCER. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1864. 12mo. pp. 48. New Haven: H. C. Peck.

† *Primeval Symbols; or, the Analogy of Creation and New Creation*. By WILLIAM FETHERSTON, Barrister at Law, &c., &c. Dublin: Hodges, Smith & Co. 1862. London: Trübner & Co.

ever bring himself to believe that so wide a range of theological and religious truth is set forth in the history of the seven days of the Creation. It must be that some things are only Swedenborgially discerned.

**CHURCH ESSAYS.\***—This little volume is written in an earnest Christian spirit, and with as much considerate recognition as could be expected for all those who “believe and call themselves Christians,” who are so unhappy as not to adopt that form of church polity in which the Bishop is set over a Diocese and not over a single parish. The author is in that comfortably narrow state of mind which is appropriate to all such thinkers as he. His views of church history, of Christian theology, and of the Christian life, are all moulded and shaped after the pattern which seems inevitable to all who write from his point of view. The title is appropriate enough for his purpose. “Church Essays” seeming to intimate that the church, i. e. the Americo-Anglican church, is a term more precious than Christianity, and the liturgy of more practical significance than the New Testament. Apart from these features, these essays are quite above the range of our religious literature.

#### BIOGRAPHICAL.

**MEMOIR OF MRS. KEITH.†**—The subject of this memoir was a native of New Hampshire, where she was born in 1821. She became, at the age of twenty, a teacher, and was employed for the greater part of the time from 1841 to 1849 in South Carolina, Virginia, and Kentucky. In 1849, she went to China, to become a member of the Protestant Episcopal Mission in Shanghai. There, in 1854, she married one of the missionaries, Rev. Cleveland Keith. In 1862, her health had become so impaired that it was thought advisable that she should return with her husband to her native land. But disease had fastened itself upon her, and she lived only to reach San Francisco. A few days after her

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\* *Church Essays*. By GEORGE CUMMING McWHORTER, author of a “Popular Handbook of the New Testament.” New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1864. 12mo. pp. 174. New Haven: H. C. Peck. Price \$1.

† *Memoir of Mrs. Caroline P. Keith, Missionary of the Protestant Episcopal Church to China*. Edited by her brother, WILLIAM C. TENNEY. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1864. 12mo. pp. 392. New Haven: H. C. Peck. Price \$2.

death, her husband, on his way to New York, lost his life in the "Golden Gate," which was destroyed by fire.

This memoir of Mrs. Keith is made up almost entirely of her letters, which cover the whole period of her life from 1838 to 1862. Our limits will allow us only to point out, in the very briefest manner, several of the particulars which make the collection of special interest and value. The earlier letters, written when she was a teacher at the South, throw no little light on the growth among the Southern people of that sentiment of hostility to the North which culminated in the present rebellion; and, after reading her experiences, no one can wonder that she ever after hated the institution of slavery, as her brother expresses it, "with fiery indignation." The letters from Shanghai are particularly rich in information respecting all that pertains to the general missionary work in China, and also the particular work that the Episcopalians have undertaken. Some valuable information is given respecting the great Chinese rebellion, its origin, and its progress. The later letters, written as the first news of our struggle with the Southern traitors reached her, are full of expressions of the warmest sympathy with our national cause, and show with what intense interest the progress of the war is watched on missionary ground. But what seems to us especially noteworthy in the memoir, is the exhibition that is given of the progress of her religious convictions. With her parents, in early life, she had attended upon the ministry of a Congregational clergyman. Subsequently, in her school days, she was brought under other influences, and attended as a communicant the Unitarian church; but, at twenty-five, she became an Episcopalian. Her letters after this period, respecting "her church," written to her old friends of various ecclesiastical connections without the least sectarian spirit, express the high satisfaction and enjoyment she derives in conforming to its ritual, in a way that cannot but interest Christians of other denominations, who, though they have no sympathy with what is peculiar in her views, may profit by the example of her whole-hearted devotion.

We cannot forbear a single quotation of what Mrs. Keith has written in one of the letters respecting the worthlessness of what is said about missionaries and missionary operations by a well known modern traveler, whose shallowness is only surpassed by his high pretensions:—

"SHANGHAI, July 20, 1854.

" \* \* \* Yesterday an article happened to catch my eye, commencing thus: 'Bayard Taylor, writing from Calcutta, says: "There are two schools here, under the charge of the Scotch Church. Neither of them, I believe, ever has made a single convert."' The editor of the paper making this extract gives, below the quotation, a letter from the teachers of the schools to a minister in Scotland, written in answer to some inquiries, in which it is stated that these schools have furnished several preachers, some of whom are very acceptable even to English congregations; others are usefully and honorably employed, and in all the higher classes of the schools are baptized boys. These are the people who go home, and say: 'Oh! we have been on the spot; we have seen; we heard those who lived there for years, and they all say so,' &c., &c. I would risk thousands (were I in the habit of betting) that they had never conversed with a missionary half an hour under a missionary's roof. This same B. T. was here, and at Nankin, a year ago last April, and, in company with the officers of the ships of war, called here once, stared at us as at some wild things, said nothing, and went away. Now, what would his testimony be worth, should he send home a paragraph saying he had heard of no success, and he had visited the missionary establishments, and that those persons seemed to be living very much at their ease?"

#### LEGAL.

INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY OF INTERNATIONAL LAW.\*—We are glad to see this excellent manual by President Woolsey in a second edition. Though modest in its pretensions, it embodies the results of thorough reading and research, and of discriminating judgment. It has not only been approved as an excellent text-book for instructors, but as a convenient and trustworthy book of reference for students of political and general history.

This edition is considerably enlarged from the preceding, and one or two important portions, as the Appendix,—containing the history of the most important treaties since the Reformation,—have been greatly improved at the expense of laborious research. The style is clear; the learning is ample for the beginner and the general student; the acquaintance with general history is broad and liberal, and the sense of justice and the faith in ethical and Christian progress are everywhere conspicuous.

The Preface concludes as follows: "May the war end speedily—if possible, before these words shall appear in print,—but not

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\* *Introduction to the Study of International Law*, designed as an aid in teaching, and in historical studies. By THEODORE D. WOOLSEY, President of Yale College. Second edition, revised and enlarged. New York: Charles Scribner. 1864. 8vo. pp. 441. New Haven: Judd & White. Price \$3.50.

without the destruction of slavery, the Union of the States on a basis of justice, and the observance of the rules of international law in the intercourse between all other nations and our republic."

ANCIENT LAW.\*—No more interesting questions present themselves to a reflecting mind, whether it be the mind of a student of law or a student of general history, than the following:—"What were the beginnings of that vast number of conceptions and terms, of rules and provisions, of usages and institutions, which pertain to what we designate by that briefest of terms—the Law?" "In what way did man first rudely provide for those necessities of his social condition and his possible developments, to meet which, in his more complicated relations and his actual progress, there has been ever growing and never completed, that most consummate work of human intellects, the jurisprudence of modern times?" "How far can history furnish the data of recorded facts to answer these inquiries?" "How far do literature and the speculative sciences enable us to interpret history?" "How far can conjecture supply with reasonable certainty satisfactory theories, when history fails to furnish facts?" These questions it is the design of this admirable volume to answer. It is one of the first attempts by an English author to discuss this subject on the principles of a broad philosophy, and one need but read a few pages to feel and acknowledge that he has treated it well. The style is singularly clear and condensed. The generalizations are broad, but never vaguely conceived, or indistinctly expressed. The illustrations are abundant, but they do not in the least overload the matter or distract the attention. We are greatly mistaken if this does not prove a very attractive volume to a very large class, both of professional and non-professional readers.

The introduction of sixty-nine pages, by the very eminent and successful Professor of Municipal Law in Columbia College, contains an abstract of the contents of the volume for the use of students, and adds greatly to the value of the American edition. The volume has also a copious index.

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\* *Ancient Law: Its Connection with the Early History of Society, and its Relation to Modern Ideas.* By HENRY SUMNER MAINE, with an Introduction by THEODORE W. DWIGHT, LL. D., &c., &c. First American, from second London edition. New York: Charles Scribner. 1864. 8vo. pp. ix, 400. New Haven: Judd & White. Price \$3.50.

## MISCELLANEOUS.

NEW REVISED AND ILLUSTRATED EDITION OF WEBSTER'S UN-ABRIDGED DICTIONARY.—By far the most important literary work that has come for years from the American press, is an entirely new edition of the Dictionary of Noah Webster, which for more than a generation has maintained so high a reputation both at home and in England. It is to be observed that we speak of this edition, which has just been published, as entirely new. It contains one-fifth or one-fourth more than any one that has preceded it. But this is not all. The old Webster's Dictionary has been subjected to a searching revision which has extended to everything connected with it. We think we do not err in saying that there is not a line or a word which has not received a careful re-examination. The revision has extended to the etymologies, to the definitions, to the illustrative citations, to the vocabulary, to the scientific and technical definitions, to the collection of synonyms, to the orthography, to the pronunciation, and to the pictorial illustrations. There is no one of these departments where changes have not been made freely, fully, and unsparingly, that the new Dictionary might be made, as a whole, and in all its parts, to conform to the demands of the advanced scholarship of the times.

Our limits compel us to reserve more extended remarks and criticisms to our next number. For the same reason we shall not speak in detail of the various tables of reference which have been added; or of the improvements which have been made in the tables with which the Dictionary was before provided; or of the very copious illustrations; or of the generally superior mechanical execution of the whole work. For the present it is enough to say that the Dictionary now offered to the public presents the results of years of labor bestowed upon it by a large number of most competent persons. Among them are Professors Noah Porter, Dana, Whitney, Hadley, Gilman, and Thacher, Capt. Craighill of West Point Military Academy, Judge J. C. Perkins of Salem, Mass., Professor R. C. Stiles, A. L. Holley, Esq., and Dr. Mahn of Berlin. The revision was commenced under the supervision of Professor Goodrich, and after his death, in 1860, the general direction of the work was committed to Professor Noah Porter.

We are satisfied that this Dictionary, in its present form, is by far the most convenient and valuable manual of reference that has ever been published in the English language.

Great credit is due to the Messrs. Merriam of Springfield, for the very liberal manner in which they have made provision for this thorough revision, and for the handsome style in which they have given this great work to the public. New Haven: Judd & White. Price \$12 in sheep, \$15 in half morocco.

**ILLUSTRATIONS OF UNIVERSAL PROGRESS.\***—This volume, by Herbert Spencer, has been issued several months and should have been noticed by us before. It consists of a series of Essays which were first published in the English periodicals on subjects apparently very diverse from one another, as—Manners and Fashion—The Genesis of Science—Laughter—Music—The Nebular Hypothesis—The Emotions and the Will—Geology—The Development Hypothesis—The Social Organism—Use and Beauty—Architectural Types—Anthropomorphism. The topics, indicated by these titles, seem to be diverse from one another, but as treated in these Essays they are all connected together by the attempts which the author makes to illustrate and explain them upon the principles of his philosophy. The Essays are designed to be what the title indicates, Illustrations of Progress on the particular theory which he adopts, i. e., of development by necessary growth and differentiation. The first of the Essays is designed to be a somewhat popular exposition of the general nature of this progress which is illustrated specially in the Essays that follow.

The whole volume is a familiar exposition of the principles of Spencer's system in their application to a variety of subjects. So far as the elucidation of this system is concerned, they are of little force or value, for they abound in forced analogies, and make the most violent claims upon the principles of inference and of reasoning. But they embody very many fine observations and valuable generalizations, as well as striking single facts, which,

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\* *Illustrations of Universal Progress*; a Series of Discussions. By HERBERT SPENCER. With a notice of Spencer's New System of Philosophy. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1864. 12mo. pp. 446. New Haven: H. C. Peck. Price \$2.00.



have been gathered in the extensive reading of the author, or have occurred within his own observation. The style is clear, the march of his thoughts is always onward, and the treatment of his themes is invariably interesting. While we always reject and sometimes abhor the reasonings and the conclusions of his philosophy, we have found much to interest us in this volume.

**THE EARLY DAWN.\***—This is another volume from the pen of the author of that charming book, "*The Chronicles of the Schönberg-Cotta Family*," and is intended to illustrate by a series of stories, "Christian Life in England, in the Olden Time." We consider it a very happy thing that an author who has such unusual power of appreciating whatever is peculiar in remote historical periods, and of reanimating those times with graphic conceptions of life and character, has turned her attention to the story of our ancestors. There are few persons who have not found a difficulty in clothing with reality the events which pertain to the early religious history of England; and few, we think, however well acquainted with the facts, who can read this book without finding, as the editor, Professor Smith, says, "their pulse quickened." The young, especially, we are confident, now that this author has once enlisted their imagination, will never fail to regard those times with lively interest. The stories are nine in number; illustrating as many different epochs;—the introduction of Christianity, when the Druids still retained sway over some parts of Britain; its gradual progress in the times of the Romans; the Saxons; the Danes; the Normans; and the book closes with a story of the Lollards. It is much to be desired that the author may be induced to go on and attempt in another volume the illustration of the great religious Reformation in England, the dawning of which she has described so satisfactorily.

**HARKNESS'S LATIN GRAMMAR.†**—We have carefully examined considerable portions of this manual, and feel no hesitation in pro-

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\* *The Early Dawn*: or Sketches of Christian Life in England, in the Olden Time. By the Author of "*Chronicles of the Schönberg Cotta Family*." With an Introduction by Professor H. B. SMITH, D. D. New York: M. W. Dodd. 1864. 12mo. pp. 397. Price \$1.75. New Haven: F. T. Jarman.

† *A Latin Grammar for Schools and Colleges*. By ALBERT HARKNESS, PH. D., Professor in Brown University. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1864.

nouncing it a valuable contribution to the cause of classical education. The hand of the teacher appears in it as well as the hand of the scholar. We are struck especially with its lucid order; and not only is the order lucid, but the separate statements are generally very clear, while they are at the same time strikingly brief. This brevity may, perhaps, be sometimes secured by an excessive comminution of the rules, which, in other grammars, group kindred constructions, and may thus leave it too much to beginners to discover for themselves the relations which used to be announced to them in their books. But this does not interfere with the usefulness of the Grammar as an authority for the various constructions found in classical authors, and as a systematic presentation of the facts and principles of the Latin language.

The work naturally presents itself as a competitor of the Grammar of Andrews and Stoddard, which has for so many years held the field almost alone as a manual for beginners in Latin. It cannot, of course, confer the benefit which that book conferred on American classical schools, for the opportunity is past, and no such step of improvement in Latin Grammars can again be taken for us. But thirty years have advanced grammatical science not a little, and Professor Harkness has endeavored to avail himself of the results of modern scholarship, both American and foreign, to bring his work as near as possible to the demands of the best read teachers. We anticipate for it a good measure of success.

ENGLISH AND FRENCH NEUTRALITY, AND THE ANGLO-FRENCH ALLIANCE, IN THEIR RELATIONS TO THE UNITED STATES AND RUSSIA.\*—It is the object of this book to expose the policy which has guided the counsels of England and France, and led them, during the continuance of our great civil war, to adopt towards us so unfriendly an attitude. The American people have long ago

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\* *English and French Neutrality, and the Anglo-French Alliance, in their relations to the United States and Russia*; including an account of the leading policy of France and of England for the last two hundred years—the Origin and Aims of the Alliance—the Meaning of the Crimean War—and the reason of the hostile attitude of these two Powers toward the United States, and of the movement on Mexico—with a statement of the general resources—the army and Navy of England and France—Russia and America—showing the present strength, and probable future of these four Powers. By Rev. C. B. BOYNTON, D. D. Cincinnati: C. F. Vent & Co. 1864. 8vo. pp. 576.

ceased to care whether public sentiment in England and France is favorable to us or unfavorable; and we fear, in consequence, that there is danger that this book will not receive the attention it deserves. It has been for three months on our table, but we have never seen a copy in a book store, or heard the book alluded to in any way whatever. This surely cannot be for want of merit, for we know of no single volume where the great questions which are agitating both Europe and America are discussed with such breadth of view, or clearness of demonstration. We would inform our readers, therefore, that the policy of England and France, as it has manifested itself towards us in this time of our national humiliation, is only one of the important subjects discussed in this book. Its scope is a far wider one. The aim of the author is to present a broad view of the course of European politics as it has been affected by the struggle of the nations to secure the commerce of Asia and the world; and to show that so long as the counsels of England and France are directed by selfishness, those two nations must ever consider themselves the natural enemies of Russia and the United States. On the breaking out of this rebellion we comforted ourselves, with amiable simplicity, by the thought that when the objects for which we were fighting were better understood, we should have the warm sympathies of England and France. We have learned our mistake. While they continue to cling to their traditional, selfish policy, the better they understand the nature of this struggle, the more determined will they be in their opposition to us.

For two hundred years England and France have contended with each other for the leadership among the nations. Now they are every year fast losing, relatively, their power and consequence. On one side is rising Russia, and on the other the United States. These two Powers must soon overshadow all others. Here is the secret of the Anglo-French Alliance of 1854. These two nations, who had looked upon each other as natural enemies for hundreds of years, agreed to bury past animosities, and endeavor to do together what neither could help to do alone. At the very time the Alliance was entered upon, intimations were given,—not obscure ones either,—that the crippling of Russia was not the only object of the parties engaged. Lord Clarendon said, at the very time, “*The Alliance with France does not regard the East exclusively, but has reference to affairs in both hemispheres.*” It is no

matter of surprise, then, that these two nations were prepared, ready, anxious, to help the Rebellion when it broke out. They expected that the leaders of secession would do for them what they had agreed to attempt themselves. The Mexican invasion is but a part of the same plan.

But we cannot attempt here an analysis of the argument of this interesting book. We wish it could be put into the hands of every intelligent man in the nation before the eighth of November next.

Over two hundred pages are occupied with a detailed account of the resources of Russia, an account of her people, her government, the Greek Church, &c., &c., in which the misrepresentations of English writers—manufactured for a purpose—are exposed. As the people of the United States are to have hereafter more intimate relations with Russia, this part of the volume before us deserves special study.

"THE AMERICAN CONFLICT," BY HORACE GREELEY.\*—This work, of which many tens of thousands of copies had been ordered long in advance of its publication, is now before us. It makes a large, handsome octavo volume of six hundred and forty-eight pages, is printed in double columns, and is amply illustrated with portraits and diagrams of battles. In this first volume, Mr. Greeley traces the working of the causes which brought on the war; sketches its opening scenes; and brings the history down to "the situation at the close of 1861." We have only space to say that the book is fully equal to what was expected of the veteran journalist. Clear in its exhibition of the course of events, impartial in its statements, the simple story of the long continued aggressions of the propagandists of slavery, as it is spread upon these pages, presents an argument that is irresistible to convince all who are open to conviction, that we can never be prosperous

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\* *The American Conflict: A History of the Great Rebellion in the United States of America, 1860—'64: its Causes, Incidents, and Results: intended to exhibit especially its moral and political phases, with the Drift and Progress of American Opinion respecting Human Slavery, from 1776 to the close of the War for the Union.* By HORACE GREELEY. Illustrated by portraits on steel of Generals, Statesmen, and other eminent men; views of places of historic interest; Maps, diagrams of battle fields, Naval actions, etc.; from official sources. Vol. I. Hartford: O. D. Case & Co. 1864. 8vo. pp. 648.

as a people till we have rid ourselves of this fruitful source of all trouble. This volume will be invaluable for years to come as a book of reference.

## BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS RECEIVED.

*Hints to Riflemen.* By H. W. S. CLEVELAND. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 12mo. pp. 260.

*My Cave Life in Vicksburg;* with Letters of Trial and Travel. By a Lady. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 12mo. pp. 196.

*A Sermon in Memory of Robert Sedgwick Edwards;* preached in the Church of the Pilgrims, Brooklyn, N. Y. By R. S. STORRS, Jr., D. D., Pastor. 8vo. pp. 21.

*Certainty Concerning Christ, as the Divine Lord:* A Sermon preached in the Church of the Pilgrims, Brooklyn, N. Y. By RICHARD S. STORRS, Jr., D. D., Pastor. 8vo. pp. 32.

*Supervision of Schools:* A Lecture delivered before the American Institute of Instruction, at Concord, New Hampshire, August 26th, 1863. By BIRDSEY GRANT NORTROP, Agent Massachusetts Board of Education. 12mo. pp. 32.

*Common Schools in Concord:* An Address delivered at the Dedication of the New High School House in Concord, N. H., on Saturday, April 2d, 1864. By JOSEPH B. WALKER. 8vo. pp. 22.

*Mr. Jay's Second Letter on Dawson's Introduction to the Federalist;* with a note on the Unfriendly Policy of France towards the United States at the time of the Treaty of Peace. 8vo. pp. 54. viii.

*Choice and Service:* A Baccalaureate Sermon, delivered at Williamstown, Mass., July 31st, 1864. By MARK HOPKINS, D. D., President of Williams College. 8vo. pp. 24.

*The Right or the Wrong of the American War:* A letter to an English friend. New York: A. D. F. Randolph. 8vo. pp. 28.

*Thoughts on the lost unity of the Christian World, and on the steps necessary to secure its Recovery:* A Sermon preached at the Broadway Tabernacle, on the fifth Sunday in Lent, March 13th, 1864. By the Rev. MORGAN DIX, S. T. D., Rector of Trinity Church. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1864. 8vo. pp. 37.

*United States Military Academy, West Point:* Report of the Agent of the Massachusetts Board of Education. 1864. 8vo. pp. 38.

*Sermon on the Public Worship of God;* delivered in the Hall of the House of Representatives, Washington, D. C., Sunday, January 31st, 1864. By Rev. B. SUNDERLAND, D. D. 8vo. pp. 15.

*The Beloved Physician:* A Discourse delivered in First Church in New Haven, at the Interment of Jonathan Knight, M. D., late Professor of Surgery in Yale College. By LEONARD BACON, Pastor. New Haven: T. J. Stafford. 1864. 8vo. pp. 28.

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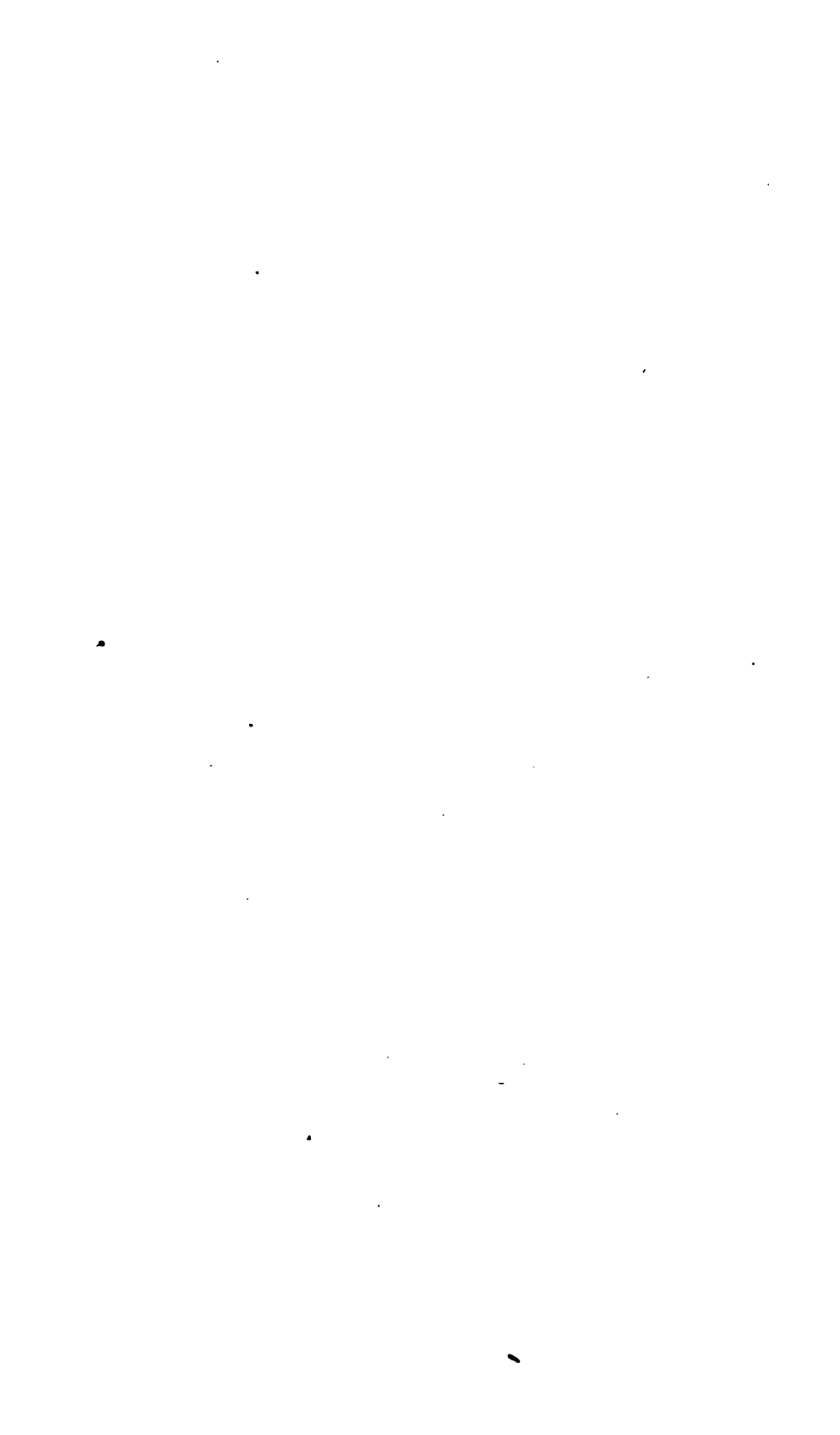
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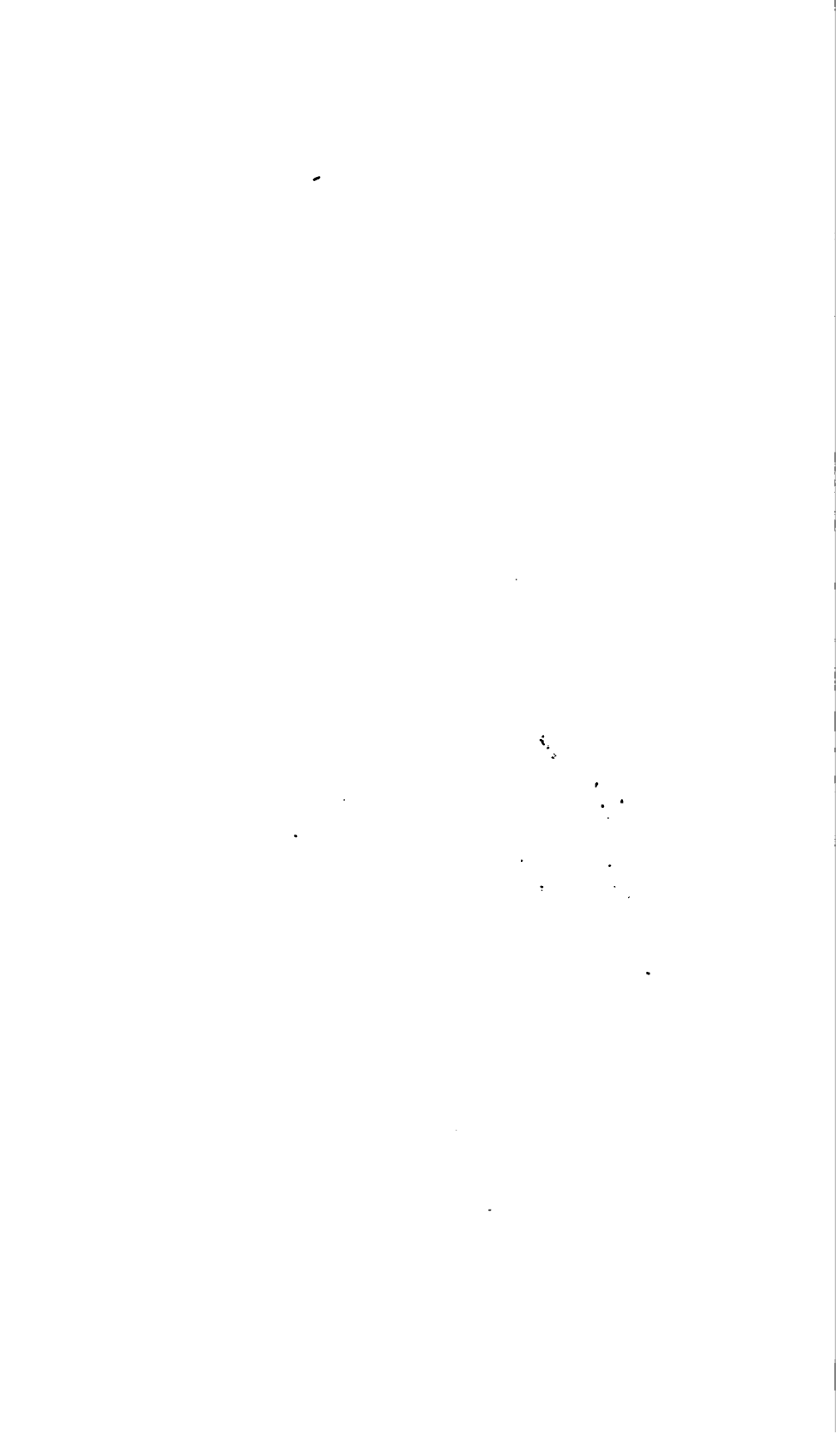












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